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TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY

Vol. 1



by
Jacob Grimm

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TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY.

BY

JACOB GRIMM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION

WITH

NOTES AND APPENDIX

BY

JAMES STEVEN STALLYBRASS.

VOL. I.



LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET,
COVENT GARDEN.

1882.

TO

Professor MAX MÜLLER, M.A., &c., &c.,

This Work

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY PERMISSION.

A. KING AND CO., PRINTERS, ABERDEEN.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.



“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in the various versions of a myth, it has never been superseded and perhaps it never can be.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 resumé 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 *æ*, which he is accustomed to see in Anglo-Saxon words, for Grimm's *v* and *a*, as 'wæg' instead of 'vag'. 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.¹

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 *ερεροδοξοι*, *βαρβαροι* were not used in that sense); but with the Jews and Christians of the N.T. are contrasted *ἔθνος*, *ἔθνεα*, *ἔθνικοί*, Lat. *gentes*, *gentiles*; Ulphilas uses the pl. *thiudós*, and by preference in the gen. after a pronoun, *thái thiudô*, *sumái thiudô* (gramm. 4, 441, 457), while *thiudiskós* translates *ἔθνικῶς* Gal. 2, 14. As it was mainly the Greek religion that stood opposed to the Judæo-Christian, the word *Ἑλλην* also assumed the meaning *ἔθνικος*, and we meet with *ἐλληνικῶς* = *ἔθνικως*, which the Goth would still have rendered *thiudiskos*, as he does render *Ἑλληνες thiudos*, John 7, 35. 12, 20. 1 Cor. 1, 24. 12, 13; only in 1 Cor. 1, 22 he prefers *Krekos*. This *Ἑλλην* = *gentilis* bears also the meaning of giant, which has developed itself out of more than one national name (Hun, Avar, Tchudi); so the Hellenic walls came to be heathenish, gigantic (see ch. XVIII). In Old High German, Notker still uses the pl. *dicte* for gentiles (Graff 5, 128). In the meanwhile *pagus* had expanded its narrow meaning of *κῶμη* into the wider one of *ager*, *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. *poganin*, Lith. *pagonas* [but Russ. *pogan* = unclean]. The Gothic *háithi* *campus* early developed an adj. *hauithns* *agrestis*, *campestris* = *paganns* (Ulph. in Mark 7, 26 renders *ἄλλης* by *hauithnô*), the Old H.G. *heida* an adj. *heidan*, Mid. H.G. and Dutch *heide* *heiden*, A.S. *hæo hæðin*, Engl. *heath* *heathen*, Old Norse *heiði* *heiðinn*; Swed. and Dan. use *hedning*. The O.H.G. word retains its adj. nature, and forms its gen. pl. *heidanéro*. Our present *heide*, gen. *heiden* (for *heiden*, gen. *heidens*) 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).

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 christian among the Germans on the Rhine, especially the Alamanni; and about the same time or a little earlier¹ 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, Gepidæ 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.

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 Obotritæ in the ninth, Bohemians¹ 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, Alboffed, had remained a heathen; the latter was now baptized with him, and the former was also won over to the Catholic communion.² 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—Riaderi, Tolenzi, Kycini, Circipani—still heathen in the latter half of the 11th century; see Helmold 1, 21. 23 (an. 1066). The Rugians not till 1168; Helm. 2, 12. 13.

² *baptizata est Alboffedis. . . . Lanthildis chrismata est, Greg. Tur. 2, 31. So among the Goths, chrismation is administered to Sigibert's wife Brunchild (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 Goisuintha 'ut rebaptizaretur'. Rebaptizare catholicos, Eugippii 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 seventeenth³; 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 converters of the heathen, sternly devout, abstemious, mortifying the flesh, occasionally peddling, headstrong, and in

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 *Fornmanna sogur* 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

¹ Fornmanna sögur 1, 31-35. Laxdæla, p. 170. Kralodworsky rukopis, 72.74.

² Greg. Tur. 2, 31. Fornm. sög. 1, 260. 2, 200.

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 *Solar lioð* 17 we read of Vebogi and Râdey 'â sik þau trúðu,' in themselves they trusted; of king Hákon (Fornm. sog. 1, 35) 'konungr gerir sem allir aðrir, þeir sem trúa a matt 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 a skurðgoð eór fiandr, hefi ek því lengi truat a matt minn ok megin,' I trust not in idols and fiends, I have this long while, &c.; of Hiorleifr 'vildi aldri blota,' would never sacrifice (Landn. 1, 5.7); of Hallr and Thorir goðlaus 'vildu eigi blota, ok trúðu a matt sinn' (Landn. 1, 11); of king Hrolfr (Fornm. sog. 1, 98) 'ekki er þess getit at Hrolfr konungr ok kappar hans hafi nokkurn tíma blotat goð, heldr trúðu â matt sinn ok megin,' it is not thought that king H. and his champions have at any time, &c.; of Orvaroddr (Fornald. sog. 2, 165; cf. 505) 'ekki vandist blotum, því hann trúði a matt sinn ok megin'; of Finnbogi (p. 272) 'ek trúi a 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:

Först troer jeg mit gode svärd.
 Og saa min gode hest,
 Dernäst troer jeg mine dannesvenne,
 Jeg troer mig self allerbedst ;

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 *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 Oðinn and Freyja to dogs (Fornm. sog. 2, 207. Isländ. sog. 1, 11. ed. nov. 372. Nialss. 160) : when another calls the gods rangeyg (squint-eyed, unfair) and rokindusta (Fornm. sog. 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 : 'din got der ist ein junger tor (fool), ich wil glouben an den alten.'—If we had a list of old and favourite *dogs'-names*, I believe we should find that the designations of several deities were bestowed upon the brute by way of degradation. Vilks. saga, cap. 230, 235, has handed down *Thor* (but cf. ed. nov., cap. 263) and *Paron*, one being the O.N., the other the Slav name in the Slovak form *Parom* = *Perun* ch. VIII. With the Saxon herdsmen or hunters *Thunar* was doubtless in use for dogs, as perhaps *Donner* is to this day. One sort of dog is called by the Poles *Grzmilas* (Linde 1, 779a. 2, 798), by the Bohemians *Hrmiles* (Jungm. 1, 759) = Thunder, Forest-thunder. In Helbling 4, 441 seq. I find a dog *Wunsch* (not *Wünsch*). Similar to this is the transference of national names to dogs : the Bohemian *Bodrok* is a dog's name, but signifies an Obotrite (Jungm. 1, 150) ; *Samr* in the Nialssaga seems to mean a Same, Sabme = Lapp ; Helbling 4, 458 has a *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. Landnâmabok 3, 12 says of Helgi: 'hann truði a Krist, en þô het hann a Thor til sæfara ok harðræða ok alls þess, er honum þotti mestu 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 eodem 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 footmark plainly shows that such recollections could not really have died out.¹ 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

¹ As late as the tenth century the heroic tale of Walther and Hildegund was poetized in Latin at St. Gall, and a relie 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.

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. *inuspilli*, O. Sax. *mudspelli*, with the Eddic *muspell*, of the O.H.G. *itis*, A. Sax. *ides*, with the Eddic *dís*, or of the A. Sax. *brosinga mene* with the Eddic *brisinga men*, affords perfectly conclusive evidence.

4. The precisely similar way in which both there and here the religious mythus 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.¹ 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! acedepol! me hercle! me castor! mediusfidius,' &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. *guð*, A.S., O.S., O. Fris. *god*, O.H.G. *cot*, O. Norse *god*; Swed. Dan. *gud*, 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*, *fadrs*, *brôðrs*. 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.¹ 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;³ 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; Uhlund p. 198.

³ The Slav. *bogh* is connected with the Sanskr. *bhaga* felicitas, *bhakta* devotus, and *bhaj* colere; perhaps also with the obscure *bahts* in the Goth. *andbahts* minister, *cūltor*; conf. p. 20, note on *boghat*, *diveş*. Of *θεός*, *deus* we shall have to speak in ch. IX.

good, Goth. *gôds*, O.N. *gôðr*, A.S. *gôð*, 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 god*, which does take place in some other cases; and certainly God is called the Good.¹ 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. *Geatas*, O.H.G. *Koza*; Goth. *Gautos*?).

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 *qvadata* (a se *datus*, *increated*, Sanskr. *svadata*, conf. *Devadatta* *Θεόδοτος*, *Mitradatta* *Ἡλιόδοτος*, *Srîdatta*), then our Teutonic word must have been originally a compound, and one with a very apt meaning, as the Servians also address God as *samozazdani bozhe!* self-created God; Vuk 741.

The O.H.G. *cot* forms the first half of many proper names, as *Cotadio*, *Cotascalh*, *Cotafrit*, *Cotahram*, *Cotakisal*, *Cotaperaht*, *Cotalint*, 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 *Irmincot*, *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*.² Likewise in speaking of many gods, which to Christians would mean idols, he spells *gula*, 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 *οὐδεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς ὁ θεός*, Mark 10, 18, Luke 18, 19, which in Gothic is rendered 'ni hvashun þruðeigs alja ains Guð', but in A.S. 'nis nan man gôð buton God âna'. God is the giver of all good, and himself the highest good, summum bonum. Thus Plato names him *το ἀγαθον*. ✓

² In Gothic the rule is to change TH into D before a vowel in inflection, as, *faðs*, *fadis*, *fada*, *fað*; *haubið*, *-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. *cota*, 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; *εἰδωλα* he translates by *galiuga* (*figmenta*), 1 Cor. 5, 10. 10, 20. 28, or by *galiugaguda*, 1 Cor. 10, 20; and *εἰδωλεῖον* by *galiugê staðs*, 1 Cor. 8, 10. Another N.H.G. expression *götze* I have discussed, Gramm. 3, 694; Luther has in Deut. 12, 3 'die *gotzen* ihrer *gotter*, making *gotze*=*idolum*. In Er. Alberus *fab.* 23, the *gotz* is a demigod¹ (see Suppl.). The O.N. language distinguished the neut. *goð* *idolum* from the masc. *guð* *deus*. Snorri 119 says of Sif 'it *harfagra goð*,' 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* *wetter!* *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 *olgotzen* tragen' for doing house drudgery, I. 5, 418^d 528^d. III. 3, 24^a 49^d. IV. 3, 37^b 99^a. The O.H.G. *coz*, *simpuvium Numae* (Juvenal 6, 343), which Graff 4, 154 would identify with *gotze*, 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 *wetzstein*?), *donnerkeil*, *donnerwasche*, *dummer*. In Formm. sog. 10, 283 we have *Oddiner* for *Oðinn*; perhaps *Wuotansheer* (Woden's host) was purposely changed into *Mutesheer*; whether *Phol* into *Falant*, is worth considering.

³ *Sangbieu* (*sang de Dieu*), *corbieu* (*corps de D.*) *vertubleu* (*vertu de D.*), *morbleu* (*mort de D.*), *parbleu* (*par D.*), *vertuguieu*, *vertugoi* (*vertu de D.*), *morguoi* (*mort de D.*), &c. As early as Renart 18177, *por la char bieu*. So the Engl. cock's bones, 'od's bones, 'od's wounds, 'zounds, &c. Conf. Weber metr. rom. 3, 284.

gote sult ir willekomen sîn, iurem *lande* unde *mir* (ye shall be welcome to God, your country, and me); Trist. 5186. *got* alrêst, dar nach *mir*, west willekomen; Parz. 305, 27. wis willekomen *mir* und *got*; Frauend. 128, 13. sît *mir gote* wilkomen¹; Eilh. Trist. 248. rehte *got* wilkomen *mir*; Dietr. 5200. Nu sît ouch *mir got* wilkomen; Dietr. 5803. sît willekomen *got* und ouch *mir*; Dietr. 4619. nu wis *mir got* wilkomen; Oswalt 208. 406. 1163. 1268. 1393. 2189. du solt groz willekomen sîn dem rîchen *got* unde *mir*; Lanz. 1082. wis *mir* unde ouch *got* wilkomen; Ls. 1, 514. Occasionally *gote* stands alone: diu naht sî *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, skolkuom' (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: sîd wilicomo bethiu *goda* 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 'bogh tè vsprimî, 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. 67^a 86^b), with which are also associated the names of helpful gods: heill þu farir, heill þu *âsyniom* ser! fare thou well, be thou well by (the aid of) the *Asynior*; Sæm. 31^a. heill scaltu *Agnarr*, allz þic heilan biðr vera tyr 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 *mîn*; 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 Buge waz primi, gralva Venus! Frauend. 192, 20; conf. 177, 14.

³ hie hært 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 sîn; 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^a, 95^b, Fornald. sög. 1, 487. Not quite parallel are phrases such as: daz geloube *gote* unde *mir*; Amis 989. *iu* unde *gote* von himile klage ich unser leit; Nib. 1889, 3. ik klage *gode* unde *iu*; Richtsteig landr. 11. 16. 37. sanc die messe beide *got* u. *in*; Parz. 378, 25. Wh. 289, 5. neic si *im* unde *gote*; Iw. 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: *got* noch den *tiurel* loben; Iw. 1273. in beschirmet der *tiurel* noch *got*; Iw. 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: *got* was an einer *suczen zuht*, do'r Parzivalen worhte (in amiable trim—form, training—when he made Percival); Parz. 148, 26. *got* der was vil *senftes muotes*. do er geschuof so reine ein wîp; MS. 1, 17^b. *got* der was *in froiden*, do er dich als ebene maz (so evenly meted); MS. 1, 22^b. *got in grossen freuden* was, dô er dich schuof (*i.e.*, created wine); Altd. bl. 1, 413. *got* der was *in hôhem werde*,¹ dô er geschuof die reinen frucht, wan ime was gar *wol ze muote*; MS. 1, 24^b. *got* si zer werlde brahte, do *ze freuden* stuont sîn muot; Wigal. 9282. *got* der was vil *wol gemuot*, dô er schuof sô reinem wîbe tugent, wünne, schœne an lîbe; MS. 1, 201^a. *got* was *gezierde milte*, der si beide schuof nâch lobe; Troj. 19922. *got* selb *in rîchen freuden* was, do er ir lîp als ebene maz; Misc. 2, 186. ich weiz daz *got in froiden* was, do er niht, frouwe, an dir vergaz waz man ze lobe sol schouwen. Ls. 1, 35. So a troubadour sings: *belha domna, de cor y entendia* Dieus, quan formet vostre cors amoros; Rayn. 1, 117.² 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 trüege den gotes fliz; Parz. 140, 5. *got* het sinen fliz gar ze wunsche wol an si geleit; Wigal. 4130. ich wæn *got* selbe worhte dich mit sîner gotlicher hant; Wigal. 9723. zware *got* der hat geleit sîne kunst und sîne kraft, sinen fliz und sîne meisterschaft an disen loblichen lip; Iw. 1685. So in

sentiment, that imputes to God a propensity to gaze at human beauty, or to do whatever men do: got mohte selbe *gerne sehen* die selben juncfrouwen; Fragm. 22^a. gott moht in (him, *i.e.* the musician) *gerne hoeren* in sinen himelkœeren; 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 puneiz (diadem), daz in got selber *mohte sehen*; Frauend. 84, 16. gestrîten daz d'engel *mohten hoeren* in den niun kœeren; Willeh. 230, 27. si mohte rach betwingen mite (might nigh compel withal) eines engels gedanc, daz er vil lîhte *einen wanc* durch si *von himele tæte* (fall from heaven for her); Iw. 6500 (imitated by Ottocar 166^a). ich weiz daz wol, daz sîn got nicht *verdrüzze*; MS. 2, 127^a. ir har gelîch dem golde, als ez got *wünschen solde*; MS. 2 62^b. sîn swert dat geinc (ging, went) an sîner hant, dat got selve *vrâchde mêre* (would ask to know), we der ritter wêre? dey engele muosten lachen, dat hey is sus kunde machen; Haupts zeitschr. 3, 24. This hilarity of the attendant guardian-angels (ch. XXVIII) or valkiirs 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 wæn, in genuoete da mite, ob er *solhen marstaller hæte*. This view of a sympathizing, blithe and gracious god, is particularly expressed in the subst. *huldi*, O.N. *hylli*: Oðins *hylli*; Sæm. 47^a. Ullar *hylli* ok allra goða; Sæm. 45^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.¹ The idea recurs several times in the Edda and elsewhere: *reiðr* er þer Oðinn, *reiðr* er þer Asabragr; Sæm. 85^b. Oðinn *ofreiðr*; Sæm. 228^b. *reið* varð þa Freyja oc fmasaði; Sæm. 71^b.—she was wroth,

Chrestien: ja ja fist Dex de sa main nue, por nature fere muser, tout le mont i porroit user, s'ele la voloit contrefere, que ja nen porroit a chief trere; no Dex, s'il sen voloit pener, mi porroit, ce cuit, assener, que ja une telle feist, por peine que il i meist (see Suppl.).

¹ *Piacula iræ deum*, Liv. 22, 9. *deos iratos habeam!* dii immortales hominibus irasci et succensere consueverunt, Cic. pro Rosc. 16. And Tacitus on this very subject of the Germans: propitiæ an *irati* dii, Germ. 5. *ira dei*, Hist. 4, 26. *infensi* Batavis dii, Hist. 5, 25. And in the Mid. Ages: tu *odium Dei* omniumque sanctorum habebas! Vita Meinwercci, cap. 13 § 95. *crebrescentibus jam jamque cottidie Dei justo judicio in populo diversis calamitatibus et flagellis . . . quid esset in quo Deus offensus esset, vel quibus placari posset operibus*; Pertz 2, 547.

and snorted or panted, as the angry wolf in Reinh. XLII spirtles out his beard. *guðin reið* ordin; Fornm. sog. 2, 29. 231. *goða gremi* (deorum ira) is announced; Egilss. 352. at *gremia* *goð* (offendere deos); Fornald. sog. 2, 69. was imo god *ábolgan*; Hel. 157, 19. than *wirdid* in *waldand gram*, *mahtig modag*; Hel. 41, 16 (elsewhere: *diu Sælde*, or the world, earth, is *gram*). ein *zornec* got in *daz gebot* (bade them), *daz uns hie snohten mit ir her*; Parz. 43, 28. *hie ist geschehen gotes räche*; Reinh. 975. *got wil vervüeren sînen zorn*; Osw. 717 *ich wæne daz got ræche da selbe smen anden* (wreak his vengeance); Gudr. 845, 4. *daz riuwe got!* (God rue it); Trist. 12131. *daz ez 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 flagellamur 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: *uz in gotes haz!* Trist. 5449. *uz strîchet* (sheer off) *balde in gotes haz!* Trist. 14579. *nu vart den gotes haz alsam ein bæswiht von mir hin!* Frauend. 109, 12. *mich hat der gotes haz bestanden*; Kl. 518. *inuch hât rehte gotes haz* (al. foul weather, the devil, &c.) *daher gesendet beide*; Iw. 6104. *sô 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 acc. without prepos. ‘gotes haz varn, strîchen’ 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 Ruediger 46. *hebe dich der sunnen haz!* Er. 93. *nu ziuhe in von mir der sunnen haz!* Helmbr. 1799. *si hiezen in strîchen in der sunnen haz*; Fracl. 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, Nürn. 1680, p. 158, 180.

² Serious illness or distress is habitually called ‘der gotes slac,’ stroke.

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' οὓς ὁ θεὸς ὤργισται. 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 Θρηϊκὲς καὶ πρὸς βροντὴν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἀπειλεῦσι 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 *gôdo*; Hel. 78, 3. 90, 6. fro mîn the *godô*; 143, 7. *gnædeger* trehtîn; 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, Morolt 3526. der *rîche* got mich ie gesach; V.d. wîbe list 114.³—Cot *almahitico*, cot *heilae*; Wesso-

¹ When lightning strikes, our people say: If God can burn, we can build again; Etnners hebamme, 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. *rîhhi* dives, potens, also beatus; and dives is near akin to Divus, as Dis, Ditis springs out of divit. From the Slav. *bôgh* is derived *boghat* (dives), Lith. *bagotas*; compare ops, in-ops (Russ. u-boghiy), 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. *manno miltisto* (largissimus); Wessobr. Geb. vil *militer* 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* wuldoreyning; Cædm. 242, 30.—*Waltant* got; Hild. *waldindinger* got; Roth. 213. 523. 1009. 2332. 4031. *waltant* Krist: OV. 25, 91. Gudr. 2243. (AS.) *wealdend*; Cædm. 9, 25. wuldres *wealdend*; Beow. 4. heofnes wealdend; Cædm. 17, 15. *þeoda wealdend*. fæder *alwealda*; Beow. 630. (OS.) *waldand*; Hel. 4, 5. 6, 6. *waldand* god 3, 17. *waldand* drohtin 1, 19. *alowaldo* 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 waltan*, Parz. 568, 1. En. 7299. 10165. 13225. So our *gottwalt's*! M. Dut. *godwouds*! 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. *caeld* metod. MHG. hat got *sîn alt* gemüete; Wh. 66, 20. *der alde* got; Roth. 4401. popul. '*der alte Vater*'. In a Servian song (Vuk 2, 244. Montenegro 101), bogh is named '*stari krvnik*', the old bloodshedder, killer; and in Frauenlob MS. 2, 214^b *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. *sô mir got ergaz*; Troj. kr. 14072. *sô hât got mîn vergezzen*; Nib. 2256, 3. *wie gar iuwer got vergaz* (how utterly God forgot you); Iw. 6254. *got mîn vergaz*; Ecke 209. *got hæte sîn vergezzen*; Trist. 9243. *genædelicher trehtin, wie vergæze dû ie mîn so?* Trist. 12483. For other examples, see Gramm. 4, 175.—God, by regarding, guards: *daz si got iemer schouwe!* Iw. 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 *fráuja* OS. *frôho*, *frô*, AS. *fréa*; which name I shall treat of more fully by and by.—OHG. *truhtîn*, MHG. *trehtîn*, OS. *drohtin*, AS. *dryhten*, ON. *dröttinn*.—OHG. *hêriro*, MHG. *hêrre*, which however, when used of God, is never contracted into *her*, any more than Dominus into the Romance *domnus*, *don*.—Conspicuous above all is the name *Father* (see Suppl.). In the Edda, *alföðr*. (Sæm. 46^b 88^a 154^b. Sn. 3. 11. 17), *herfaðir*, *herja faðir*, *valfaðir* are applied to Oðinn 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* *alwealda*, Beow. 630, and the idea of God as Father became more familiar to the christians than to heathens. The OHG. *altfatar* = grandfather, O. i. 3, 6. AS. *ealdfæder*, Beow. 743. 1883, I have nowhere seen applied to God. As the Greeks coupled together *Zeus πατήρ*, esp. in the voc. *Zeυ 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 *mahte*, *mahmina* = *mater*, *matercula* (Büttner 244. Bergmann 142), on which we shall have more to say hereafter. To all appearance, father Goth. *fadr* is connected with *faps* lord, as *pater πατήρ* is with *ποτις*, *ποσις*, Lith. *pats*.—The AS. *meotod*, *metod*, Cædm. 223, 14. *eald metod*, Beow. 1883. *sôð metod*, Beow. 3222. OS. *metod*, Hel. 4, 13. 15, 17. 66, 19, an expression which likewise appears in the Edda, *miotuðr* Sæm. 226^b 241,^b 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 *maitan* (to cut), the OHG. *mezan* and *meizan*; in the Lat. *metiri* and *metere*, besides there being no shifting of consonant (d for t), the quantity is inverted. The ON. *miotuðr* appears to be also sector, messor; in Snorri 104. 105, the wolf's head with which Heimdall was killed is called 'miotuðr Heimðallar,' and the sword is 'mans miotuðr'; so in Fornald. sog. p. 441, 'manna miotuðr' (see Suppl.). In MHG. too, the poets use mezzan of exquisite symmetry in creating: *do sîn* (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?

riehen fröiden was, dô er ir lîp als *ebene maz*; Misc. 2, 186. er sol ze rehte lange *mezzen*, der an si sô *ebene maz*, daz er an si zer werlte nie nâch vollem wunsche weder des noch des vergaz; MS. 1, 154^b. got der was in fröiden, do er dich als *ebene maz*; MS. 1, 22^b wer kunde in so gemezzen, Tit. 130. 1. anders denne got uns maz, do er ze werke über mich gesaz, Parz. 518, 21. 'ein bilde mezzen' is therefore the same thing as 'ein bilde *schaffen*' to create (Troj. 19805), or *giezen* to cast, mould (Walth. 45, 25. MS. 1, 195^b. 2, 226^b); and in Suchenwirt 24, 154 it says: 'got het *gegozzen* uf ir vel, ir mündel rot und wîz ir kel'; which throws a significant light on the Gothic tribal name *Gáuts*, A.S. *Geát* OHG. *Kôz* (see Suppl.).—A.S. *scippenl*, creator, OHG. *seefo*, *scephio*, MHG. *schepfare*, Wh. 1, 3. NHG. *schöpfer*.—Some of these names can be strung together, or they can be intensified by composition: *drohtin god*, Hel. 2. 13. *waldland fro mîn*, Hel. 148, 14. 153, 8. *fréa dryhten*, Beow. 62. 186. *lîf-fréa*, Cædm. 2, 9. 108, 18. 195, 3. 240, 33. Beow. 4. The earthly cuning with a prefix can be used of God: *wuldoreyning*, king of glory, Cædm. 10, 32. *heaven-cuning*, Hel. 3, 12, 18. 4, 14. 5, 11. and synonymously with these, *rodora weard*, Cædm. 11, 2. or the epic amplification, *irmin-got obana ab hevane*, Hild. *got von himle*, 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 hoho 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. *Guiteel. 2, 139. der über der blauen decke sitzt*, Melander *Jocoseria* 1, 439. *cot almahtico, du himil inti erda gaworahtos* (wroughtest heaven and earth), Wessobr. Geb. *cel senhor, qui lo mon a creat*, Ferabr. 775. *qui tot le mont forma*, Berte 143. *que fezit nueyt e dia*, Ferabr. 3997. *per aycel senhor 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*, Meon 3, 460. *des hant daz mer gesalzen hat*, Parz. 514, 15. *qui fait courre la nue*, Berte

136. 183 (*νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς*). par celui qui fait toner, Ren. 16658. 17780. par qui li soleus raie, Berte 13. 81. der himel und erde gebot und die mergriezen zelt (counts the sea-sands, or pebbles), Mar. 18. der der sterne zal weiz, Wh. 466, 30. der die sterne hat gezalt, Parz. 629, 20. der uns gap des manen (moon's) schîn, Wh. 476, 1. qui fait croitre et les vins et les blez, Ferabr. 163*. der mir ze lebene geriet (planned), Nib. 2091, 4. Kl. 484. der mir ze lebene gebot (bade), Roth. 215. 517. 4552. der uns daz leben gebot, Mar. 24. (M. Dut.) bi den here die mi ghebot (Gramm. 4, 134), die mi ghewrochte, 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 forwardot, Hel. 152, 5. qui sor tos homes puet et vaut, Meon 4, 5. dominus qui omnia potest, Docum. of 1264 in Wenk 3. no. 151. wider den nieman vernac, A. Heinr. 1355. der aller wunder hat gewalt, Parz. 43, 9. der gît unde nimt (gives and takes), Parz. 7 9. der weinen und lachen geschuof, Wh. 258, 19. der beidiu krump unde sleht gescuof (both crooked and plain), Parz. 264, 25. der ane sihet alle getougen (secrets), Diut. 3, 52. der durch elliu herzen siht, Frid. 355. der in diu herze siht, Wh. 30, 29. der ie daz guote geriet (aye the good devised), Greg. 2993. ther suntiloso man (sinless), O. iii. 21, 4. dem nie voller genaden 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 skop ok ollu ræðr, Fornm. sog. 1, 3. sa er ollu ræðr, ibid. 8, 107. er solina hefði skapat, ibid. 1, 242. het a þann sem solina 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 *as*, pl. *ásir* (see Suppl.). ✓ *Landás* (Egilss. pp. 365-6) is patrium numen, and by it Thor, the chief god of the North, is designated, though *ás* and *allmáttki ás* is given to Oðinn (Landn. 4, 7). *ásmegin* is divine power: tha vex

honum âsmegin halfu, Sn. 26. fœraz î âsmegin, Sn. 65. But the name must at one time have been universal, extending over Upper Germany and Saxony, under such forms as: Goth. OHG. *ans*, pl. *anseis*, *ensî*, AS. *ôs*, pl. *ês* (conf. our gans, with ON. gâs, pl. gæss, AS. gôs, pl. gês; and hôse = hansa). It continued to form a part of proper names: Goth. Ansila, OHG. Anso; the OHG. Anshelm, Anshilt, Anspald, Ansnot correspond in sense to Cotahelm, Cotahilt, &c.; AS. Osweald, Oslaf, Osdæg, Osred; ON. Asbiorn,¹ Asdîs, Asgautr, Aslaug, Asmundr, &c.—Now in Ulphilas Lu. 2, 41-2, *ans* denotes a beam, *δοκός*, which is also one meaning of the ON. *as*, 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 *as* is especially used of jugum terræ, mountain-ridge, Dan. bierg-aas (dettias = sliding beam, portcullis, Landn. 3, 17). But here we have some other striking passages and proofs to weigh. An AS. poem couples together ‘*esa gescot*’ and ‘*ylfa gescot*,’ the shots of anuses and of elves, *jaculum divorum et geniorum*, just as the Edda does æsir and alfar, Sæm. 8^b 71^a 82^a 83^b. 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 *asares* or *asi*, may fairly be called to mind, without actually maintaining the affinity of the Etruscan or Tyrrhenian race with the ancient German, striking as is the likeness between *τυρρηνός*, *τυρσηνος* and the ON. þurs, 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. Anspirn; conf. Reinh. fuchs p. cxcv. For Asketil, Oscytel, see end of ch. III.

² Suet. Octavian. cap. 97. futurumque, ut inter deos referretur, quod *asar*, id est reliqua pars e Cæsaris nomine, Etrusca lingua *deus* vocaretur. Hesych. s.v. αἰσοί. θεοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν. Conf. Lanzi 2, 483-4; also Dio Cass. 56, 29.

³ Unfortunately þurs means a giant, and durs a demon, which, if they have anything to do with the *τυρρηνοί*, 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 *dii consentes* or *complices* (see Suppl.), exactly as the Edda uses the expressions *hopt* and *bond*, 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 *δῖος* are referable to *δεω* 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 því 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 *blíð regin*,¹ *holl regin* (kind, merciful gods), *uppregin*, *ginregin* (superæ potestates) have entirely this technical meaning. *Ragnarök* (Goth. *raginè riqvis*? dimness, darkness of gods) signifies the end of the world, the setting of the divine luminaries. Sæm. 89^b has "*rognir ok regin*" coupled together, *rognir* (cf. 196^a) being used to distinguish the individual *ragineis* (*raguneis*?), masc. These ON. *regin* would be Goth. *ragina*, as the *hopt* and *bond* are Gothic *hafta* and *banda*, all neut.—The same heathen conception peeps out in the OS. *regangiscapu*, *reganogiscapu*, 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 *metdogiscapu*, 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 hugðu at æsir væri þar komnir*, Landn. 3, 10. The Vols. saga c. 26 says of Sigurð: 'þat hygg ec at her fari einn af goðunum,' I think that here rides one of the gods. So in Parz. 36, 18: 'aldá wîp und man verjach, si ne gesachen nie helt só wünnelîch, îr gote im solten sîn gelîch' (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 hêrlîchen gut*' (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 altercation with Pascentius, a Gothic or perhaps a Vandal formula *sihora armen*, the meaning of which is simply *κύριε ἐλέησον*.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. Ulfphilas would have said: *fráuja 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 *sigrgoð*, *sigtýr*, *sigföður*; and the Christian poets transfer to God *sigidrohtîn*, Hel. 47, 13. 114, 19. 125,6. *sigidryhten*, Cædm. 33, 21. 48, 20. *sigmetod*, Beow. 3544. *vîgsigor*, Beow. 3108.² elsewhere *sigoradryhten*, *sigorafreá*, *sigorawcaldend*, *sigoragod*, *sigoracýning*. 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 (as, 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 froho (lord) and the father, the behold-ing, creating, measuring, casting, the images of ans, fastening, band,

¹ The Tcheremisses also pray 'juma sirlaga,' and the Tchuvashes 'tora sirlag,' i.e., God have mercy; G. J. Müllers saml. russ. gesch. ?, 359. The Mordvins say when it thunders 'pashangui Porguini jas,' have mercy, god Porguini; Georgi description 1, 64.

² den sig hat got in siner hant, MS. 2,16^a.

³ Gott. anz. 1833, pp. 471-2. Diez however raises doubts, Roman. gram. 1, 41.

and again, 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 *προσκυνεω* the Goth. equivalent is *inveita*, *invait*, *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 *ἀσπάζομαι*, 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: *driusands ana andavleizn (=antlitz), inveitið guð*; 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. *vita* *inclinare*,² which Biörn quotes under *veit*, and spells, erroneously, I

¹ Verehrung, O.H.G. *éra*, Goth. prob. *áiza*. The O.H.G. *érôn* is not merely our *ehren*, to honour, but also *verehren*, *revereri* (as *reverentia* is adoration, *cultus*); A.S. *weorðian*, O.S. *giwerthôn*. All that comes from the gods or concerns them is *holy*, for which the oldest Teutonic word is Goth. *weihs*, O.H.G. *wih*; but only a few of the O.H.G. documents use this word, the rest preferring *heilac*, O.S. has only *hélag*, A.S. *hálig*, O.N. *heilagr*. On the connexion of *wih* with the subst. *wih*, more hereafter. *Frôn* denotes *holy* in the sense of *dominicus*.

² Cleasby-Vigfusson gives no meaning like *inclinare*, either under *vita* 'to fine,' or under *vita* 'to wit.'—TRANS.

think, vita. From it is derived *veita* (Goth. *váitjan* ?); *veita heiðr*, honorem peragere; *veita tíðir*, 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. *pëta* and *pittan*; but from *pëta* is derived a *pëtôn* adorare, construed with acc. of the person whom: O.i. 17, 62. ii. 14, 63. *nidarfallan jôh mih beton*, O. ii. 4, 86-9. 97. iii. 11, 25. T. 46, 2. 60, 1. *petota inan*, Diut. 1, 513^b. But *beton* can also express a spiritual orare, T. 34, 1, 2, 3. *betô-man* cultores, O. II. 14, 68. In MHG. I find *beten* always followed by the prep. *an* (see Suppl.): *bëten an diu abgot*, Barl. 72, 4. *an ein bilde beten*, *ibid.* 98, 15. *so muoz si iemer me nach gote sîn min anebet*, 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. *bëdôn* is not followed by acc., but by prep. *te*: *bëdôn 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 κλινιδιον* a bed, and also of the old *badu*, AS. *beado* = *cædes*, strages.²—The AS. New Test. translates *adorare* by *ge-cáð-medan*, *i.e.*, to humble oneself. The MHG. *flehen*, when it signifies *supplicare*, governs the dat.: *gote flehen*, Aegid. 30. *den goten vlehen*, Parz. 21, 6. Wh. 126, 30. Türl. Wh. 71^a; but in the sense of *demulcere*, *solari*, the acc., Parz. 119, 23. 421, 25. Nib. 499, 8 (see Suppl.).³ It is the Goth. *pláihan*, *fovere*, *consolari*. An OHG. *flehon* *vovere* I only know from N. cap. 8, Bth. 178, and he spells it *flehon*: *ten* (acc. quem) *wir flehoton*. We say ‘*zu gott flehen*,’ but ‘*gott anflehen*’.—The Goth. *áihtrôn προσεύχεσθαι, προσαιτείν* expresses begging rather than asking or praying. The OHG. *diecan*, OS., *thiggian*, is both *precari* and *impetrare*, while AS. *piegan*, ON., *þiggja*, is invariably

¹ Bopp, Comp. gram. p. 128, identifies *inveita* with the Zend *nivaédhayêmi* *invoco*.

² What was the physical meaning of the Slav. *moliti* rogare, *molitise* orare, Boh. *modliti se*, Pol. *modlic się*? The Sloven. *moliti* still means *porrigere*, conf. Lith. *meldziu rogo*, inf. *melsti*, and *malda oratio*. Pruss. *madla*, conf. Goth. *maþljan loqui*, *maþleins loquela*, which is next door to *oratio*.

³ Iw. 3315 *vlêgete got*; but in the oldest MS. *vlehetete 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 *bæn*, Swed. Dan. *bön*, AS. *bén*, gen. *bêne* f., Cædm. 152, 26, in Chaucer *bone*, Engl. *boon*; from it, *béna* supplex, *bénsian* 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 cælumque 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 hnîgan*. 58, 12: *te drohtine hnîgan*. 176, 8: *te bedu fullan*. 145, 3: *gihneg an kniobeda*. In the *Sôlarlióð* is the remarkable expression: *henni ee laut*, to her (the sun) I bowed, Sæm. 126^a; from *lûta* *inclinare*. *falla a kne ok luta*, Vilc. saga cap. 6. *nu strauk kongsdóttir sinn legg, ok mælti, ok sér i loptið upp*, (stroked her leg, and spoke, and looks up to the sky), Vilc. saga cap. 61. So the saga of St. Olaf tells how the men bowed before the statue of Thor, *lutu því skrimslu*, Fornm. sog. 4, 247. *fell til iardar fyrir likneski* (fell to earth before the likeness). Fornm. sog. 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 nîgen, Iw. 5837. dem wege nîgen, Parz. 375, 26. dem lande nîgen, Trist. 11532. nîgen in daz lant, Wigal. 4018. nîgen in elliu lant, Iw. 7755. in die werlt nîgen, Fræund. 163, 10. den stigen und wegen segent tuon, Iw. 357 (see Suppl.).

God, but to all whom one wished to honour: neig im ûf den fuoz, Morolt 41^b. hie viel sie uf sînen vuoz, Iw. 8130. ouch nîge ich ir unz uf den fuoz, MS. 1, 155^a. valle für si (fall before her), und nige uf ir fuoz, MS. 1, 54^a. buten sich (bowed) weinende ûf sînen vuoz, Greg. 355. neig im nider uf die hant, Dietr. 55^b. These passages show that people fell before the feet, and at the feet, of him who was to be revered: wilt fallan te mînun fotun, bedos te mînun barma, Hel. 33, 7. sich bot ze tal (bowed to the ground) gein sînen fûezen nieder, Wh. 463, 2.¹ An O. Boh. song has: 'sie *klanieti* bohu,' to bow before God, Koniginh. hs. 72; but the same has also the un-Teutonic 'se *biti w celo* prede bohy,' to beat one's brow before God.² 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 *pile-ati* is thus accounted for by Jornandes, *quia opertis capitibus tiaris* 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 Gow registrum superstitionum (of 1415) it is said: *Insuper hodie inveniuntur homines, qui cum novilunium primo viderint flexis genibus adorant vel deposito caputio vel pileo, inclinato capite honorant alloquendo et suscipiendo.*³ An AS. legend of Cuðberht relates how that saint was wont to go down to the sea at

¹ Fial *in sine* fuazi, O. III. 10, 27. *an sine* fûeze, Karl 14^b. The Christians in the Mid. Ages called it *venie fullen*, Parz. 460, 10. Karl 104^a. Berth. 173. Ksrchr. 2958. 3055. Kneeling and kissing the ground, to obtain absolution: da er uf sîner venie lac (lay), Barl. 366, 21. den arger maz mit der langen venie, Frib. Trist. 2095. venien suochen, MS. 1, 23^b. Morolt. 28^a. Troj. 9300. *terrae osculationibus, quas venias* appellant, Pez. bibl. ascet. 8, 440. gie ze kirchen und banekte (prostrated?) ze gote sîniu glider mit venien und gebet, Cod. kolocz. 180.

² The *tchelo-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 pileo* alloquitur seniozem, Dietm. Merseb. p. 824 (an. 1012). *sublata cydare* surgens inclinatur honeste, Ruodlieb 2, 93. Odofredus in I. secundo loco digest. de postulando: Or signori, hic colligimus argumentum, quod aliquis quando veniet coram magistratu debet ei revereri, quod est contra Ferrarienses, qui, si essent *coram Deo*, non *extraherent* sibi *capellum* vel *birretum de capite*, nec flexis genibus postularent. *Pilleus in capite* est, Isengrimus 1139. *oster la chape* (in saluting), Méon 4, 261. *gelüpfet* den huot, Ms H. 3, 330. sînen huot er abenam, hiemit êret er in alsô, Wigal. 1436. er zôch durch sîn hübscheit den huot gezogenlichen abe, Troj. 1775. do stuont er uf 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 zertânen armen,’ prayed with outspread arms. The Old Bavarian stapfsaken (denial of indebtedness) was accompanied by elevation of the hands, RA. 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: so *miz* (measure) den *ubir dîn herza* in modum crucis, unde *von dem brustleffile zuo demo nabile*, unde *miz denne von eime rippe unz an daz andire*, unde *sprich alsus*. Again: *sô miz denne die rehtun hant von deme lengistin vingire unz an daz resti* (wrist), unde *miz denne von deme dumin zuo deme minnisten vingire*. One prayer was called ‘der vane (flag) des almehtigin gotis’; nine women are to read it nine Sundays, ‘so 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 chnie,’ 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 *ariliudôn ev̄charistēiv*; it is formed from *ariliud* χάρις, 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

gnuoc, ein *schapel* daz er ûf truoc von gimmen und von golde fin, daz *nam* er ab dem houbte sin, Troj. 18635. er *zucket* im sin *keppali*, Ls. 3, 35. er was gereit, daz er von dem houbt den *huot* liez vliegen und sprach, Kolocz. 101. Festus explains: *lucem facere dicuntur Saturno sacrificantes, id est capita detegere*; again: *Saturno fit sacrificium capite aperto*; conf. Macrob. Sat. 1, 8. Serv. in Virg. 3, 407.

¹ Wæs gewunod þæt he wolde gan on niht to sæ, and standan on þam sealtum brimne, oð his swuran, singende his gebedu, and siððan his eneowu on þam ceosle gebygde, astrehtum handbredum to heofenlicum 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: bið ec Ottari öll goð *dugá* (I Ot. pray all, &c.), Sæm. 120^b. biðja þa dísir *duga*, Sæm. 195^a. *Duga* means to help, conf. Gramm. 4, 687. There is beauty in the ON. prayer: biðjom herjafoðr *í hugom síja* (rogemus deum in animis sedere nostris), Sæm. 113^a, just as Christians pray the Holy Ghost to descend: *in herzen unsen 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 biðja til ens helga Krists árs 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: *éastweard* ic stande; and in Troj. 9298. 9642: keret iuch *gen orient*. The heathens, on the contrary, in praying and sacrificing, looked *Northwards*: horfa (turn) *í norðr*, Fornm. sög. 11, 134. leit (looked) *í norðr*, Sæm. 94^a. beten gegen *mitternacht*, Keisersperg omeiss 49^b. 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.¹

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
 sîn genade niht versagen. Wigal. 4458.
 die juncvrouwen baten alle got,
 nu ist er so gnædec unt so guot
 unt so reine genuot,
 daz er niemer kunde
 so manegem süezen munde
 betelichiu dinc versagen. Iw. 5351.

¹ At the abrenuntiatio one had to face the sunset, with wrinkled brow (*fronte 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. § 13.14. Conf. Joh. Olavii synt. de baptismo, pp. 64-5.

in (to the nuns) wâren de mûnde sô royt,
 so wes si god baden,
 of syt mit vlize daden,
 he id in nummer inkunde
 dem rosenroten munde
 bedelicher dinge versagen.

Ged. von der vrouwen sperwere, Cod. berol. 184, 54^a. Hence:
helfen singen, MS. 1, 57^a. 2, 42^b. Conf. cento nouvelle 61.¹

SACRIFICE.—The word *opfer*, a sacrifice, was introduced into German by christianity, being derived from the Lat. *offero*. *offerre*.² The AS. very properly has only the verb *offrian* and its derivative *offrung* (oblatio). In OHG., from *opfarôn*, *opforôn* there proceeded also a subst. *opfar*, MHG. *ophern* and *opher*;³ and from Germany the expression seems to have spread to neighbouring nations, ON. *offr*, Swed. Dan. *offer*, Lith. *appiera*, Lett. *uppuris*, Esth. *ohwer*, Fin. *uhri*, Boh. *ofěra*, Pol. *ofara*, Sloven. *ofer*. Everywhere the original heathen terms disappeared (see Suppl.).

The oldest term, and one universally spread, for the notion 'to worship (God) by sacrifice,' was *blotan* (we do not know if the Goth. pret. was *báiblot* or *blotaida*); I incline to attach to it the full sense of the Gk. *θυειν*⁴ (see Suppl.). Ulphilas saw as yet no objection to translating by it *σέβειν* and *λατρευειν*, Mk. 7, 7.

¹ Mock-piety, hypocrisy, was branded in the Mid. Ages likewise, by strong phraseology: er wil *gote die füeze abezzen* (eat the feet off), Ls. 3, 421. Fragm. 28^a. 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, Hofer 2, 48. herrgottfislser (füszler), Schmid 1, 93. heiligenfresserin, 10 ehen, p. 62. So the Ital. *mangiaparadiso*, Fr. *mangeur de crucefix*, Boh. Pol. *liciobrazek* (licker of saints). A sham saint is indifferently termed *kapeltrete*, *tempeltrete*, *tempelrinne*, Mones schausp. p. 123. 137 (see Suppl.).

² Not from *operari*, which in that sense was unknown to the church, the Romance languages likewise using It. *offerire*, Sp. *ofrecer*, Fr. *offrir*, never *operare*, *obrar*, *ouvrer*; the same technical sense adheres to *offerta*, *ofrenda*, *offrande*. From *oblata* come the Sp. *oblea*, Fr. *oublie*, and perhaps the MHG. *oblei*, unless it is from *eulogia*, *obligia*. From *offre* and *offerta* are formed the Wel. *offryd*, Ir. *oifrion*, *aifrion*, *offrail*. Lastly, the derivation from *ferre*, *offerre*, is confirmed by the German phrase 'ein opfer bringen, darbringen.'

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

⁴ When Sozomen hist. eccl. 6, 37 in a narrative of Athanaric uses *προσκυειν και θυειν*, the Gothic would be *inveitan jah blótan*.

Lu. 2, 37; he construes it with an acc. of the person: *blôtan fraujan* is to him simply *Deum colere*, with apparently no thought of a bloody sacrifice. For *λατρεία* Rom. 12, 1, he puts *blotinassus*, and for *θεοσεβής* John 9, 31 *guðblotrreis*. The latter presupposes a subst. *blostr* (*cultus, oblatio*), of which the S is explained in Gramm. 2, 208. *Usblôteins* (*παράκλησις*) 2 Cor. 8, 4 implies a verb *usblótjan* to implore. Cædmon uses the AS. *blôtan* pret. *blêot*, *onblôtan* pret. *onblêot*, of the Jewish sacrifice, and follows them up with acc. of thing and dat. of person: *blôtan sunu* (*filium sacrificare*) 173, 5. *onbleot þæt lac Gode* (*obtulit hostiam Deo*) 177, 21. In Ælfred's Orosius we have the same *blotan* pret. *blotte*. I derive from it *bletsian*, later *blessian*, to bless. The OHG. *pluozan*, pret. *pliez* and *pluoza*, appears only in glosses, and renders *libare, litare, victimare, immolare*, Gl. Hrab. 959^a 960^a 966^b 968^b. Diut. 1, 245, 258^a. No case-construction is found, but an acc. of the thing may be inferred from partic. *kaplozaniu immolata*. A subst. *pluostrar* *sacrificium, bluostar*, Is. 382. Gl. emm. 411. Gl. jun. 209. T. 56, 4. 95, 102¹; *pluostrarhâs* *idolium*, Gl. emm. 402. *ploaazhâs* *fanum, pluostrari* *sacrificator*, *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 *blota*, pret. *blet* and *blotaði*, takes, like the Gothic, an acc. of the object worshipped; thus, Gragas 2, 170, in the formula of the trygdamâl: *sva viða sem* (as widely as) *kristnir menn kirkior sækia, heiðnir menn hof blota* (*fana colunt*); and in the Edda: Thor *blota*, mik *blota*, *blotaði* Óðin. Sæm. 111^a, 113^b, 141^a, 165^a:- 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 *blothe* *immolare, blodhmadh*

¹ The Gl. Hrab. 954^a: *bacha, plóstar*, is incomplete; in Gl. Ker. 45. Diut. 1, 166^a it stands: *bacha sacrificat, ploustar ploazit, or zepar plozit*; so that it is meant to translate only the Lat. verb, not the subst. *bacha* (*βακχη*). Or perhaps a better reading is 'bachat' for *bacchatur*, and the meaning is 'non sacrificat'.

² Landn. 1, 2: *blotaði hrafna þria*, worshipped three ravens, who were going to show him the road; so, in Sæm. 141^a, a bird demands that cows be sacrificed to him; the victim itself is ON. *blot*, and we are told occasionally: *feck at bloti, ak bloti miklu*, offered a sacrifice, a great sacrifice, Landn. 2, 29.

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 *blotæ*, with dat. of person, implying an acc. of the thing.—The true derivation of the word I do not know.¹ At all events it is not to be looked for in bloð 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 (Schamaitis, Samogits):

ir *bluotekirl* der warf zuo hant
sin loz nach 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 *bluotkirl* is merely the O.Swed. *blotkarl*, heathen priest; the term is foreign to the Lithuanian language.²

A few more of these general terms for sacrifice must be added (see Suppl.).—OHG. *antheiz* (hostia, vietima), Diut. 1, 240^a. 246, 258. 278^b; and as verbs, both *antheizon* and *inheizan* (immolare), Diut. 1, 246. 258.—OHG. *insaken* (litare), Gl. Hrab. 968^b, *insaket* pim (delibor), *ibid.* 959^a 960^a, to which add the Bavarian *stapfsaken*, RA. 927; just so the AS. *onsecgan*, Cod. exon. 171, 32. 257, 23. *onsecgan* tō tibre (devote as sacrifice), Cædm. 172, 30. *tiber onsægde*, 90, 29. 108, 17. *tifer onseege*, Ps. 65, 12. *lâc onseege* Cod. exon. 254, 19. 257, 29; *lâc onsægde*, Cædm. 107, 21. 113, 15. Cod. exon. 168, 28. *gild onsægde*, Cædm. 172, 11. and *onsægdnes* (oblatio).—As *inheizan* and *onsecgan* are formed with the prefix *and-*, so is apparently the OHG. *ineihan* pim (delibor), Hrab. 960^a, which would yield a Goth. *andáikan*; it is

¹ Letter for letter it agrees with *φλοιδώω* I light up, burn, which is also expressed in *θύω* and the Lat. *suffio*; but, if the idea of burnt-offering was originally contained in *blotan*, 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 *blotgraben*, *blotgarten* 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. *ineihhan*, which I think Graff 1, 128 has misread *ireihan*, that a later *neihhan* immolare, libare Graff (2, 1015) seems to have risen by aphæresis (Gramm. 2, 810), as *neben* from *ineben*; conf. *eichon* (dicare, vindicare), Graff 1, 127. To this place also belongs the OHG. *pifelahan* (libare, immolare), 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 *antheiz* is elsewhere simply a vow, votum, solemn promise, *intheizan* vovere; hence also the AS. *onsecgan* has determinative substantives added to it.

In the same sense *biudan* (offerre) seems to have been in use very early, AS. lac *bebeodan*, Cædm. 173, 9. ON. *bodn* (oblatio). From this *biudan* I derive *biuds* (mensa), ON. *bioðr* (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 *λατρευειν*, Lu. 4, 8 (see Suppl.).—In Mk. 1, 44. Lu. 5, 14 *atbairan* adferre, *προσφέρειν*, is used of sacrifice; and in AS. the subst. *bring* by itself means oblatio; so Wolfram in Parz. 45, 1 says: *si brahten opfer vil ir goten*, and Fundgr. II. 25: *ein lam zopphere 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 *θυμιᾶν* and *θυειν*, 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. *piugangan* (obire) is occasionally applied to worship: *piuganc* (ritus), Diut. 1, 272^a. *afgoda begangan*, Lacomblet 1, 11.—*Gildan, keltan*, 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) *geld*, Hel. 3, 11. 6, 1. that *geld* lestian, Hel. 16, 5. AS. *brynegield*, holocaustum, Cædm. 175, 6, 177, 18. *gild* onsecgan, 172, 11. Abel’s offering is a *gield*, 60, 5. *deofolgield*, idololatria, Beda 3, 30. Cod.

¹ So the O. Boh. *obiecti 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. heidankëlt sacrilegium: gote ir *gelt* bringent, Warn. 2906. offer-uncghëlstar, sacrificium, Is. 395. dhiu blôstar iro *ghëlstro*, Is. 382.—Peculiar to the AS. dialect is the general term *lác*, neut., often rendered more definite by verbs containing the notion of sacrifice: onbléot þæt *luc* gode, Cædm. 177, 26. dryhtne *lác* brohton, 60, 2. *lác* bebeodan, 173, 9. *lác* ousægde, 107, 21. 113, 15. ongan *lác*, 90, 19 (see Suppl.). The word seems to be of the same root as the Goth. masc. laiks (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 ἀπαρχῆ, the offering of firstfruits at a sacrifice, delibatio, by *ufarskafts*, 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 create into that of facere, immolare.—The Goth. *vitod* is lex, the OHG. *wizot* (Graff 1, 1112. Fundgr. 1, 398^b) both lex and eucharistia, the Fris. *vitat* invariably the latter alone; just as zakon 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 λατρείαν 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. *huscl*, Engl. *houscl*, allows of being applied to a Christian sacrament, and denotes the eucharist, *húselgong* the partaking of it, *húselfæt* the sacred vessel of sacrifice; conf. Cædm. 260, 5 *husclfatu* halegu for the sacred vessels of Jerusalem. Likewise the ON. *húsl* 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. *prilóg* offering, what is laid before, *prilozhiti* to offer; Sloven. *dar*, *darina*, *daritva* = δῶρον. [Russ. *darü sviatüye* = δῶρα ἁγία means the eucharist.] The Sloven *aldov*, bloodless offering, seems not to be Slavic, it resembles Hung. *aldozat*. Θυσία is rendered in O. Slav. by *zhrtva* (Kopitar's Glagol. 72^e), in Russ. by *zhertva* [fr. *zhariti* to roast, burn? or *zhrati* devour, *zhera* glutton?].

renders *θυσία* by *sáuðs*, pl. *sáudeis*, 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 *siuðan* to seethe, and the ON. has *sauðr* a ram, probably because its flesh is boiled.¹ In Eph. 5, 2 we have ‘*hunsl jah sáuð*’ side by side, for *προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν*, and in Skeir. 37, 8 *gasaljands sik hunsl jah sauð*.—The OHG. *zepar* is also a sacrifice in the sense of *hostia*, *victima*, Hymn. 10, 2. 12, 2. 21, 5. Gl. Hrab. 965^b. Diut. 240^a 272^a (see Suppl.). We could match it with a Goth. *tibr*, if we might venture on such an emendation of the unique *áibr δωρον*, 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 Ælfr. gl. 62^b we find *wintifer*, *libatio*. But this might be a later confusion; or our *ungeziefer* may have extended to weeds, and consequently *zepar* itself would include anything fit for sacrifice in plants and trees.³ Meanwhile there is also to be considered the ON. *tafn*, *victima* and *esca ferarum*.—Lastly, I will mention a term peculiar to the ON. language, and certainly heathen: *forn*, fem. *victima*, *hostia*, *fórna*, *inmolare*, or instead of it *fornfœra*, conf. Fornm. sog. 1, 97 2, 76. this *forna* at the same time, according to Biorn, meaning *elevare*, *tollere*. AS. *forn* *porcus*, *porcaster* (?).

¹ Rom. 12, 1. ‘present your bodies a *living sáuð*’ was scarcely a happy combination, if *sáuðs* conveyed the notion of something boiled! Can nothing be made of *sóðjan* *satiare* soothe (Milton’s ‘the soothest shepherd’ = sweetest, Goth. *sutista*)? Grimm’s law of change in mutes has many exceptions: *pater* father *fæder* 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.

² Titur. 5198, *ungezibere* stands for monster; but what can *ungezibele* mean in Lanz. 5028 *vor grözem ungezibele? nibeles?*

³ Cædm. 9, 2: *þa seo tid gewat 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 *gewat*; so in Judith anal. 140, 5: *gewiton on fleam sceacan*, began to flee; and still more freq. *gewiton gangan*.

If the *ô* did not hinder, we could identify it with the adj. *forn* vetus, *forn* sorcerer, *fornaskia* sorcery, and the OHG. *furnic* antiquus, priscus, canus (Graff 3, 628); and in particular, use the same glosses for the illustration of *baccha pluostar*. *Forn* 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 *zepar* and *zoupar* (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 *taujan* 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.¹ 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*.² When a meal was eaten, a head of

¹ The Skr. *kratu* sacrifice, or accord. to Benfey 2, 307 process, comes from *kri* facere, and in Latin, *facere* (agnis, vitula, Virg. ecl. 3, 77) and *operari* were used of the sacred act of sacrifice; so in Grk, *πέζειν* = *ἔρδειν*, Βαστ. *πέδδειν* of offering the hecatomb, and *ἔρδειν* is *εργεῖν*, our *wirken*, *work*, *ἐπιπέζειν* Od. 17, 211. *θύειν*, *πέζειν*, *δραῖν*, Athenæus 5, 403, as *δραῖν* for *θυεῖν*, so *δραῖσις* = *θυσία*. The Catholic priest also uses *conficere*, *perficere* for consecrare (Cæsar. heisterbac. 9, 27); compare the 'aliquid plus novi facere' in Burcard of Worms 10, 16 and p. 193c. The Lat. *agere* signified the slaughtering of the victim.

² *Sühn-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.¹ In the *Ynglinga saga* cap. 8 they are specified thus : þa skyldi blota î moti vetri (towards winter) til ars, enn at miðjum vetri blota til groðrar, it þriðja at sumri, þat var sigrblot (for victory). In the *Olafs helga saga* cap. 104 (Fornm. sog. 4, 237) . en þat er siðr þeirra (it is their custom) at hafa blot a haustum (autumn) ok fagna þa vetri, annat blot 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 ars (pro annonae ubertate) ; the Mid-winter sacrifice til groðrar (pro feracitate) ; the Summer one to welcome the summer, and til sigrs (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 blot held at Upsal every winter included sacrifices 'til ars ok friðar ok sigrs,' Fornm. sog. 4, 154. The formula sometimes runs 'til arbotar' (year's increase), or 'til friðar ok vetrarfars goðs (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 oc lengi eptir siþan troþu menn a hult oc a hauga, vi ok staf-garþa, oc a haiþin guþ blotapu þair *synum* oc *dydrum* sinum, oc *fleþi* miþ *mati* oc *mundgati*, þat gierþu þair eptir vantro sinni. Land alt hafþi sir *hoystu blótan* miþ *fulki*, ellar hafþi huer þriþiungr sir. En smeri þing hafþu *mindri blótan* med, *fleþi* mati oc mungati, sum haita *subnautar*: þi et þair *subu* 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 stills bears the name of the *gemeinwoche* or common week (see ch. XIII, Zisa), Würdtwein dipl. magunt. 1 praef. III-V. Scheffers Haltaus p. 142. conf. Hofers ostr. 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: 'blôta til lánglifi,' Landn. 3, 4; or for favour (thockasaeld) with the people: 'Grímr, er blotinn var dauðr (sacrificed when dead) für thokkasæld, 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* comere, Diut. 2, 207^a. 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 custom¹; the following evidences place it beyond a doubt for Germany (see Suppl.). Tac. Germ. 9: Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus *humanis* quoque *hostiis* litare fas habent. Germ. 39: stato tempore in silvam coeunt, *cæsoque publice* (in the people's name) *homine* celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. Tac. Ann. 1, 61: lucis propinquis barbarae arae, apud quas *tribunos* ac primorum ordinum *centuriones* mactaverant. 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 *occidioni* dantur. Isidori chron. Goth., aera 446: quorum (regum Gothi-corum) 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 *captorum*, opinantes bellorum praesulem aptius *humani sanguinis* effusione placandum.² Orosius 7, 37 of Radagaisus, whom he calls a Scythian, but makes him lead Goths to Italy: qui (ut mos est barbaris hujusmodi generis) *sanguinem diis suis propinare* devoverat.³

¹ Lasaulx die silhnopfer der Griechen u. Römer, Würzburg 1841. pp. 8—13.

² Conf. Cæs. 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: θεὸν μὲν γὰρ εἶνα τον τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν ἀπάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερέια ἅπαντα. . . . ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἤδη ὁ θάνατος εἶη, ἢ νόσῳ ἀλοῦσι ἢ ἐς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις, ἐπαγγέλλονται μὲν, ἢν διαφύγῳσι, θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτίκα ποιήσῳιν, διαφυγόντες δὲ θύουσιν ὅπερ ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ οἴονται τὴν σωτηρίαν ταύτης δὴ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐωνῆσθαι.

³ Of him Augustine says, in sermo 105, cap. 10: Rhadagaysus rex Gothorum . . . Romae . . . *Jovi sacrificabat* quotidie, nuntiabaturque ubique, quod a sacrificiis non desisteret.

Procopius de bello Goth. 2, 15 of the Thulites, *i.e.* Scandinavians : *θύουσι δὲ ἐνδελεχέστατα ἱερεῖα πάντα καὶ ἐναγίζουσι. τῶν δὲ ἱερείων σφίσι τὸ κάλλιστον ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, ὄνπερ ἄν δοριάλωτον ποιήσαιντο πρῶτον. τοῦτον γὰρ τῶ "Αρει θύουσιν, ἐπεὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσι μέγιστον εἶναι.* Ibid. 2, 14, of the Heruli : *πολυν τινα νομίζοντες θεων ομιλον, οὗς δη καὶ ἀνθρώπων θυσίαις ἰλάσκεσθαι ὅσιον αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει εἶναι.* Ibid. 2, 25, of the already converted Franks at their passage of the Po : *ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς γεφύρας οἱ Φράγγοι, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν Γότθων, οὗσπερ ἐνταῦθα εὖρον ἰέρειον τε καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀκροθίνια τοῦ πολέμου ἐρρίπτουν. οἱ βάρβαροι γὰρ οὗτοι, Χριστιανοὶ γεγονότες, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης φυλάσσουσι, θυσίαις τε χρώμενοι ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄλλα οὐχ ὅσια ἱερεύοντες, ταύτῃ τε τὰς μαντείας ποιούμενοι.* Sidonius Apollinaris 8, 6 of the Saxons : *mos est remeaturis decimum quemque captorum per aequales et cruciarias poenas, plus ob hoc tristi quod superstitioso ritu 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 fanum effregerit . . . immolatur diis, quorum templa 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. 25 (ed. Würdtw.) : *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 *pecudis more* litatus (ch. XIII, the goddess Zisa).¹ For evidences of human sacrifice among the Norse, see Müller's sagabibl. 2, 560. 3, 93. As a rule, the victims were captive enemies, purchased slaves or great criminals ; the sacrifice of women and children by the Franks on crossing a river reminds of the Greek *διαβατηρια* ; - the first fruits of war, the first prisoner

¹ Adam of Bremen de situ Daniae cap. 24, of the Lithuanians : *dracones adorant cum volueribus, 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 Seythiam properant, et quantoscunque prius in ingressu Scytharum habuere, litavere Victoriæ.*

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 imoletur'. 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* Domaldi; *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 sacrifices 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 capti 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.¹ 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 Bonifacii 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-slâtr*) and the eating of horseflesh; conf. Nialss. cap. 106. The Christian Northmen reviled the Swedes as *hross-æturnar*; Fornm. sog. 2, 309. Fagrsk. p. 63. King Hakon, whom his subjects suspected of Christianity, was called upon 'at hann skyldi eta *hrossaslâtr*;' Saga Hak. gôða cap. 18. From Tac. ann. 13, 57 we learn that the Hermunduri 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: *ἰππους τε καὶ βόας, καὶ ἄλλα ἅπαντα μυρία καρατομοῦντες* (beheading), *ἐπιθειάζουσι*, 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 abscissum caput*' meets us in Saxo gram. p. 75; in the North they fixed it on the neidstange (*nîðstöng*, stake of envy) which gave the power to bewitch an enemy, Egilss. p. 389. In a Hessian kindermarchen (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 . inprimis de volatilibus, id est graculis et corniculis atque ciconiis, quae omnino cavendae sunt ab esu christianorum. etiam et fibri et lepores et *equi silvatici* multo amplius vitandi. Again, Hieronymus adv. Jov. lib. 2 (ed. basil. 1553. 2, 75) · Sarmatae, Quadi, Vandali et innumerabiles aliae gentes *equorum* et vulpinum carnibus delectantur. Otto frising. 6, 10 . audiat, quod Pecenati (the wild Peschenære, Nib. 1280, 2) et hi qui Falones vocantur (the Valwen, Nib. 1279, 2. Tit. 4097), crudis et immundis carnibus, utpote *equinis* et *catinis* usque hodie vescuntur. Rol. 98, 20 of the heathen: sie *ezzent* 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 ârbôtar (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 framleidd *hross* eitt a þingit, ok hoggvit í sundr, ok *skipt til áts*, en riðuðu blôðinu *blôttré*; köstuðu þâ allir Svíar kristni ok hôfust blôt; then was led forward a horse into the Thing, and hewed in sunder, and divided for eating, and they reddened with the blood the blot-tree, &c. Fornald. sog. 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 Selon² dicitur, ubi post *novem* annos mense Januario, post hoc tempus quo nos theophaniam domini celebramus, omnes convenerunt, et ibi diis suismet 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 execrando 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 Brunichild to take precautions with her Franks, 'ut de animalium *capitibus* sacrificia sacrilega non exhibeant.'

² Selon for Sêlond, ON. Sælundr, afterwards Sioland, Seeland, *i.e.*, Zealand. Léderûn, the Sax. dat. of Lédéra, ON. Hleiðra, afterwards Léthra, Leire; conf. Goth. hleiþra tabernaculum.

at funerals¹ 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 *eisdem* 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.² 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.³

Sacrifice of *Oxen* (see Suppl.). The passage from Agathias (*ἵππους τε καὶ βόας*) proves the Alamannic custom, and that from the Olafssaga (*naut ok hross*) the Norse. A letter to Saint Boniface (Epist. 82, Würdtw.) speaks of ungodly priests 'qui *tauros et hircos diis paganorum immolabant.*' And one from Gregory the Great ad Mellitum (Epist. 10, 76 and in Beda's hist. eccl. 1, 30) affirms of the Angles: *boves solent in sacrificio daemonum multos occidere.*

¹ With Sigurðr *servants* and *hawks* are burnt, Sæm. 225^b; elsewhere *horses* and *dogs* as well, conf. RA. 344. Asvitus, morbo consumptus, cum *canem et equo terreno* mandatur antro; Saxo gram. p. 91, who misinterprets, as though the dead man fed upon them: nec contentus equi vel canis 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; Bockh corp. inscr. I, 807. 809. In a Mod. Greek poem Γαδαρου, λυκου και αλωποῦς διηγησις vv. 429-434, a similar offering seems to be spoken of; and Hagek's bohm. chrou. 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. Suplit, a free peasant on the Samland coast (Samogitia or Semigalia), sacrificed a *black bull* with strange ceremonies.¹ I will add a few examples from the Norse. During a famine in Sweden under king Domaldi: þa eflðo (instituted) Svíar blot stor at Uppsolum, it fyrsta haust (autumn) blotuðu þeir *yxnum*; and the oxen proving insufficient, they gradually went up to higher and higher kinds; Yngl. saga, c. 18. þa gekk hann til hofs (temple) Freyss, ok leiddi þagat *uxan gamlan* (an old ox), ok mælti sva: ‘Freyr, nu gef ek þer uxa þenna’; en uxanum bra sva 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. sog. 2, 348. conf. Vigaglumssaga, cap. 9. At a formal duel the victor slew a *bull* with the same weapons that had vanquished his foe: þa var leiddr fram *gráðungr mikill* ok *gamall*, var þat kallat *blótneut*, þat skyldi sâ 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), Egilss. p. 506. conf. Kormaks-saga p. 214-8.—Sacrifice of *Cows*, Sæm. 141. Fornm. sog. 2, 138.—The Greek *εκατομβη* (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 *friscing*, 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,¹ but it now lives only in the sense of porcellus (frischling). 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. osterfriscing, 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 friscing the idea of porcellus was predominant.—In the North, the expiatory boar, *sónargoltr*, 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,² 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 Threc-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.³ So among the Welsh, the swine offered to the gods

¹ Ducange sub v. Eccard Fr. or. 2, 677. Dorows denkm. I. 2, 55. Lacomblet 1, 327. Graff 3, 833. Schmeller wtb. 1, 619.

² Gutgesells beitr. zur gesch. des deutschen alterthums, Meiningen 1834, p. 138.

³ This passage from the Lauterb. ordin. 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 tallies with the seven and a half fixed by the Lauterb. ordin., 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 Straszburg, his day falls on August 29 or 30 (Conr. v. Dankr. namenb. 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 'swîn ealgylden, cofor írenheard' 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 Demeter (Ceres), who as Nerthus stands very near to Niorðr, Freyr and Freyja.

Rams, Goats (see Suppl.).—As friscing came to mean victima, so conversely a name for animal sacrifice, Goth. *sáuðs*, seems to have given rise to the ON. name for the animal itself, *sauðr* = wether. This species of sacrifice was therefore not rare, though it is seldom expressly mentioned, probably as being of small value. Only the saga *Hakonar goða* cap. 16 informs us : þar var oc drepinn (killed) allskonar *smali*, ok sva hross. *Smali* (μῆλα) 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 caprae, hoc ei, per circuitum currentes, carmine nefando 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 *zbrka* 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 *blótmoned*. The common man at his yearly slaughtering gets up a feast, and sends meat and sausages to his neighbours (conf. *mauchli*, 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* (ch. 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 uncatable 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 Sveoniae 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 masculinum 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 divinae 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 libatoris fieri solent, multiplices 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 (R.A. 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.¹ Anyhow, in heathen times *male animals* seem to be in special demand for sacrifice.² As for killing one of every species (and even Agathias's *καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα 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);³ 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 friscing of sacrifice was probably of a spotless white; and in later law-records *snow-white* pigs are pronounced inviolable.⁴ The Votiaks sacrificed a *red* stallion, the Tcheremisses a *white*. When under the old German law *dun* or *pie'd* cattle were often required in payment of fines and tithes, this might have some connexion with sacrifices⁵; 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 ewe* 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.

⁴ R.A. 261. 594. Weisth. 3, 41. 46. 69. conf. Virg. Aen. 8, 82: *candida cum foetu concolor albo sus*; and the Umbrian: *trif apruf rufru ute peiu* (tres apros rubros aut piceos), Aufrecht und Kirchh. umbr. sprachd. 2, 278-9.

⁵ R.A. 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^a; 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.¹ 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 death² (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.³ 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*, *blotbollar*) do not seem to have been large; some nations had big cauldrons made for the purpose (see Suppl.). The Swedes were taunted by Olafr Tryggvason with sitting at home and licking their sacrificial pots, ‘at sitja heima ok sleikja *blotbolla* sína,’ Fornm. sög. 2, 309. A cauldron of the Cimbri is noticed in Strabo 7, 2: ἔθος δέ τι τῶν Κίμβρων διηγοῦνται τοιοῦτον, ὅτι ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν συστρατεουσῆσαι παρηκολούθουν προμάντεις ἱερεῖαι πολιότριχες, λευχείμονες, καρπασίνας ἐφαπτίδας ἐπιπεπορ-

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

σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἦνιν, εὐρυμέτωπον,
ἀδμήτην, ἣν οὐπω ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνὴρ·
τὴν τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω, χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας.

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

³ Saga Hakonar góða, cap. 16. Eyrb. saga p. 10. rauð horgin, reddened the (stone) altar, Fornald. sög. 1, 413. stalla lata rioða bloði, 1, 454. 527. Sæm. 114^b rioðuðu bloðinu blóttre, Fornald. sög. 1, 512. the Grk αἶμα τῷ βωμῷ περιχεῖν. conf. Exod. 24, 8.

πημέναι, ζῶσμα χαλκοῦν ἔχουσαι, γυμνόποδες· τοῖς οὖν αἰχμαλώτοις διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου συνήντων ξιφήρεις· καταστέψασαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἦγον ἐπὶ κρατῆρα χαλκοῦν, ὅσον ἀμφορέων εἴκοσι· εἶχον δὲ ἀναβάθραν, ἣν ἀναβάσα (ἢ μάντις) ὑπερπετῆς τοῦ λέβητος ἐλαιμοτόμει ἕκαστον μετεωρισθέντα· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ προχεομένου αἵματος εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα, μαντεῖαν τινὰ ἐποιοῦντο.¹ Another cauldron of the Suevi, in the Life of St. Columban: Sunt etenim inibi vicinae nationes Suevorum; quo cum moraretur, et inter habitatores illius loci progredere, reperit eos sacrificium profanum *litare* velle, vasque magnum, quod vulgo *cupram* vocant, quod viginti et sex modios amplius minusve capiebat, *cerevisia plenum* in medio habebant positum. Ad quod vir Dei accessit et sciscitatur, quid de illo fieri vellent? Illi aiunt: deo suo Wodano, quem Mercurium vocant alii, se velle *litare*. Jonas Bobbiensis, vita Columb. (from the first half of the 7th cent. Mabillon ann. Bened. 2, 26). Here we are expressly told that the cauldron was filled with ale, and not that the blood of a victim was mixed with it; unless the narrative is incomplete, it may have meant only a drink-offering.

Usually the cauldron served to cook, *i.e.* boil, the victim's flesh; it never was roasted. Thus Herodotus 4, 61 describes a boiling (ἔψειν) of the sacrifice in the great cauldron of the Scythians. From this *seething*, according to my conjecture, the ram was called *sauþs*, and those who took part in the sacrifice *suðnautar* (partakers of the sodden), Gutalag p. 108; the boilings, the cauldrons and pots of witches in later times may be connected with this.² The distribution of the pieces among the people was probably undertaken by a priest; on great holidays the feast³ was held there and then in the assembly, on other occasions each person might doubtless take

¹ '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 amphoræ (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.'

² The trollds 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, Méon 3, 284-5).

³ They also ate the strong broth and the fat swimming at the top. The heathen offer their king Hakon, on his refusing the flesh, *drecka soðit* and *eta flotit*; Saga Hákonar góða cap. 18. conf. Fornm. sög. 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 immolatitiis 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*.¹ The head and skin of slaughtered game were suspended on trees in honour of them (see Suppl.).

Whole *burntofferings*, 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. *όλοκαύτωμα*, so the OHG. *albrandopher*, N. ps. 64, 2; and the AS. *brynegield onhredð* rommes blôðe, Cædm. 175, 6. 177, 18 is meant to express purely a burnt offering in the Jewish sense.²

Neither were *incense-offerings* used; the sweet incense of the christians was a new thing to the heathen. Ulphilas retains the Gk. *thymiama* Lu. 1, 10. 11; and our weih-rauch (holy-reek), O. Sax. wiroc Hel. 3, 22, and the ON. reykelsti, Dan. rogelse 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

¹ γλώσσα καὶ κοιλία (tongue and entrails) ἱερείου διαπεπραγμένου, Plutarch, Phoc. 1. γλώσσας τάμνειν and ἐν πυρὶ βυλλεῖν, Od. 3, 332. 341. conf. De linguæ usu in sacrificiis, Nitzsch 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. *pálití* obiet, to kindle an offering, Koniginh. 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 opfferen 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.¹ 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.² 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.³ The lands in some Hessian townships have to pay a *bunch of mayflowers* (lilies of the valley) every year for rent.⁴ 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. 928^b.

practice seems to have been transferred to christian festivals and offerings.¹

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 Berhta 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 Zemeynele.² 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, *minnôn* = *miniôn* 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-ol* (ale), Sæm. 119^b (opposed to *ominnis ol*), *minnis-horn*, *minnis-full* (cupful). *foro minni mörg*, ok skyldi horn dreckia í *minni* hvert (they gave many a m., and each had to drink a horn to the m.). *um gôlf gânga at minnom öllum*, Egilss. 206. 253. *minniöl signóð* âsom, Olafs helga.

¹ Beside 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, *offra en gryta af 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*, *λείβω*, Lat. *libo*, for drink-offerings (see Suppl.).

saga (ed. holm.) 113. *signa* is the German *segnen* to bless, consecrate. *signa full* Oðni, Thor. Oðins *full*, Niarðar *full*, Freys *full* drecka, Saga Hakonar goða cap. 16.18. In the Herraúðs-saga cap. 11, Thor'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 *bragarfull*, Sæm. 146^a. Fornald. sog. 1, 345. 417. 515. The goblet was also called *minnisveig* (swig, draught), Sæm. 193^b. After conversion they did not give up the custom, but drank the *minne* of Christ, Mary, and the saints: Krists *minni*, Michaels *minni*, Fornm. sog. 1, 162. 7, 148. In the Fornm. sog. 10, 1781, St. Martin demands of Olaf that *his minni* be proposed instead of those of Thor, Oðin, and the other *âses*.

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*;¹ 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, lætabundi discedunt*. In the Rudlieb 2, 162:

post poscit vinum *Gerdrudis 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 Munchen MS., at the description of a scuffle:

hujus ad edictum nullus plus percutit ictum,
sed per clamorem poscunt *Gertrudis amore*.

In the Peregrinus, a 13th cent. Latin poem, v. 335 (Leyser 2114):
et rogat ut potent sanctæ *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 *segente* darinne ein vil guote *minne*. Conf. *loving cup*, Thom's A.æcd. 82.

At Ereke's departure: der wirt neig im an den fuoz, ze hand truog er im do ze heiles gewinne *sant Gertrude minne*, Er. 4015. The armed champion 'tranc *sant Johannes segen*,' Er. 8651. Hagene, while killing Etzel's child, says, Nib. 1897, 3:

nu trinken wir die *minne* unde gelten sküneges wîn,
iz mac anders niht gesîn
wan trinkt und *geltet Ezeln wîn*; 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 do zucten 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 *éra, ére* 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, tunc 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

plenty of them: der brâhte mir sant *Johans* segen, Ls. 3, 336. sant *Johans segen* trinken, Ls. 2, 262. ich daht an sant *Johans minne*, Ls. 2, 264. varn (to fare) mit sant *Gértrâde minne*, Amgb. 33^b. setz sant *Johans* ze bürgen mir, daz du komest gesunt herwider schier, Hatzl. 191^b. sant *Johannes namen* trinken, Altd. bl. 413. sant *Gértrâde minne*, Cod. kolocz. 72. trinken sant *Johannes segen* und scheiden von dem lande, Morolt. 3103. diz ist sancte *Johans minne*, Cod. pal. 364, 158. S. *Johans segen* trinken, Anshelm 3, 416. *Johans segen*, Fischart gesch. kl. 99^b. *Simpliciss.* 2, 262.¹

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 fuisse 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. *gefa þriggja sâlda öl* Oðni (give three tuns of ale to Oðinn), Fornm. sog. 2, 16. *gefa Thor 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 Otbergen, 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 *drieka eldborgs skål*, drinking a toast (see *Superst. k*, Swed. 122).

¹ *Thomasius de poculo S. Johannis vulgo Johannistrunk*, Lips. 1675. *Scheffers Haltaus* p. 165. *Oberlin s. vb. Johannis minn und trunk*. *Schmeller* 2, 593. *Hannov. mag.* 1830, 171-6. *Ledeburs archiv* 2, 189. On Gertrude espec., *Huyd. op St.* 2, 343-5. *Clignet's bidr.* 392-411. *Hoffm. horae belg.* 2, 41-8. *Antiqvariske annaler* 1, 313. *Hanka's Bohem. glosses* 79^b 132^a render *Johannis amor* by *swatâ mina* (holy m.). And in that Slovenic document, the *Freysinger MS.* (*Kopitar's Glagolita xxxvii*, *conf. xliii*) is the combination: *da klanyanse, i modlimse, im i tchesti ich pîyem, i obieti nashe im nesem* (ut genuflectamus et precemur eis et honores eorum bibamus et obligationes nostras illis feramus); *tchest* is honor, *τιμη*, *cultus*, our old era; 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 bozhye' to the glory of God. In the Finnish mythology is mentioned an *Ukkon malja*, bowl of Ukko; *malja* = Swed. *skål*, strictly *scutella*, *potatio in memoriam vel sanitatem*.

Now that Suevic *cupa* filled with beer (p. 75) was a hallowed *sacrificial cauldron*, like that which the Cimbri sent to the emperor Augustus.¹ Of the Scythian cauldron we have already spoken, p. 75; and we know what part the cauldron plays in the Hymisqviða 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*, *Thorketill* (abbrev. Thorkel) AS. *Oscytel* (Kemble 2, 302); they point to kettles consecrated to the as 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. superstit. 26 names *simulacra de consparsa farina*. Baked figures of animals seem to have represented animals that were revered, or the attributes of a god.² From a striking passage in the Fridthiofssaga (fornald. sog. 2, 86) it appears that the heathen at a *dísa blot* *baked images of gods* and *smear*ed them with *oil*: 'sâtu konur við eldinn ok bökuðu goðin, en sumar smurðu ok þerðu með dūkum,' women sat by the fire and baked the gods, while some anointed them with cloths. By Friðþiof's fault a baked Baldr falls into the fire, the fat blazes up, and the house is burnt down. According to Voetius de superstit. 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 ἱερώτατον 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 *cochelins* 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-vehebatur populis), and Berecynthia (ch. XIII), so Fro 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, Berhta 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 Fro had ceased to appear, Dietrich with the ber (boar) and Dietrich Bern still showed themselves (ch. X. XXXI), or the sonargoltr (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 simulaero 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 pernoctantes super reliquias vigiliis et cantibus solennisetis, ut praedicto mane determinatum a vobis ambitum pia lustratione complentes ad monasterium cum honore debito reportetis. Confido autem de patroni hujus misericordia, quod sic ab ea gyrate terrae semina uberius proveniant, et variae aëris inclementiae cessent.* 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 *ναος* (Matt. 27, 5. 51. Mk. 14, 58. 15, 29. Lu. 1, 9. 21. 2 Cor. 6, 16) and *ιερόν* (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, *gudhus* stands for *ιερον*; the simple *hus* never has the sense of *domus*, which is rendered *razn*. Why should Ulphilas disdain to apply the heathen name to the christian thing, when the equally heathen *templum* and *ναός* 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 Pollucemque 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 ἀλκή*]. 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. *gholiak*. 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 *αλκη* strength, safeguard, and the dat. *αλκί* pointing to a nom. *αλξ*; * *αλκω* I defend; or even *Caesar's alces* and *Pausanias's αλκαι* 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, Alahtac, Alahhilt, Alahgund, Alahtrut; Alahstat in pago Hassorum (A.D. 834), Schannat trad. fuld. no. 404. Alahdorp in Mulahgowe (A.D. 856), *ibid.* no. 476. The names *Alahstat*, *Alahdorf* 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 *frono* (set apart to the fro, lord). Alstidi, a king's pfalz (palatium) 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 Heliand 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 hâts* 100, 8. 130, 18, or, that *helaga hâts* 3, 19. Cædm. 202, 22 *alhu* (l. *alh* hâligne = holy temple); 258, 11 *ealhstede* (palatium, aedes regia). In Andr. 1642 I would read 'ealde *ealhstedas*' (delubra) for 'eolhstedas', conf. the proper names *Ealhstân* in Kemble 1, 288. 296 and *Ealhheard* 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^a; 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; *friduwih*, Hel. 15, 19; AS. *wih* wiges, or *weoh* weos, also masc.: wiges (idoli), Cædm. 228, 12. *þisne wig wurdigean* (hoc idolum colere), Cædm. 228, 24. conf. *wigweorðing* (cultus idolorum), Beow. 350. *weohweorðing* Cod. exon. 253, 14. *wihgild* (cultus idol.), Cædm. 227, 5. *weobedd* (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. Gutalag 6, 108. 111: haita â hult eþa hauga, â *vi* eþa stafgarþa (invocare lucos aut tumulos, idola aut loca palis circumsepta); trua a hult, a hauga, *vi* oc stafgarþa ; han standr í *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 *veiha* (I hallow), *vaih*, *vaihun*, OHG. *wihu*, *weih*, *wihum*, from which also comes the adj. *veih*s sacer, 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. *haruc* masc., pl. *haruga*, stands in the glosses both for fanum, Hrab. 965^b. for delubrum, Hrab. 959^a. for lucus, Hrab. 969^a, Jun. 212. Diut. 1, 495^b, and for nemus, Diut. 1, 492^a. The last gloss, in full, runs thus: ‘nemus plantavit=*forst* flanzota, edo (or) *haruc*, edo *wih*.’ So that *haruc*, 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 Ripuar. 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. *heargtræf* (fani tabulatum), Beow. 349. æt *hearge*, Kemble, 1, 282. ON. *hörgr* masc., pl. *hörgar* (delubrum, at times idolum, simulacrum), Sæm. 36^a 42^a 91^a 114^b 141^a ; especially worth notice is Sæm. 114^b: *hörgr* hlaðinn steinom, griot at gleri orðit, roðit í nyio nauta bloði (h. paven with stones, grit made smooth, reddened anew with neat’s blood). Sometimes *hörgr* is coupled with *hof* (fanum, tectum), 36^a 141^a, in which case the former is the holy place amidst woods and rocks, the built temple, aula ; conf. ‘*hamarr* ok *horygr*,’ Fornm. sog. 5, 239. To both expressions belongs the notion of the place as well

¹ And in one place *haraga*=*arae*. Elsewhere the heathen term for altar, Gk βωμός, was Goth. *biuds*, OHG. *piot*, AS. *beod*, strictly a table (p. 38) ; likewise the Goth. *badi*, OHG. *petti*, AS. *bed*, *bedd* (lectus, p. 30) gets to mean ara, areola, fanum, conf. AS. *wilbed*, *weohbed*, *weobed*, afterwards distorted into *weofed* (ara, altare), OHG. *kotapetti* (gods’-bed, lectus, pulvinar templi), Graff 3, 51 ; with which compare Brunhild’s *bed* and the like, also the Lat. lectisterium. ‘Ad altare S. Kiliani, quod vulgo *lectus* dicitur,’ 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. *haruga*, *aruga*, bull of sacrifice, whence *haruspex*, *aruspex*. The Gk *τέμενος* however also means the sacred grove, Il. 8, 48. 23, 148. *τέμενος τάμον*, Il. 20, 184.

Lastly, synonymous with *haruc* is the OHG. *paro*, gen. *parawes*, AS. *bearo*, gen. *bearwes*, which betoken *lucus*¹ and arbor, a sacred grove or a tree; æt *bearwe*, Kemble. 1, 255. ON. *barr* (arbor), Sæm. 109^a; *barri* (nemus) 86^b 87^a. *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: *Κελτοὶ σέβουσι μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρῦς*, Maximus Tyrius (diss. 8, ed. Reiske 1, 142). Compare Lasicz. 46: *deos nemora incolere persuasum habent* (Samogitae). *Habitant 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. *lucus* would correspond a Goth. *láuhs*, and this is confirmed by the OHG. *lôh*, AS. *leáh*. The Engl. *lea*, *ley* has acquired the meaning of meadow, field; also the Slav. *lug*, Boh. *lutz*, 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, throned on the bowery summit of a sacred tree? In the sweep and under the shade¹ of primeval forests, the soul of man found itself filled with the nearness of sovran deities. The mighty influence 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 cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora conscrant, deorumque 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 coeunt. *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 castum*

¹ Waldes *hleō, hlea* (umbra, umbraculum), Hel. 33, 22. 73, 23. AS. *hleō*, ON. *hlie*, OHG. *liva*, Graff 2, 296, MHG. *lie*, *lieve*.

² Ruodolf of Fulda († 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. Moser § 30 takes the passage to mean, that the divinity common to the whole nation was worshipped unseen, so as not to give one district 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 deumque, nec simulacrum deo aut templum, sic tradidere majores, ara tantum et reverentia*; and in *Dial. de Orat.* 12: *nemora vero et luci 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 precincts 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 contactum. cap. 43 : apud Naharvalos *antiquae religionis lucus* ostenditur . . . numini nomen *Alcis*, nulla simulaera. 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 depromptæ *silvis lucisque* ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti inire proelium mos est. Ann. 2, 12 : Caesar transgressus Visurgim indicio perfugae cognoscit delectum ab Arminio locum pugnae, convenisse et alias nationes in *silvam Herculi sacram*. Ann. 4, 73 : mox conpertum a transfugis, nongentos 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 arae*, apud quas tribunos mactaverant ; conf. 2, 25 : propinquo *luco* defossam Varianae 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. Stilieh. 1, 288 :

Ut procul Hereyniae 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 *dcos*. Non somnia nobis,
nee volueres, 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 (simulaera, in human form) are mentioned by name as being set up, no temple walls are reared.² But sacred vessels and altars

himself on his legs, but must finish the fight on his knees, Danske viser 1, 115 ; so in certain places a stranger's carriage, if overturned, must not be set upright again, RA. 554. What is fabled of an idol called Sompar at Gorlitz (neue lausitz. monatsschr. 1805, p. 1-18) has evidently been spun out of this passage in Tac. ; the Semnones are placed in the Lausitz country, as they had been previously by Aventin (Frankf. 1580, p. 27^b), who only puts a king Schwab in the place of Sompar.

¹ Baduhenna, perhaps the name of a place, like Arduenna. Müllenhoff adds Badvinna, Patunna (Haupts zeitschr. 9, 241).

² Brissonius de regno Pers. 2, 28 ; 'Persae diis suis nulla templa vel altaria constituunt, nulla simulacra' ; after Herodot. 1, 131.

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).¹ 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) rediit. tum vero Hessorum jam multi catholica fide subditi ac septiformis spiritus gratia confirmati manus impositionem acceperunt, et alii quidem, nondum animo confortati, intemeratae 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 sacrificandi ritus incoluerunt, alii etiam, quibus mens sanior inerat, omni abjecta gentilitatis prophanatione nihil horum commiserunt. quorum consultu atque consilio arborem quandam mirac magnitudinis, quae prisco Paganorum vocabulo appellatur robur 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 dcorum suorum intra se diligentissime devotabant, sed ad modicum quidem arbore praecisa confestim immensa roboris moles, divino desuper flatu exagitata, palmitum confracto culmine, corrui, et quasi superi nutus solatio in quatuor etiam partes disrupta est, et quatuor ingentis magnitudinis aequali longitudine trunci, absque fratrum labore astantium apparuerunt. 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 inito cum fratribus ex supradictae arboris materia¹) 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, 26; 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 unsimilar are some passages contained in the Vita S. Amandi († 674), on the wood and tree worship of the northern Franks: Acta Bened. sec. 2. p. 714, 715, 718): Amandus audivit pagum esse, cui vocabulum Gandavum, cujus loci habitatores iniquitas diaboli eo circumquaque laqueis vehementer irretivit, ut incolae terrae illius, relicto deo, *arbores et ligna* pro deo colerent, 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 Aronnam fluvium . . . respondit illa, quod non ob aliam causam ei ipsa coecitas evenisset, nisi quod *auguria vel idola* semper coluerat. insuper ostendit ei locum, in quo praedictum idolum adorare consueverat, scilicet *arborem, quae erat daemoni dedicata* . . . 'nunc igitur accipe securim 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: *lucos* in episcopatu suo, in quibus paludicolae regionis illius *errore veteri* cum professione falsa christianitatis *immolabant*, succidit; Vita Meinweri, cap. 22. Of the holy tree in the Old Saxon *Irmensûl* 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*.¹ 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.²

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. Vulnere ibidem lavans, exterrita clamore effugit. Ubi multa lamentatione animam expiravit.* The strange expression *thegathon* is explained by τ' αγαθον (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 (*Hofers 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 *Schopflin* allude to the holy forest near Hagenau; no. 218 (A.D. 1065): *cum foresto heiligenforst nominato in comitatu Gerhardi comitis in pago Nortcove.* no. 238 (1106): *in sylvā*

¹ *Weddigen's westphal. mag.* 3, 712.

² *Spilckers beitrage* 2, 121.

heiligeforst. no. 273 (1143): *praedium Loubach in sacro nemore situm.* no. 297 (1158): *utantur pascuis in sacra silva.* no. 317 (1175): *in silva sacra.* no. 402 (1215): *in sacra silva.* no. 800 (1292): *conventum in konigesbrücken in heiligenforst.* no. 829 (1304): *nemus nostrum et imperii dictum heiligvorst.* no. 851 (1310): *pecora in foresta nostra, quae dicitur der heilige forst, pascere et tenere.* no. 1076 (1356): *porcos tempore glandium nutriendos in silva sacra.* The alternating words 'forst, silva, nemus,' are enough to show the significance of the term. The name of the well-known *Dreieich* (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 har 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 uf rîse.	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 frone*'; 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*:

da sint heiligen inne,	There are saints in there,
die hœrent aller liute bet. ¹	That hear all people's prayers
	(see Suppl.).

¹ From the notion of a forest temple the transition is easy to paying divine honours to a single tree. Festus has: *delubrum fustis delibratus* (staff with

Still more unmistakably does this forest cultus prevail in the North, protected by the longer duration of heathenism. The great sacrifice at Ledera described by Dietmar (see p. 48) was performed in the island which, from its even now magnificent beech-woods, bore the name of *Sælundr*, 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 sacer est gentibus, ut singulae arbores ejus ex morte vel tabo immolatorum divinae credantur.* Of Hlöðr Heiðreksson we are told in the *Hervararsaga* cap. 16 (fornald. sog. 1, 491), that he was born with arms and horse in the *holy wood* (â 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 *Mímameiðr*, *Sæm.* 109^a, 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 sylvâ 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: *lucum 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. sog.* 11, 382) names a *blótlundr* (sacrificial grove) at Stræla, called Böku, *Helmold* 1, 1 says of the Slavs: *usque hodie profecto inter illos, cum cetera*

bark peeled off) quem venerabantur pro deo. Names given to particular trees are at the same time names of goddesses, e.g. ON. Hlîn, Gna. 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 Tyrolese 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*, *hausmarchen* no. 3. *Romance de la infantina*, 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 Koniginhof MS. p. 72 speaks of the grove (*hain*, Boh. *hai*, *hag*, Pol. *gay*, Sloven. *gaj*; conf. *gaius*, *gahajus*, Lex Roth. 324, *kaheius*, Lex Bajuv. 21, 6) from which the christians scared away the holy sparrow.¹ The Esth. *sallo*, Finn. *salo* means a holy wood, especially a meadow with thick underwood; the national god Tharapila is described by Henry the Letton (ad. ann. 1219): in confinio 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.³

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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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 Brzetislaw burnt down the heathen *groves* and *trees* of the Bohemians in 1093, Pelzel 1, 76. The Poles called a sacred grove *rok* and *uroczyisko*, conf. Russ. *roshtcha*, grove [root *rek rok* = *fari*, *fatum*; *roshtcha* is from *rosti*, *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. *Turupid* in Formn. sog. 11, 385; but on Slav nations conf. Schiefner on Castren 329.

³ Joh. Voigts gesch. Preussens 1, 595—597.

⁴ Acta sanctor. Bolland. July 31, p. 202; conf. Legenda aurea, cap. 102.

⁵ Huic (Marti) praedae primordia vovebantur, huic *truncis suspendebantur exuviae*, Jornandes cap. 5.

urbe media, amœnitate gratissima: *ad cujus ramusculos ferarum* ab eo deprehensarum *capita* pro admiratione venationis nimiae *dependebant*. Quem celebris ejusdem civitatis Amator episcopus his frequens compellebat eloquiis: ‘desine, quaeso, vir honoratorum splendidissime, haec jocularia, quae Christianis offensa, Paganis vero imitanda sunt, exercere. hoc opus *idololatriae* cultura est, non christianæ elegantissimæ disciplinae.’ 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 *arborem*, ne Christianis offendiculum esset, radicitus extirparet. sed ille nullatenus aurem placidam applicare voluit admonenti. In hujus ergo persuasionis tempore quodam die Germanus ex urbe in praedia sui juris discessit. tunc beatus Amator opportunitatem opperiens *sacrilegam arborem* cum caudicibus abscidit, et ne aliqua ejus incredulis esset memoria igni concremandam illico deputavit. *oscilla*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 effecit, ita ut oblitus sanctae religionis, cujus jam fuerat ritu atque munere insignitus, mortem beatissimo viro minitaret.

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

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

¹ Virg. Georg. 2, 388 : tibi que (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* images 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 Grinnismal 10 tells us, in Odin'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 aquilam, aramque Victoriae construentes ; this eagle seems to have been her emblem. A *dog* hung up over the threshold is also mentioned, Lex. Alam. 102.

sed deprensarum passim *capita* alta *ferarum*
arboris obscoenae patulis haerentia ramis
 praebebant vano plausum spectacula vulgo.
 horrebant illic trepidi ramalia *cervi*
 et dirum frendentis *apri*, fera spicula, dentes,
 acribus exitium meditantés forte molossis.
 tunc quoque sic variis arboribus induta tropaeis
 fundebat rudibus lascivi semina risus.

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: *satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddit.*

Tac. ann. 1, 51: *Cæsar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quatuor in cuneos dispertit, quinquaginta millium spatium ferro flammisque pervastat; non sexus, non actas miserationem*

¹ St. Benedict found at Montecassino *vetustissimum fanum, in quo ex antiquo more gentilium a stulto rusticano populo Apollo colebatur, circumquaque enim in cultum daemoniorum luci succreverant, in quibus adhuc eodem tempore infidelium insana multitudo sacrificiis sacrilegis insudabat.* Greg. Mag. dialogi 2, 8. These were not German heathens, but it proves the custom to have been the more universal.

attulit: profana simul et *sacra*, et *celeberrimum* illis gentibus templum, quod *Tanfanae*¹ 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 Condatensensi 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 haud longe a vico cui *vetusta paganitas* ob celebritatem clausuramque fortissimam *superstitiosissimi 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 iudicio 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, *eisarnadauri*, 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 quicumque admoniti de agro suo, ubicumque fuerint *simulacra constructa vel idola daemonei dedicata*

¹ An inscription found in Neapolitan territory, but supposed by Orelli 2053 to have been made by Ligorius, has '*Tanfanae sacrum*' (Gudii inscript. antiq. p. lv. 11, de Wal p. 188); the word is certainly German, and formed like Hludana, Sigana (Sequana), Liutana (Lugdunum), Rabana (Ravenna), &c.

² Yet the Celtic forms also are not far removed, Ir. *iaran*, Wel. *haiarn*, Armor. *uarn* (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, aufl. 2, 79. vol. 2, p. 903.

ab hominibus, factum non statim abjecerint vel sacerdotibus haec destruentibus prohibuerint, datis fidejussoribus non aliter discedant nisi in nostris obtutibus praesententur.

Vita S. Radegundis († 587) the wife of Clotaire, composed by a contemporary nun Baudonivia (acta Bened. sec. 1, 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 immobilis 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 Agripinam urbem, et ipse (S. Gallus) simul abiit. erat autem ibi *fanum* quoddam diversis ornamentis refertum, in quo barbaris (l. Barbarus) opima *libamina* exhibens usque ad vomitum cibo potuque replebatur. ibi et *simulaera* ut *deum adorans*, membra, secundum quod unumquemque dolor attigisset, sculpebat in ligno. quod ubi S. Gallus audivit, statim illuc cum uno tantum clerico properat, accensoque igne, cum nullus ex stultis Paganis adesset, ad *fanum* applicat et succendit. at illi videntes fumum *delubri* ad coelum usque conscendere, auctorem incendii quaerunt, inventumque 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 Theoderic 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 *templa fanatica a decurionibus eulta*. (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 (Cœfi) his chief heathen priest himself: Cumque a praefato pontifice sacrorum suorum quaereret, quis *aras et fana idolorum cum septis quibus erant circumdata* primus profanare deberet? respondit: ego. quis enim ea, quae per stultitiam colui, nunc ad exemplum omnium aptius quam ipse per sapientiam mihi a Deo vero donatam destruiam? 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 aestimabat eum insanire. nec distulit ille. mox ut appropinquabat 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 Eloraco ad orientem ultra amnem Dorowentionem et vocatur hodie Godmundinga ham, 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 quendam 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 diuque fustibus caesum et ictibus contusum in fluvium illud demergere conantur.—The Iria runs into the Po; the event occurs among Lombards.

Walafridi 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 Tuconia 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 *heary* gave the signal for its demolition.

ibidem commanentes crudeles erant et impii, *simulacra colentes, idola sacrificiis venerantes*, observantes auguria et divinationes et multa quae contraria sunt cultui divino superstitionosa 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 *daemoniis sacrificabant*, igni succendit et quaecumque invenit oblata demersit in lacum.—Here follows an important passage which will be quoted further on; it says expressly: cumque ejusdem *templi* solemnitas ageretur.

Jonae Bobbiensis vita S. Columbani († 615) cap. 17. in act. Bened. 2, 12. 13: Cumque jam multorum monachorum societate densaretur, coepit cogitare, ut potioem locum in eadem eremo (*i.e.* Vosago saltu) quaereret, quo monasterium construeret. invenitque *castrum firmissimo munimine* olim fuisse *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,¹ quas *cultu miserabili rituque profano vetusta Paganorum* tempora honorabant.—This Burgundian place then (Luxeuil in Franche Comte, 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 intra 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 figerentur arae et erigerentur vexilla, habitaculum Deo militantium, quo adversus aërias potestates dimicarent superni Regis tirones. p. 319: Ingressique (Agilus cum Eustasio) hujus itineris viam, juvante Christo, Warascos praedicatori accelerant, qui *agrestium fanis* decepti, quos vulgi *faunos* vocant, gentilium

¹ The multitude of statues *made* the adjoining wood *thicker*? Must we not supply an acc. *copiam* or *speciem* after *imag. lapid.*? [*vicina saltus densabat* evidently means ‘*crowded* the adjoining part of the wood’. So in Ovid: *densae foliis buxi*.—TRANS.]

quoque errore seducti, in perfidiam devenerant, 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 ibi pascentium vel aliarum quarumlibet rerum gentilium quisquam tangere audebat, nec etiam a fonte qui ibi ebulliebat aquam haurire nisi tacens praesumebat.

Vita S. Willehadi († 793), in Pertz 2, 381: Unde contigit, ut quidam discipulorum ejus, divino compuncti ardore, *fana in morem gentilium circumquaque erecta* coepissent evertere et ad nihilum, prout poterant, redigere; quo facto barbari, qui adhuc forte perstiterant, furore nimio succensi, irruerunt super eos repente cum impetu, volentes eos funditus interimere, ibique Dei famulum fustibus caesum multis admodum plagis affecere.—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 illum *delubra* destruere 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 Frisionum.

Folcuini gesta abb. Lobensium (circ. 980), in Pertz 6, 55: Est locus intra terminos pagi, quem veteres, a loco ubi *superstitiosa 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, otherwise Tacitus 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, templa, fana* among Burgundians, Franks, Lombards, Alamanns, Anglo-Saxons, and Frisians. By *fanum* (whence fanaticus) seems often to have been understood a building of smaller

extent, and by *templum* one of larger; the Indiculus superstit. xxxi. † 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. *holl* (conf. hallr, lapis, Goth. hallus);—OHG. *sal*, ON. *salr*, AS. *sele*, OS. *seli*, aula;—AS. *reced*, domus, basilica (Cædm. 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. *pētupâr*, 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 Tuitiensis († 1135) in his account of the fire of 1128 that levelled such a castellum at Deuz, 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 Tuitiense castrum petens, locum in eodem mundari præcipe, ibique monasterium Deo mihiq̄ue 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. *grīðastaðr*, OHG. *frūthof*, OS. *vrīthob*, Hel. 151, 2, 9. MHG. *vrone vrīthof*, Nib. 1795, 2; not at all our *friedhof* [but conn. with *frei*, free], conf. Goth. *freidjan*, OS. *fridón* (parcere). That the constitution of the Old German sanctuaries was still for the most part heathenish, is discussed in RA. 886-92.

195^a)¹;—to which were afterwards added *pëtahûs*, minores ecclesiae (Gl. sletst. 21, 32) and *chirihhá*, A.S. *cyricc*. The MHG. poets like to use *betchûs* of a heathen temple as opposed to a christian church (En. 2695. Barl. 339, 11.28. 342,6. Athis D 93. Herb. 952. Wigal. 8308. Pass. 356, 73. Tit. 3329), so in M. Nethl. *bedchus* (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 *gotes hûs*, and ii. 4, 52 *druhtînes hûs*. Notker cap. 17 makes no scruple of translating the Lat. fanis by *chûlcchon*, 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 fanum or pûr (A.S. bur, 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

¹ Actum in illo *betapdre* (the church at Fulda) publice, Trad. Fuld. ed. Schannat no. 193. in *bedebur*, Lacombl. no. 412 (A.D. 1162). in *bedebure*, Erhard p. 148 (A.D. 1121). *betbur*, Meyer Zürich. ortsn. 917.

² Sulp. Severus (ed. Amst. 1665), p. 458: Nam ubi fana destruxerat (Martinus), *statim ibi aut ecclesias aut monasteria construebat*. Dietmar of Merseb. 7, 52, p. 859 (speaking of Bishop Reinbern on Slav. territory, A.D. 1015):

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 Sigtun, baer î 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, immissis 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, pius, ευσεβής*), then *gagudci* (*pietas, ευσεβεια*). In OHG. and MHG., I find *pius* translated *erhaft*, strictly *reverens*, but also used for *venerandus*; our *fromm* has only lately acquired this meaning, the MHG. *vrum* being simply *able, excellent*. The God-serving, pious man is in Goth. *gudja* (*ἱερεὺς*, Matt. 8, 4, 27, 1. 63. Mk. 10, 34. 11, 27. 14, 61. Lu. 1, 5. 20, 1. Jo. 18, 19. 22. 19, 6. *ufargudja* (*ἀρχιερεὺς*) Mk 10, 33. *gudjinon* (*ἱερατευειν*), Lu. 1, 8. *gudjinassus* (*ἱερατεία*) Lu. 1, 9. (see Suppl.).

That these were heathen expressions follows from the accordance of the ON. *goði* (*pontifex*), *hofs goði* (*fani antistes*), Egilss. 754. Freys *goði*, Nialss. cap. 96. 117. Fornm. sog. 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 *alhs* unobjectionable. Only a faint vestige appears in the OHG. *cotinc* by which *tribunus* is glossed, Diut. 1, 187 (Goth. *gudiggs*?).—Now as Ulphilas¹ associates *gudja* 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 perpetuus*,² *obnoxius discriminibus nullis ut reges*. The connexion of priests with the nobility I have discussed in RA. 267-8 (see Suppl.).

More decidedly heathen are the OHG. names for a priest *harugari*, Diut. 1, 514^{b,3} and *parawari*, Diut. 1, 150^a, (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 *cairneac* 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 *pluostrari* (see p. 36).

The fact that *cotinc* 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: *ewa*, *ea* signified not only the secular, but the divine law, these being closely connected in the olden times, and equally sacred; hence *ewart*, *ewart* law-ward, administrator of law, *νομικος*, AS. *æ-gleaw*, *æ-lareow*, Goth. *vitodafasteis*, one learned in the law, K. 55^a 56^{a, b}. Gl. Hrab. 974^a. N. ps. 50, 9. *ewarto* of the weak decl. in O.I. 4, 2. 18. 72. *gotes ewarto* I. 4, 23. and as late as the 12th century *ewarte*, Mar. 21. and, without the least reference to the Jewish office, but quite synonymous with priest: *der heilige éwarte*, Reinh. 1705. *der bâruc und die éwarten sîn*, Parz. 13, 25. Wh. 217, 23 of Saracen priests (see Suppl.). The very similar *éosago*, *ésago* 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 *gierodo man* (*geehrte*, honoured), 3, 19. the *frodo man* (*frot*, *frut*, *prudens*) 3, 21. 7, 7. *frodgumo* (*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 *guote man*'.¹ In the Romance expressions *prudens homo*, *bonus homo* (*prudhomme*, *bonhomme*) there lurks a reference to the ancient jurisprudence.—Once Ulphilas renders *ἀρχιερεύς* by *aúhumiſts veiha*, John 18, 13, but never *iépevs* by *veiha*.

With christianity there came in foreign words (see Suppl.). The Anglo-Saxons adopted the Lat. *sacerdos* in abbreviated form: *sacerd*, 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 *bisgof*, *biscof* (from

¹ Parz. 457, 2. 458, 25. 460, 19. 476, 23. 487, 23. The *gôdo gumo*, Hel. 4, 16 is said of John; *ther guato man*, O. ii. 12, 21. 49 of Nicodemus; in Ulrich's Lancelot, an abbot is styled *der guote man*, 4613. 4639. conf. 3857, 4620 *ewarte*, 4626 *priester*. But with this is connected *diu guote frouwe* (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) *preudoms* and *Frobert* = *Fruotbert* (see Suppl.).

episcopus), O. I. 4, 4. 27. 47; and the Hel. 150, 24 *biscop*. Later on, *pricster* (from presbyter, following the idea of elder and superior), and *pfaffe* (papa) came to be the names most generally used; AS. *preost*, Engl. *priest*, Fr. *prestre*, prêtre; in Veldek, præster rhymes with mæster, En. 9002.

When Cæsar, bell. Gall. 6, 21, says of the Germans: Neque druides habent qui rebus divinis præsent, 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* permissum, 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 civitatis* 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 *pricst* alone may touch the car of Nerthus, by him her approaching presence is perceived, he attends her full of reverence, and leads

her back at last to her sanctuary, cap. 40. Segimund, the son of Secestes 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 *muliebris 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 (*Λίβης 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.). Oðinn is called Siðhott, 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 præterquam 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 vehi flamini diali non licebat, ne, si longius digrederetur, sacra neglegerentur* (see Suppl.). The transmission of such customs, which have impressed themselves on the habits of

¹ Libes might be Leip, Léb, O.N. Leifr, Goth. Láibs? A var. lect. has Λίβυς.

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 raða fyrir blotum ok domum manna í milli* (they had to advise about sacrifices and dooms); and it adds, that they had been named *díar* (*divi*) and *drottnar* (*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 *díar* and *drottnar* 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 *Coifi* (*choibi*, *choibhidh*, *cuimhi*, see Jamieson, supplement sub. v. *coivie*, *archdruid*). *Coifi* 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. Wurdtw. 82. Serr. 140: *Pro sacrilegis itaque presbyteris, ut scripsisti, qui tauros et hircos diis paganorum immolabant, manducantes sacrificia mortuorum. . . . modo vero incognitum esse, utrum baptizantes trinitatem dixissent an non, &c.*—Connect with this the presbyter *Jovi mactans*, 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 *Freysvinr*, AS. *Freáwinc*, *Bregovine* for heroes and kings (see ch. X, Frowin). According to Eyrbygg. pp. 6, 8, 16, 26, Rolfr was a *Thórs vinr*; 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 Thorsteinn, who again dedicated his son Grímr to the god and named him Thorgrímr; by this dedicating (*gefa*), was meant the appointing to the office of *goði* or priest. And (according to Landn. 2, 23) Hallstein gave his son as *goði* to Thorr. Here we see the priestly office running on through several generations (see Suppl.). However, Odysseus is also called *Δι φίλος*, Il. 10, 527. Also *Ἄϊολος φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι*, 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 *goðar*, Gragas 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 *goði* is also called a *blotmaðr* (sacrificulus), *bliotr* (Egilssaga p. 209), but all blotmenn 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

¹ The MHG. poets still bestow on hermits and monks the epithets *gotes friunt*, *gotes degen* (þegn, warrior). In the Renner 24587, St. Jost is called *heiliger gotes kneht* (cniht, servant). [See however 'servus dei, famulus dei' passim in the lives of saints].

relates of Harald after his baptism: *Delubra diruit, victimarios proscrispsit, flaminium abrogavit.* By *victimarii* he must mean blotmenn, by *flamens* the priests. He tells us on p. 104, that at the great Upsala sacrifices there were enacted *effoeminati corporum motus, scenicique mimorum plausus, ac mollia 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: Oðinn spoke in verse, he and his *hofgoðar* are styled *lioðasmiðir* (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 Ἀλαμαννικοί*.

Ulphilas avoids using a Gothic word for the frequently occurring *προφήτης*, he invariably puts *praúfetus*, and for the fem. *προφήτις* *praúfêteis*, Lu. 2, 36; why not *veitaga* and *veitagô*? The OHG. and AS. versions are bolder for once, and give *wîzago, wîtega*.¹ Was the priest, when conducting auguries and auspices, a *veitaga*? conf. *inveitan*, p. 29. The ON. term is *spamaðr* (spae-man), and for prophetess *spálkona* (spae-woman, A.S. *witegestre*). Such diviners were Mímir and Grípir. In old French poems they are *devin* (divini, divinatores), which occasionally comes to mean poets: *uns devins, qui de voir dire est esprovez*, Meon 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

¹ The *î* is become *ei* in our *weissager*, MHG. *wissage* for *wizege*; equally erroneous is our verb *weissagen*, MHG. *wissagen*, Iw. 3097 (OHG. *wizagon*, AS. *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 maidens from particular nations, adds : *Inesse quin etiam sanetum et providum (feminis) putant¹, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negligunt.* And before that, Caesar 1. 50 : *Quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matres fam. eorum sortibus et raticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset, necne ; eas ita dicere : non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent (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 plerosque numinis loco habitam.* Hist. 4, 61 : *Ea virgo nationis Bructerae, late imperitabat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas, et augescente superstitione arbitrantur deas. Tuncque 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 : *Arbitrum 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, alloquique Veledam negatum. Arcebantur aspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset. Ipsa edita in turre ; delectus e propinquis 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, Ölrûn, 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.

- Statius silv. I. 4, 90 : *Captivaeque preces Veledae ;* he scans the first two syllables as short, which seems more correct than Dio's Βελήδα. Zeuss 436 thinks Βελέδα, Βελίδα = *Vilida*. Graff has a n. prop. *Walodu* 1, 800. I would suggest the Gothic fem. name *Valadamarca* in Jornandes cap. 48, and the Thuringian name of a place *Walada* in Pertz I. 308.

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 Aimoin 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).—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 Voluspa (see Suppl.).

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

¹ *Γάννα* (al. *Γαῦνα*) *παρθένος μετὰ τὴν Βελῆδαν 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 Lüttich, 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 Heidelbergae 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 aulam appellant. Haec mulier *vaticinivis* incluta, et quo venerabilior foret, raro in conspectum hominum prodiens, volentibus *consilium* ab ea petere, *de fenestra, non prodeunte vultu, respondebat*. Et inter cetera praedixit, ut inconditis versibus canebat, suo colli a fatis esse datum, ut futuris temporibus regis viris, quos nominatim recensebat, inhabitaretur et templis celeberrimis ornaretur. Sed ut tandem fabulosae antiquitati valedicamus, lubet adscribere quae is liber de infelici morte ipsius *Jetthae* continebat. Egressa quondam amoenissimo tempore *phanum*, ut deambulatione recrearetur, progrediebatur juxta montes, donec pervenit in locum, quo montes intra convallem declinant et multis locis scaturiebant pulcherrimi fontes, quibus vehementer illa coepit delectari, et assidens ex illis bibebat, cum ecce lupa famelica cum catulis e silva prorupit, quae conspectam mulierem nequicquam divos invocantem dilaniat et frustatim discerpsit, quae casu suo fonti nomen dedit, vocaturque quippe in hodiernum diem *fons luporum* 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 (= Heidberg); the very window on the hill would seem to have been copied from Velleda’s tower, though Brynhild too resides upon her rock, and has a *high tower* (Vols. saga, cap. 20, 24, 25; conf. *Mengloð*, OHG. Maniklata?) on the rock, with nine virgins at her knees (Sæm. 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 (Fornm. 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 þionosto kona ung ok fríð (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 Turiðr hofgyðja, Islend. sog. 1, 205. Þorlaug gyðja, Landn. 1, 21. Steinvor 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 augurii femina*, Saxo Gram. 121. Valdamarr konungr atti moður miok gamla ok orvasa, sva at hun la 1 rekkju, en þo var hun framsyn 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), Fornm. 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 *dís* (*nympha*, *numen*). It may be not accidental, that the *spakona* in several instances bears the proper name *Thordís* (Vatnsd. p. 186 seq. Fornm. sog. 1, 255. Islend. sog. 1, 140. Kormakkss. p. 204 seq.); *dís* however, a very early word, which I at one time connected with the Gothic *fludeisei* (*astutia*, *dolus*), appears to be no other than our OHG. *itis*, OS. *idis*, 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. Fornm. sog. 3, 214. Fornald. sog. 2, 165-6. 506), and is afterwards attached to a particular mythic *Volva*, of whom one of the oldest Eddic songs, the *Voluspá*, treats. Either *volu*

¹ Can our *götte*, *gothe*, *goth* for godmother (*taufpathin*, *suscepatrix e sacro fonte*) be the survival of an old heathen term? Morolt 3184 has *gode* of the baptized virgin.

² The Slavic *vollhv* magus.—TRANS.

stands here for *völvu*, 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 *Eiríks rauða* we come upon *Thorbiorg*, the little *Vala* (*Edda Sæm. Hafn. 3, 4*).—*Heiðr* is the name not only of the *volva* in the *Edda* (*Sæm. 4^b, conf. 118^b*) 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* (*Fornm. sog. 2, 108. 3, 100. 11, 134-7. 142. 172*), to whom all but divine honours were paid, and the title of *horgabruðr* (*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*, *blota*, *horgr*, *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 γαρ τινα ἰλάσκονται καὶ ρεῖθρα ποταμῶν καὶ λόφους καὶ φάραγγας, καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ ὄσια δρῶντες* 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, sibi que 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 feroces 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;*¹ and then mentions the *Irminsûl*, 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 destruens, &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, sacrivam) 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, 286.*

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 bið, þæt man deofolgild weorðige, þæt is, þæt man weorðige hæðene godas, and sunnan oððe monan, fyre oððe floðwæter, wyllas oððe stânas oððe æniges cynnes wudutreowa; conf. Homil. 1, 366. Just so it is said of Olaf the Saint, Fornm sog. 5, 239, that he abolished the heathen sacrifices and gods: Ok morg onnur (many other) blotskapar skrímsl, bæði hamra ok horga, skoga, votn ok tre ok oll onnur blot, 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 *deus 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 eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, et quorum opibus aperte jvantur, 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 no 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 *πολυς θεων ὄμιλος* 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 tunc nobilissimos prudentiores viros, quos theologiam instruens numina quaedam et sacella venerari suavit; 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 pii vocabantur, subito patefactis portis cum citharis et vestibibus candidis obviam sunt egressi paternis diis, ut sibi propitii Macedones repellerent voce supplicii 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 templa 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 *simulacrum* of German gods, no image¹ moulded in human shape; what he had

¹ Grk. ἄγαλμα, signum, statue; Goth. *manleika*, OHG. *manalîhho*, ON. *líkniski* (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 *ferarum imagines* on trees and at certain sacrifices (see Suppl.). The *vehiculum veste contectum* 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 *simulacra*, *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 Slavic languages, *mal* = little, s-mall]. Other OHG. terms are *avarâ*; *piladi*, *pilidi* (*bild*) effigies or imago in general; in the Mid. Ages they said, for making or forming (p. 23), ein *bilde giezen*, eine schœne juncfrouwen *ergiezen*, Cod. Vindob. 428, num. 211, without any reference to metal-casting; ein *bilde mezzen*, Troj. 19626, *mezzen*, Misc. 2, 186. On the Lith. *balwonas*, *idolum*, *statua*, conf. Pott de ling. Lith. 2, 51, Russ. *bolvân*, Hung. *balvany*; Russ. *kumâr*, 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*, *abcuti* (Abgott, false god) does signify both *fana* and *idola* or *statuae*, Diut. 1, 497^b 513^a 515^a 533^b, just as our *gotze* 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: *abcuti wihero stetio*, *fana excelsorum*, Diut. 1, 515^a. *abcut in heilagem stetim*, *fana in excelsis*, Diut. 1, 213^a. *steininnu zehhan inti abcuti*, *titulos et statuas*, Diut. 1, 497^b. *altara inti manalihun inti haruga*, *aras et statuas et lucos*, Diut. 1, 513^b. *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 (Aribo, 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: *Cumque 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 ἑλληνικῶς θρησκευόντων)—ἑλληνικῶς here means in heathen fashion, and *θρησκευειν* (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* (ξοανον ἐφ' ἀρμαμάξης εστως), ordered it to be carried round to the dwellings of those suspected of christianity; if they refused to fall down and sacrifice (προσκυβεῖν καὶ θύειν), their houses were to be fired over their heads. By *ἀρμάμαξα* 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 *vagn* in which Freyr and his priestess sat, when in holy days he journeyed round among the Swedish people (Fornm. sog. 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'-waggon 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 dii 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 indidistis, homines fuere, non dii.* Here she brings up *Saturnus* and *Jupiter*, 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 diceret, nullatenus ad credendum regis animus movebatur, sed dicebat: *Deorum nostrorum jussione cuncta creantur ac pro-*

¹ De *simulacro* quod per campos portant (Indic. superst. cap. 28); one vita S. Martini cap. 9 (Suius 6, 252): Quia esset haec Gallorum rusticis consuetudo, *simulacra daemonum, 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 aereas et deauratas superstitiosa 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 Walafrid 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 cuncta lustrassent, placuit illis qualitas et situs locorum, deinde oratione praemissa circa oratorium mansiunculas sibi fecerunt. Repererunt autem in templo tres imagines aereas deauratas parieti affixas,¹ quas populus, dimisso altaris sacri cultu, adorabat, et oblati sacrificiis dicere consuevit: isti sunt dii veteres et antiqui hujus loci tutores, quorum solatio et nos et nostra perdurant usque in praesens. . . . Cumque ejusdem templi solemnitatis ageretur, venit multitudo non minima promiscui sexus et aetatis, non tantum propter festivitatis honorem, verum etiam ad videndos peregrinos, quos cognoverant*

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. Ledebur's archiv. 14, 363. 378. Thür. mitth. VI. 2, 13 (see Suppl.).

advenisse. . . . Jussu venerandi abbatis (Columbani) Gallus coepit viam veritatis ostendere populo. . . . et in conspectu omnium arripiens *simulacra*, et lapidibus *in frusta comminuens projecit 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 Alamanns 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* divinities 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 Turicini, ubi cum consistere vellent, populumque 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 Alamanns, because Jonas says: *Sunt inibi vicinae nationes Suevorum*. But this means simply those settled thereabouts; there was no occasion to speak of 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 *intra* would do just as well.

lacum potamicum, ibique a Willimaro presbytero honorifice suscepti, septem dies cum gaudio permanserunt. Qui a sanctis interrogatus, si sciret locum in solitudine illorum proposito congruum, ostendit eis locum jocundissimum ad inhabitandum nomine Brigantium. Ibique reperientes *templum* olim christianae religioni dedicatum, nunc autem *demonum imaginibus* pollutum, mundando et consecrando in pristinum restituerunt statum, atque pro statuibus 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 Tuconium,
Docent fidem gentem, *Jovem* linquunt *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 expetii, et in quo nunc estis *monte* habitaculum, quod cernitis, proprio labore construxi; reperi tamen hic *Dianae simulacrum*, quod populus hic incredulus quasi *deum adorabat*. *columnam* etiam statui, in qua cum grandi cruciatu sine ullo pedum stabam tegmine. . . . Verum ubi ad me multitudo vicinarum civitatum confluere coepit, praedicabam jugiter, nihil esse *Dianam*, nihil *simulacra*, nihilque quae eis videbatur exerceri cultura: indigna etiam esse ipsa, quae inter pocula luxuriasque profluas cantica proferebant, sed potius deo omnipotenti, qui coelum fecit ac terram, dignum sit sacrificium laudis impendere. orabam etiam saepius, ut *simulacro* dominus diruto dignaretur populum ab hoc errore discutere. Flexit domini misericordia mentem rusticam, ut inclinaret aurem suam in verba oris mei, ut scilicet relictis idolis dominum sequeretur, (et) tunc convocatis quibusdam ex eis *simulacrum* hoc *immensum*, quod elidere 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 Schidungen) 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 nomine. *Duobus* siquidem *idolis* hec dedita fuit, id est *Aris*, qui *urbis menis insertus*, quasi dominator dominantium, et *Ermis*, qui et *Mercurius* mercimoniis insistentibus colebatur 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 Wilibrord laid violent hands on the sacred fountain, not that he demolished any image.

eorum adjutorio possem eruere; jam enim reliqua *sigillorum* (the smaller figures) quae faciliora erant, ipse confregeram. Convenientibus autem multis ad hanc *Dianae statuam*, missis funibus trahere coeperunt, sed nihil labor eorum proficere poterat. Then came prayers; egressusque post orationem ad operarios veni, adprehensumque funem ut primo ictu trahere coepimus, protinus *simulacrum ruit in terram, confractumque cum malleis ferreis in pulverem redegit*. So images went to the ground, whose contemplation we should think very instructive now. This Diana was probably a mixture of Roman and Gallic worship; there are inscriptions of a *Diana arduinna* (Bouquet 2, 319).—The second passage stands in Mirac. 2, 5: Erat autem haud procul a cellula, quam sepulchrum, martyris (Juliani Arvernensis) haec matrona construxerat (in vico Brivatensi), *grande delubrum*, ubi in *columna altissima simulachrum Martis Mercuriique colebatur*. Cumque delubri illius festa a gentilibus agerentur ac mortui mortuis thura deferrent, medio e vulgo commoventur 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 libamina, the christian priests offer a fervent prayer to the martyr, a violent thunderstorm arises, the heathens are terrified: Recedente autem tempestate, gentiles baptizati, *statuas* quas coluerant *confringentes*, in *lacum* vico amnique proximum *projecerunt*.—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 Redbod (circ. 716), uses this language: *Jam pars ecclesiarum Christi, quae Francorum prius subjecta erat imperio, vastata erat ac destructa, idolorum quoque cultura exstructis 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 simulacris mutis et surdis subsidii sperare solatium.* Quo audito, gens fera et idololatriis nimium dedita stridebant dentibus in eum, dicentes, non debere profanum longius vivere, imo reum esse mortis, qui tam sacrilegia contra *deos suos invictissimos* proferre praesumisset 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 Ripnaria), 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 *skurdgod* (*Fornm. sog. 2, 73-5*), from *skera*

(sculpere), skurd (sculptura); in the two passages referred to, it is likneski af Freyr. Biorn gives *skúrgoð*, idolum, sculptile, from skur, subgrundium (penthouse), because it had to be placed under cover, in sheds as it were; with which the OHG. skurguta (Graff 6, 536) seems to agree. But there is no distinct proof of an ON. skurgoð.

Dietmar's account is silent about the gods' images at Lethra¹; 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 Alamanns: Nunc de superstitione Sveonum pauca dicemus. *Nobilissimum* illa gens *templum* habet, quod Ubsola dicitur, non longe positum a Sictona civitate (Sigtún) vel Birka. In hoc templo, quod totum ex auro paratum est, *statuas trium deorum* veneratur populus, ita ut potentissimus eorum Thor in medio solium habeat triclino. 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, *cujus etiam* brachiorum lineamenta confertissimo armillarum pondere perstringebant. 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 (goðahus) there were to be seen *three figures* again, those of Thor and the two half-goddesses Thorgerðr and Irpa, of human size, and adorned with armlets;

¹ On recently discovered figures of 'Odin,' v. infra, Wóðan.

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 skurdgoð were worshipped, but Thor most of all, is described in Fornm. sog. 2, 153 and 159, and his *statue* 1, 295. 302-6; in 2, 44 we read: Thorr sat í miðju ok var mêt tiguaðr, hann var mikill ok allr gulli búinn ok silfri (ex auro et argento confectus); conf. Olafs helga saga, ed. Hohn. cap. 118-9, where a large standing figure of Thor is described; and Fornm. sog. 4, 245, ed. Christ. p. 26. Freyr *giorr af silfri*, Isl. sog. 1, 134. Landn. 3, 2. One man carried a *statuette* of Thor carved in whalebone (likneski Thors af tonn gert) in his pocket, so as to worship him secretly, when living among christians, Fornm. sog. 2, 57. Thor's *figure* was carved on the ondvegis-pillars, Eyrbygg. p. 8. Landnamab. 2, 12; and on the prows of ships, Fornm. sog. 2, 324. A figure of Thorgerðr holgabruðr, with rings of gold round the arm, to which people kneel, Fornm. sog. 2, 108.²

¹ Finn Magnussen, 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 Fœreyingasaga, 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 dropt 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 peregrinatio, ed. Werlauff 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 (Meon nouv. recueil 2, 296-7. Maerl. 2, 214). The two Virgin-stories in Meon 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 Palumbus who understands magic. We see the story had spread at an early time, but it is old Teutonic in its origin [*unddeutsch*, evid. a slip for *urdeutsch*]. 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 (Ls. 3, 78. 262), another begins to eat and grow bigger (Kinderm. legenden 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, Fornm. sog. 2, 73-7. The Jomsvikingsaga tells of a temple on Gautland (I. of Gothland), in which were *a hundred gods*, Fornm. sog. 11, 40; truly a 'densitas imaginum,' as Jonas has it (see p. 83). Saxo Gram. 327 mentions a simulacrum *quercu 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 *Wuotan 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 *irmansûllî*, pyramides, Mons. 360. *avarûn*, *irmansûllî*, pyramides, Doc. 203^b. *irmansûll*, colossus, altissima columna, Florent. 987^a, Blas. 86. colossus est *irminsûll*, Gl. Schletst. 18, 1. 28, 1. The literal meaning seems to be statue, to judge by the synonym *avarû*, 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 Perun, 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 (*καταμυσει*), 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 *χειρα υπερευουσι* 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) :—

uf einir <i>yrmensule</i>	Upon an <i>yrmensûl</i>
stuont ein abgot ungehiure,	Stood an idol huge,
den hiezen sie ir koufman.	Him they called their merchant.

Again of Julius Cæsar (Massm. 624) :—

Rômere in ungetrûweliche	Romans him untruly slew,
sluogen,	On an <i>yrm.</i> they buried him.
ûf einir <i>yrmensûl</i> sie in begruoben.	

And of Simon Magus 24° (Massm. 4432) :—

ûf eine <i>yrmensûl</i> er steic,	On an <i>yrmensul</i> he climbed,
daz lantvolc im allesamt neic.	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 *irmensûl*.

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 Heresburg¹ in Westphalia, and that it was called *Irminsul*. Ann. Petav. : *Domnus rex Karolus perrexit in Saxoniam et conquisivit Erisburgo, et pervenit ad locum qui dicitur Ermensul, et succendit ea loca* (Pertz 1, 16). Ann. Lauresh. : *Fuit rex Carlus hostiliter in Saxoniam, et destruxit fanum eorum quod vocatur Irminsul* (Pertz 1, 30). The same in the Chron. Moissiac., except the spelling *Hirminsul* (Pertz 1, 295), and in Ann. Quedlinb., &c. (Pertz 5, 37). Ann. Juvavenses : *Karolus idolum Saxonorum combussit, quod dicebant Irminsul* (Pertz 1, 88). Einhardi Fuld. annales : *Karolus Saxoniam bello aggressus, Eresburgum castrum cepit, et idolum Saxonum quod vocabatur Irminsul destruit* (Pertz 1, 348). Ann. Ratisbon. : *Carolus in Saxoniam conquesivit Eresburgum et Irminsul* (Pertz 1, 92). Ann. Lauriss. : *Karolus in Saxoniam castrum Aeresburg expugnat, fanum et lueum 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, Horohus in pago Hessi Saxonico Saracho 735. 350. Conf. Massmann's Eggesterst. p. 34.

Ann. Lauriss.: Et inde perrexit partibus Saxoniae prima vice, Aeresburgum castrum cepit, ad *Ermensul* usque pervenit, et ipsum *fanum* destruxit, et aurum et argentum quod ibi repperit abstulit. Et fuit siccitas magna, ita ut aqua deficeret in supradicto loco ubi *Ermensul* stabat, &c. (Pertz 1, 150). Einhardi Ann.: Ferro et igni cuncta depopulatus, Aeresburgum castrum cepit, *idolum* quod *Irminsul* a Saxonibus vocabatur evertit (Pertz 1, 151); repeated in Ann. Tilian., and Chron. Regin., with spelling *Ormensul* (Pertz 1, 220, 557).¹ 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*,² 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.³ Ruodolf of Fuld goes more into detail about the Irminsul; after his general statement on the heathen Saxons, that ‘frondosis arboribus fontibusque venerationem exhibebant’ (p.101), he goes on: *Truncum quoque ligni non parvae magnitudinis in altum erectum sub divo colebant, patria eum lingua Irminsul appellant, 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 *Os* is the Sax. form for *ans* (p. 25), which denoted a god, and also a mountain; in High G. the name would be Ansninc, Ensninc. But, beside this mons *Osnengi* near Theotmelli, *i.e.* Detmold (Pertz 2, 447), there stood also a *silva Osning* not far from Osnabrück (Möser urk. no 2), and a *third* in Ripuaria on the Lower Rhine (Lacomblet no 310. 343. 354), which seems to have extended towards the Ardennes as far as Aachen (Aix la Chap.), mentioned in *Vilkinasaga* cap. 40; and according to Barseh on Schannat's Eifflia, illustr. 1, 110, and Hattmer 3, 602^a, the Ardennes itself was called *Osninka*, *Oseninch*. By the Osnabruck 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 as, *ans*, and *faírguni*, it is the sacred mountain and forest. Ledebur takes the Teutoburgiensis saltus to be *Osning*. *Osnabrück*, *Asnebruggi* (bridge of the ases) 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, *irringot* 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*, *irminsul* 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 *eormeneyn* (genus humanum), Beow. 309. Cod. Exon. 333, 3. *eormengrund* (terra), Beow. 1711. (and singularly in an adj. form: ofer ealne *ymenne grund*, Cod. Exon. 243, 13). *eormenstrýnd* (progenies).—ON. *iörmungrund* (terra), *iörmungandr* (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. *Iormunrekr*) shows; and beyond a doubt the *Hermunduri* 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*, *eormen*, 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 *Æthelstân-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 Leuconensis* (†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 immissus, 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 prae-buit. 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*);¹ 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 Hermodr 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 Wodan with the express announcement (1, 9): *Wodan sane, quem adjecta 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. 229. Creuzer, *altrom. 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 Alamanns, declares: Illi 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. . . . *daemoniis* immolare compellitur a Chroco Alamannorum rege (in the third cent.). Widekind of Corvei names *Mars* and *Hereules* 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 sacris *Mercurii* vel *Jovis*¹; 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 Wilibald'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 Varlamacestremsium, 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. Ernoldus 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 Oðin, 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 (*εβδομας*), 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 *ηλιου ημερα* in Justin Mart. apolog. 1, 67. '*Ερμου* and *Αφροδιτης ημερα* 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. Ideler's handb. der chronol. 2, 177-180, and Letronne, observations sur les representations zodiacales, p. 99.

of the 2nd century.¹ The Romans had previously had a week of nine days, *nundinae*=*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 *sabbatum*, 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 *sabbate dags*, *sabbato 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 *sunnon dags*, a *menins 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. *sunwân dag*, O. v. 5, 22. Gl. blas. 76^a. Lacombl. arch. 1, 6.—II. *mânin tac* (without authority, for *manitag*, *manotag* in Graff 2,795. 5, 358 have no reference; *manetag* in Notker, ps. 47, 1).—III. *dies Martis*, prob. *Ziuwes tac* among Alamanns; in the 11th cent. *Cies dac*, Gl. blas. 76^a; ² prob. different among Bavarians and Lombards.—IV. *dies Mercurii*, perhaps still *Wuotanes tac*? our abstract term, *diu mittawecha* 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*, *Fria dag*, O. v. 4, 6. *Frije 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. *sunnon âband*, 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 *gicimbere* and *cinum*.

³ *Sambazolus* n. prop. in Karajan.

already in O. v. 4, 9, prob. abbreviation of *sunnûndages âband*, *feria ante dominicam*, for *vespera solis* cannot have been meant [conf. Engl. Whitsun-eve]; and occasionally, corresponding to the Romance *dies dominica*, *frontag*, 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 *mântac* (Parz. 452, 16. *mœntac* 498, 22. *Amis* 1648)¹ admit of no doubt. Neither do *Donrestac* (Donerstag, Uolrich 73^a. *Dunrestac*, Berth. 128), spelt *Duristag* in a Semi-Low Germ. urk. of 1300 in Hofer p. 57), and *Dornstag* in one of 1495, *Useners femgerichten* p. 131; nor *Frîtac* (Parz. 448, 7. 470, 1. *Walth.* 36, 31. Berth. 134), *Vriegtag*, Uolrich 73^a; nor yet *samztae* (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. *ergetag* in Berth. 122; see examples collected from *urkunden*, Schm. 1, 96-7), in Swabia on the contrary *Ziestac*, 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. *ierte*, Austr. *iârta*, *irita*, Vicentino-Germ. *eorta*, *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 Rhon), whence our *dienstag* (less correctly *dinstag*, there is good reason for the *ie*); 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 *Gwuotenstag*, *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 *zue mentig*, *ze mantage*; yet 1, 490 he has *guenti*, *güenti*, *Tobler* 248^b has *gwontig*, *guentig*, and *Zellwegers urk.* 1^b, 19 *guonti*, for which *Urk. no.* 146 has 'an gutem tag,' which seems to be supported by *Haltaus jahrzeitb.* Or is only this particular Monday after Lent called so? In the *Cod. pal.* 372, 103 (ann. 1382) we have 'guotem 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. *mājkādag*, Almqv. 442^a), 'an der *mitkun*' fem., is found in the Cod. zaringobad. no. 140 (A.D. 1261). So even for the fifth day, the numeric name *phinztae* (Berth. 128. Ottoc. 144^a. Grätzer urk. of 1338. Schwabenspiegel, p. 196. Schm. I, 322), or *phingstag*, has made its way into some districts of Upper Germany through Græco-Slavic influences, *πεμπτη*, *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 *Wodanes dag* for the fourth day of the week, for in Westphalia it is still called *Godenstag*, *Gonstag*, *Gaunstag*, *Gunstag*, at Aix *Gouesdag*, in Lower Rhen. 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 *Frûndag*. The most unlike would doubtless be the seventh, was it formed after dies Saturni, *Sâteresdag*? conf. the Westph. *Saterstag*, *Saiterstaig*, Günter 3, 502 (A.D. 1365). In Sachsensp. 2, 66 one MS. reads for sunavend *Satersdach* (see Suppl.).

MID. DUTCH.—I. *sondach*, Maerl. 2, 159. II. *manendach*, Huyd. op St. 3, 389. *maendach*, Maerl. 2, 139. III. *Disendach*, Maerl. 2, 140. al. *Dicendach*, *Dissendach*, Caunaert strafrecht, pp. 124, 481 apparently corrupted from *Tisdach*. IV. *Woensdach*, Maerl. 2, 143. V. *Donresdach*, Maerl. 2, 144. VI. *Vrîdach*, Maerl. 2, 159. gen. *Vrîndaghes*, Maerl. 2, 143. 157. VII. *Saterdach*, Maerl. 2, 114. 120-3. 157-9. 276. 3, 197. 343. also *sonnacht*, Maerl. 2, 164. 3, 240. (see Suppl.).

NEW DUTCH.—I. *zondag*. II. *mândag*. III. *dingsdag*, formerly *dinsdag*, *Dissendag*. IV. *Woensdag*, Belg. *Goensdag*. V. *Donderdag*. VI. *Vrîdag*. VII. *Zaterdag*.

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*, *sened*

(conf. Frêd); the final *n* in sneyn, no doubt, as in OFris. Frigendei, a relic of the old gen. sing. in the weak decl. II. *moandey*. III. *Tyesdey*. IV. *Wânsdey*. V. *Tongersdey*. VI. *Frêd*, abbrev. from Frêdey. VII. *sniuwun*, *snioun*, abbrev. from sinnejuwn = Sun(day)-even. Conf. tegenwoordige staat van Friesland 1, 121. Was- senbergh's bidraghen 2, 56. Halbertsma naoogst p. 281-2 (see Suppl.).

NORTH FRISIAN.—I. *sennendei*. II. *monnendei*. III. *Tirsdei*. IV. *Winsdei*. V. *Türsdei*. VI. *Fridei*. VII. *sennin* (*in* = even).

ANGLO-SAXON.—I. *sonnan* dæg. II. *monan* dæg. III. *Tiwes* dæg. IV. *Wodenes* or *Wodnes* dæg. V. *Thunores* dæg. VI. *Frige* dæg. VII. *Sætres* or *Sæternes* dæg.

OLD NORSE.—I. *sunnudagr*.¹ II. *mánadagr*. III. *Tyrsdagr*, *Tysdagr*. IV. *Oðinsdagr*. V. *Thórsdagr*. VI. *Friadagr*, *Freyjudagr*. VII. *laugardagr*.

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

DANISH.—I. *sondag*. II. *mandag*. III. *Tirsdag*. IV. *Onsdag*. V. *Torsdag*. VI. *Fredag*. VII. *loverdag* (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,² yet the

¹ This ON. *sunnudagr* is noticeable, as in other cases *sól* 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. *sondag* (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 *viko*, OHG. *wecha* and *wehsal*, both referable to the verb *veika*, *vaik*, OHG. *wichu* (I give way), because change is a giving way [in German, 'der wechsel ist ein weichen']. Ulph. has *viko* only once, Lu. 1, 8, where *εν τη ταξει της εφημερίας* is translated 'in *vikon* kunjis'; it is evidently something more than *τάξις* here, it expresses at the same time a part of the gen. *εφημερίας*, therefore lit. 'in *vice* 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.¹ 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-agma 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 *vikô* 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. *waha*, *wocha*, 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. *Kawispr.* 1, 196). The Finn. *wikkko* is more likely to have been borrowed from the Norse 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 Teutondom.

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 cujusmodi 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 Wodenesdai 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: *Cumque 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 Wodenesday appellatur. Post illum colimus deam inter ceteras potentissimam, vocabulo Fream, cujus vocabulo Friday appellamus. Frea ut volunt 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;¹ 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,² not because they were converted later, but because they became acquainted with Latin culture later. The Finns and Lapps

¹ Conf. Pet. Er. Müller om Saxo, p. 79.

² The Indian nations also name their days of the week after planets; and it seems worth remarking here, that Wednesday is in Sanskrit *Budhuvaras*, 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 Tuesday is their second, and Thursday their fourth,¹ 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. *pfinztag* (fifth) Thursday. Wednesday they call middle, *sreda*, *sereda*, *srida* (whence Lith. *serrada*), which may have acted upon our High German nomenclature; the Finns too have *keskiwiičko* (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 *mittewoche* and *sreda* (Boh. *streda*), 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, *voskresénie*, resurrection (but O.Sl. *ne-délia*, no-doing). 2, *po-nedel'nik*, day after-no-work. 3, *vtórník*, second day. 4, *sereda*, middle. 5, *chetverg*, fourth day. 6, *piatnitsa*, fifth day. 7, *subbota*, 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, *Svatovit* answers to Mars (Ziu), *Radigast* to Mercury (Wuotan), *Perun* to Jupiter (Donar), *Lada* (golden dame, *zolota baba*, in Hanusch 241, 30^b) to Venus (Fria), and perhaps *Sitivrat* to Saturn; the names of the planets are construed quite otherwise, Mars by *Smrto-nos* (letifer), Mercury by *Dobro-pan* (good lord, or rather *honorum dator*), Jupiter by *Krale-moc* (rex potens), Venus by *Ctitel* (cupitor? *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 *Vodans*; 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 *Wódan* or *Guodan*, the Old Saxons *Wuodan*, *Wódan*, but in Westphalia again with the *g* prefixed, *Guódan*, *Gudan*, the Anglo-Saxons *Wóden*, the Frisians *Wéda* from the propensity of their dialect to drop a final *n*, and to modify *ó* even when not followed by an *i*.¹ The Norse form is *Oðinn*, 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 *Vut* 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.- (see Suppl.).

It can scarcely be doubted that the word is immediately derived from the verb OHG. *watan wuot*, ON. *vaða, oð*, 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. *oðr* 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.¹ 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-god²; conf. Virg. Georg. 4, 221: Deum ire per omnes terras, and Ecl. 3, 60: Jovis omnia plena. In the popular language of Bavaria, *wucteln* 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, 276^b. gl. Ker. 270; so *wucterich*, *wüeterich* (Gramm. 2, 516) is used later on, and down to the present day, conf. ein ungestüemer wüeterich, Ben. 431; as in Mar. 217. Herod's messengers of murder are wüeteriche, O.i. 19, 18 names the king himself *gotewuoto*. The form *wuotunc* seems not to differ in sense; an unprinted poem of the 13th century says 'Wüetunges her' apparently for the 'wütende heer,'³ the host led as it were by Wuotan; and *Wuotunc* is likewise a man's name in OHG., *Wodunc*, 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

¹ A word that has never been fully explained, Goth. *vôþis* dulcis, 2 Cor. 2, 15, OHG. *wuodi*, Diut. 2, 304^a, OS. *wuothî*, Hel. 36, 3. 140, 7, AS. *weðe*, must either be regarded as wholly unconnected, or its meaning be harmonized.

- 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. 113^{a,b}.

To the heathen fancy Wuotan is not only the world-ruling, wise, ingenious god, he is above all the *arranger of wars* and battles.¹ Adam of Bremen cap. 233, ed. 1595 says of the Norse god: Wodan, id est fortior, bella gerit, hominique ministrat virtutem contra inimicos . . . Wodanem sculpunt (Sveones) *armatum*, sicut nostri Martem sculpere solent. To the fortior, fortis, would answer his ON. name of *Sviðr*, *i.e.* the strong, masterful, swift (OS. *suith*): but fortior is, no doubt, a false reading, all the MSS. (conf. Pertz 3, 379) read 'Wodan, 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. 77^b). and to Thor the common folk, but this seems added merely to depreciate the latter; in another passage (Sæm. 42^a), Freya shares the *fallen* with Oðinn; he is named *valfaðir* and *herfaðir* (val, choice; her, host). *Oðinn vildi þiggja mann at hlutfalli at hânga or herinom*, Fornald. sög. 3, 31. *Eidem prostratorum manes muneris loco dedicaturum se pollicetur* (Haraldus), Saxo p. 146. *Othinus armipotens*, 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, svânfylkja*, 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 Tyr, 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 (Alamannos) Vuotant* (part. pres. of *wuotan*) *vocatur, Latini autem Martem illum appellant.* Are Adam's words also, 'sicut nostri *Martem* sculpere solent,' to be so taken that nostri

¹ Got waldes an der *sige kûr!* Wh. 425, 24. *sigehafte hende füege in got!* Dietr. 84^a. Oðinn, 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*, Wel. *bianoeh* (Villemarqué, *essai LIX*) = *benedictio*, prob. all from the Lat. word? conf. Fr. *benir*, 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 *Sigtýr* (god of victory), Sæm. 248^a, Sn. 94, *Sigfoðr* (father of victory), Sæm. 68^a; AS. *vîgsigor* (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 *oriante sole* conspexisset. Tunc accessisse Gambaram 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 adessent, seseque a *Wodan* videndas pariter e regione, qua ille per fenestram orientem versus erat solitus adspicere, collocarent; atque ita factum fuisse. Quas cum *Wodan* conspiceret 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 lang longam, bart barbam significat. *Wodan* sane, quem adjecta litera *Gwodan* dixerunt, et *ab universis Germaniae gentibus* ut deus adoratur, qui non circa haec tempora, sed longe antea, nec in Germania, sed in Graecia fuisse 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 '*Toclacus* historiographus' has evidently sprung out of '*hoc loco*' in Paul.

(Huns) are named instead of Vandals:—Cum a Chunis (Langobardi) Danubium transeuntes fuissent comperti, eis bellum conati sunt inferre. Interrogati a Chunis, quare gens eorum terminos introire praesumeret? At illi mulieribus suis praecipiant, 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 barbae valde longae: fertur desuper utraeque phalangae vox dixisse: ‘hi sunt Langobardi!’ quod ab his gentibus fertur eorum *deum* fuisse locutum, quem fanatici nominant *Wodanum* (al. Wisodano, a mere copyist’s or reader’s error for Wuodano). Tunc Langobardi cum clamassent, qui instituerat nomen, *concederet 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. Óðinn has a throne named *Hliðskjalf*, sitting on which he can survey the whole world, and hear all that goes on among men: þar er einn staðr er Hliðskjalf heitir, oc þær Óðinn settiz þar í háseti, oc þa sá hann of alla heima, oc vissi alla luti, þa er hann sa (there is a stead that H. hight, and when O. sat there on high-seat, then saw he over all countries, and wist, &c.), Sn. 10. oc þa er Allfoðr sitr í því sæti, þa ser hann of allan heim, Sn. 21. *hlustar* (listens) Óðinn Hliðskjalfo í, Sæm. 89^b.

¹ Låta fylgja nafni, Sæm. 142^a. 150^a. Fornm. sög. 3, 182. 203. gefa at nafnfesti (name-feast), Sn. 151. Fornm. sog. 2, 51. 3, 133. 203. Islend. sog. 2, 143. 194. Vocabuli largitionem muneris additione commendare, Saxo Gram. 71.

² Longobardi a longis barbibus vocitati, Otto fris. de gest. Frid. 2, 13. But Óðinn himself was named *Långbarðr*.

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 Hliðskialfo, ok *sá um heima alla*, Sæm. 39. The proem to the Grímnismal bears a strong resemblance to the legend in Paul; for, just as Frea pulls her favourites the Winili through, in opposition to Wodan's own resolve, so Frigg brings to grief Geirroðr, 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 Iotunheim; Freyr *hafði setse* í Hliðskialf, oc *sá um heima alla*, Sæm. 81. Sn. 39. The word *hliðskialf* seems to mean literally door-bench, from *hlið* (ostium, conf. Engl. lid), and *skialf* (scamnum), AS. *scylfe*, Cædm. 79, 4. Engl. shelf (see Suppl.). Mark the language in which the OS. poet describes the Ascension of Christ: *sohta imo thena helagon stól*, *sitit imo thar an thea suídrón* (right) half Godes, *endi thanan all gisihit* (seeth) *waldandeo Crist*, *sô huat sô* (whatso) *thius werold behabêt*, Hel. 176, 4—7, conf. Cædm. 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, "Ἰδηθεὺν μεδέων, even as Helios, the eye of the sun, surveys and discerns all things, Il. 3, 277. But a widely-circulated *marchen* 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.

¹ Kindermärchen no. 35. First in Bebel, ed. 1, Tub. 1506, p. 6. Frey's gartengesellschaft cap. 109, ed. 1556 p. 106, ed. 1590 p. 85. Rollwagenbüchlein 1590, pp. 98-9 (here a golden settle). Mosers vermischte schriften 1, 332. 2,

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

Der nu den himel hat erkorn,
der geiselt uns bî unser habe ;
ich vürhte sere, 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. Egilssaga p. 365 : *reiðr sê 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 *δωτωρ ἐάων*, 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* : tha gengengo regin oll a rokstola ginheilög goð, Sæm. 1^b. 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, 254^b : ze hus wirf ich den *slegel* dir. MS. 2, 6^b : mit einem *slegel* er zuo 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* (Graff 6, 773). The cudgel thrown from heaven can hardly be other than a thunderbolt ; and the obscure proverb, 'swer irre rite daz der den *slegel* fünde,' whoso 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).

- Haupts zeitschr. 1, 573. Lasicz. 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 ; *wunisc*, *wunsc*, 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 rat, des der wunsch an wîbe 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 wunsches rîche,' rich in all gifts of the earth ; 235, 24, 'erden wunsches überwal' ; Trist. 4696. 4746 'der wunsch von worten, von bluomen' ; Trist. 1374 'in dem 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 rîs 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 *wunsc*, ON. *osk* (see Suppl.).

Among other Eddic names of Oðinn, appears *Osci*, Sæm. 46^b. Sn. 3, 24, *i.e.* he who makes men partakers of *wunsch*, of the highest gift. *Osk*, gen. *Oskar*, a woman's name, Fornm. sog. 1, 246. Eyrbyggja saga cap. 7. Laxd. p. 12.

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 :

<p>Got erlaubte dem <i>Wunsche</i> über in, daz er lîb unde sin <i>meistert</i> nach sîm werde. swâ von ouch ûf der erde deheinem man ze loben geschiht, desn gebrast im niht ; der <i>Wunsch</i> hat in <i>gemeistert</i> so</p>	<p>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,</p>
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daz er *sîn was ze kinde vrô*,
wande er nihts an im vergaz :
er hetn *geschaffet*, kunder, baz.
Greg. 1091-1100.

that he was glad of him for child,
for he nought in him forgot :
he had him shapen, if he could,
better.

man sagt daz nie kint gewan
ein lip so gar dem *Wunsche* glich.
Ex. 330.

They say that never a child won
a body so wholly equal to Wish
(or, exactly like Wish).

alsô was ez (daz phert) gestalt,
und ob er (der werltwise man)
danne den *gewalt*
von dem Wunsche hæte,
daz ez belibe stæte

So was it wrought (the horse),
that if he (the wright) had had

swes er darzuo gedæhte,
und swenne erz volbræhte,
daz erz für sich stalte
und er *von sînem gwalte*
dar abe næme
swaz daran im missezæme,
also was ez volkomen
daz er dar abe niht hete geno-
men
also grôz als umb ein hâr.

the command from Wish,
that (his work) should be left
unaltered,

whatever he attempted thereon,
and when he had completed it,
that he should set it before Him,
and He at his discretion
therefrom should take away
whatever therein misliked him,—
so perfect was it
that he therefrom nought would
have taken
so great as a hair.

Er. 7375-87.

als ez der *Wunsch gebôt* (bade). Er. 8213.
was ein *wunschkind* (was a child of wish). Ex. 8277.
Enîte was des *Wunsches* kint,
der an ir nihtes vergaz. Er. 8934.
da was ir har und ir lich (lyke, lych, body)
so gar dem *Wunsche* gelich (like). Iw. 1333.
diz was an ir (zucht, schoene, jugent) und gar der rat (all the store)
des der *Wunsch* (or *wunsch* ?) an wibe gert (desires.) Iw. 6468.
wande sie nie gesahen (for they never had seen)
zwene riter gestalt (two knights fashioned)
so gar *in Wunsches gewalt*
an dem lîbe und an den siten (manners). Iw. 6913.
der *Wunsch vluochet* (curses) im so. Iw. 7066.

mir hât der *Wunsch* gevluochet. Hartm. büchl. 2, 113.
 er was schœne und wol gevar (for gefarwet, coloured),
 rehte, als in der *Wunsch erkos* (chose). Gerh. 771.
 mîn herze in (ihnen, to them) des begunde jehen (acknowledge),
 in wære des *Wunsches flîz* (zeal, care) bereit. Gerh. 1599.
 an der der *Wunsch* mit kinsche *bar*
sîne sîeze lebende fruht. Gerh. 1660.
 daz ich ir schœne krœne
 ob allen frouwen schone
 mit des *Wunsches krône*. Gerh. 1668.
 ein regen uz dem wolken vloz
 der uf des *Wunsches ouwe goz*
 so heizen regen (?). Gerh. 2307.
 an lobe (praise) des *Wunsches krone*. Gerh. 2526.
 swes ich begunde daz geschach (was accomplished),
 der *Wunsch* ie mînen werken jach (ever to my works said yea)
 des wunsches als ich wolte
 und als ich wûnschen solte. Gerh. 2945.
 nach des *Wunsches lere* (lore). Gerh. 4500.
 der *Wunsch* mit *sîner hende*
 vor wandel (change, fault) hete si getwagen (cleansed). Troj. 1212.
 der *Wunsch* hat ane loughen (without lying, undeniably)
 erzeiget an ir sîne *kraft*,
 und sîner *künste* meisterschaft
 mit *vlîze* an ir bewert (carefully evinced in her). Troj. 7569.
 der *Wunsch* hat in *gemachet* wandels vrî (free of fault). Troj. 3154.
 der *Wunsch* der hete an si geleit (gelegt, laid out, spent)
 me *flîzes* denne uf elliu wip (more pains than on any woman).
 Troj. 19620.
 so daz er niemer wibes leben
 fur sie *geschepfen* wolde baz (better);
 do *sîn gewalt* ir bilde *maz* (measured),
 do leit (legte) er an sie manec model. Troj. 19627
 und hæte sîn der *Wunsch* gesworn,
 er wolde bilden ein schœner wîp,
 und *schepfen* also klaren lîp
 als Helena mîn frouwe treit (tragt, bears)
 er müeste brechen sînen eit (eid, oath)
 wan er kunde niemer (for he could never),

und solte *bilden* iemer (were he to shape for ever),
geschepfen wünneclîcher frucht. Troj. 19526-32.
 ez hât ze sînem 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 sîne *mcisterschaft*,
 er hete sîne beste *kraft*
 mit ganzem *flîz* an sie geleit. Der werlde lon. 84.

Other poets personify too (not, however, Wolfram nor Gotfried):
 der zweier kurtêsîe
 sich ze dem *Wunsche* het geweten,
 si ware niender uz getreten. Wigal. 9246.
 an ir schoene was wol schîn,
 daz ir der *Wunsch* gedâhte. Wigal. 9281.
 der *Wunsch* het sich *geneigct* in ir gewalt. ibid. 904.
 in was der *Wunsch* bereit. ib. 10592.
 des *Wunsches amîe*. ib. 7906. 8735.
 wen mohte dâ erlangen,
 da der *Wunsch inne was*. ib. 10612.
 der *Wunsch* het si *gemachet* so,
 und ist ir ze kinde *vrô*. Amur 1338. (Pf. 1343).
 des *Wunsches ougenweide* (food for the eye)
 sit ir und mîner sælden spil (are ye, and the play of my delight).
 Wigal. 8760. Amur 1068. (Pf. 1072).
 si schepfet uz des *Wunsches heilawâge* (holy water). Martina, 259.
 (diu hant) ist im groz, lanc unde wiz,
 zuo der het sich der *Wunsch gescllet*. Turl. Wh. 38^a.
 hie *stuont* (here stood) der *Wunsch*. ib. 137^b.
 dar an lit (therein lieth) wol des *Wunsches vlîz*. Tyrol E, 3.
 si ist des *Wunsches* hostez *zil* (highest mark or aim). Ms. 1, 84^a.
 sie ist der *Wunsch* uf erde. Ms. 2, 100^b.
 sie ist des *Wunsches ingesinde* (one of W.'s household). Ms. 1, 6^a.
 von ir scheidel uf ir zehen (from her crown to her toes)
 so ist niht an minneclîchen wîden wan (save, but) des *Wunsches*
blic. MsII. 3, 493^a.
 des *Wunsches blüete* sint entsprungen in mîne herzen. Fragm. 45^b.
 si trage des *Wunsches bilde*. Ms. 1, 191^a.
 des *Wunsches krône* tragen. Docen misc. 2, 186.

sie hât des *Wunsches gewalt*. Amgb. 31^b
 er was so gar des *Wunsches kint*,
 daz alle man gein (against, before) sîner schoene waren blint,
 und doch menlich gestalt bî clarem velle (complexion) ;
 der *Wunsch* im niht gebrechen liez (let nought be lacking)
 da von man 's *Wunsches kint* den stolzen hiez (should call the
 stately one). Lohengr. ed. Rückert str. 625.

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 amîe ! 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
 segniti sie der alte.

With *Wish's* might
 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 : *freudenvoll hat sie Got* *gegozzen*, MS. 1, 226^b ; *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 yðr Oðinn,' p. 137, might be rendered in MHG. 'der Wunsch zürnet iu, 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 *κομαι*

Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι, Il. 17, 51; and *Χάριτες*, 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 *χαρις*, gratia, as there is a wish.¹ Püterich of Reicherzhausen (Haupts zeitschr. 6, 48) speaks of 'die *wuntsches* füesse' of a princess; the older phrase would have been 'ir füeze waren 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 *ave* and *heilwâc* can be matched by Phol's *ouwa* and *brunno*, or the meads and holywells of other gods; Wish's *crown* by that worn by gods and kings. And, most remarkable of all, Wish rejoices in his creature as in a *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 'wunschint' is also used in the sense of an adopted, *i.e.* wished for, child.² Herbert 13330 makes Hecuba exclaim: *ich han einen sun verlorn, er gezæme 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 Oðinn too has these marvellous children and wish-maidens in his train (see Suppl.)³

To the ON. *Oski* ought by rights to correspond an OHG. *Wunsco*, *Wunscjo*, (weak decl.), which I am not able to produce even as a man's name (see Suppl.).⁴ A MHG. *Wunsche* cannot be proved

¹ In many places it is doubtful, whether the poet meant *wish* or *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: *si was gar ob dem wunsches zil* (over wish's goal, beyond all that one could wish), the phrase borders close upon the above-quoted, 'si ist des Wunsches hostez zil (the highest that Wish ever created)'; and it is but a step from 'mines wunsches paradîs,' MS. 2, 126^a, to 'des Wunsches paradîs' or 'ouwe'. So, 'dâ ist wunsch, und niender breste (here is one's wish, and nothing wanting),' MS. 1, 88^a = 'der Wunsch liez im niht gebrechen,' W. left him nothing lacking (see Suppl.).

² The Germ. an-wünschen verbally translates the Lat. ad-opto.—TRANS.

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.—TRANS.

⁴ The name does occur later: Johannes dictus de (= der) *Wunsch*, Ch. ann. 1324 (Neue mitth. des thür. vereins I. 4,65). In the Oberhess. wochenblatt, Marburg 1830, p. 420, I read of a Joh. *Wunsch* who is probably alive at this moment.

from Troj. 3154. 7569. 19620. 19726 (Strasz. 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* = *Wunschelfrauen*, wish-women; by the *Oskasteinn*, a philosopher's stone connected with our *Wünschelrute*, wishing-rod, and Mercury's staff; by *Oskabyrr*, MHG. *Wunschwind*, fair wind; by *Oskabiorn*, 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^a, 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 *wusc* (*optio*, *votum*) seeming to be rare, and only *wyscan* (*optare*) in common use; yet among the mythic heroes of Deira we meet with a *Wāsefreá*, 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^b it speaks of *Oski* and *Omi* in a breath, and in 91^b uses *Omi* once more for Oðinn. Now this *Omi* stands related to *omr*, *sonus*, *frigor*, as the AS. *woma* to *wom*, *clamor*, *sonitus*; I have quoted instances in Andr. and El. pp. xxx, xxxi, to which may now be added from the Cod. exon.: *heofonwoma* 52, 18. 62, 10; *dægredwoma* 179, 24; *hildewoma* 250, 32. 282, 15; *wîges woma* 277, 5; *wintres woma* 292, 22: in this last, the meaning of *hiemis impetus*, *frigor*, *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*), *woma* (*impetus*, *frigor*). 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 *ygg* for terror. The AS. *woma* is no longer found as *Woma*; 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 *Omi*, *Woma* 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. metodsecaft seon*, *Beow.* 2360. *Cædm.* 104,31. Or *seeking, visiting God*: *OS. god suokian*, *Hel.* 174,26; *fadar suokion*, *Hel.* 143, 23; *upôdushém*, *liht ôdar*, *sinlîf*, *godes rîki suokian*, *Hel.* 85, 21. 17, 17. 63, 14. 137, 16. 176, 5. In a like sense the *Thracians*, acc. to *Herodotus* 4, 94, said *ιεναι παρα Ζάλμοξιν (Γεβελεϊζιν) δαιμονα*, which *Zalmoxis* or *Zamolxes* is held by *Jornandes* to be a deified king of the *Goths* (*Getae*). In the North, *faring to Oðinn*, being guest with *Oðinn*, *visiting Oðinn*, meant simply to die, *Fornald. sög.* 1, 118. 422-3. 2, 366. and was synonymous with *faring to Valholl*, being guest at *Valholl*, *ib.* 1, 106. Among the christians, these were turned into curses: *far þú til Oðins! Oðins 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. *Valholl* (*aula optionis*) and *Valleyrja* 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, *Sæm.* 194^a, and she says: *Oðinn þvi veldr, er ek eigi mattak bregða blunnstofom*. He breeds enmity and strife: *einn veldr Oðinn öllu bölvi, þviat með sifjungom sakrúnar bar*, *Sæm.* 165^b. *inimicitias Othinus serit*, *Saxo gram.* p. 142, as christians say of the devil, that he sows the seeds of discord. *gremi Oðins*, *Sæm.* 151^a (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*: Grímnir í *feldi blám*, blue cloak, Sæm. 40. í *heklu grœnni ok blám brókum*, green cloak and blue breeks, Fornald. sög. 1, 324. *heklumaðr*, cloaked man, 1, 325. When he desired to drink of Mími's fountain, he was obliged to leave one of his eyes in pawn, Sæm. 4^a, Sn. 15.¹ In Saxo, p. 12, he appears as *grandaevus, altero orbis oculo*; p. 37, *armipotens, uno semper contentus ocello*; p. 138, *senex orbis oculis, hispido amietu*. So in the Sagas: kom þar maðr *gamall*, miök 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, Fornm. sog. 2, 138. hann hafir *heklu flekkötta* yfir ser, sa maðr var berfœttr ok hafði knytt línbrokum at beini, hann var har miok (very high), ok eldiligr ok *einsýnn*, Fornald. sog. 1, 120. þa kom maðr í bardagann með *síðan hatt ok heklu blá*,² hann hafði *eitt auga*, ok geir (spear) í hendi, ib. 1, 145. þetta mun Oðinn *gamli* verit hafa, ok at vîsu var maðrinn *einsýnn*, ib. 1, 95. sá hann mann mikinn með *síðun hetti*, ib. 5, 250. með *hetti* Hângatýss ganga, cum cidari Odini incedere, Vigagl. saga, p. 168. Othinus, *os pileo, ne cultu proderetur, obnubens*, Saxo Gram. 44. An Eddic song already names him *Síðhötr*, broad-hatted, Sæm. 46^b, and one saga merely *Hottr*, hatted, Fornald. sog. 2, 25-6; conf. Müllers sagabibl. 3, 142. Were it not for the name given him in the Grímnismal, 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*, Tobler's Appenzel p. 369^b; 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 *Greymantle* (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*, *Síðgrani*, *Síðskeggr*, all in allusion to his thick growth of hair and beard. The name Redbeard I have elsewhere understood of Thor, but in Fornald. sog. 2, 239—257 the *Grani* and *Rauðgrani* are expressly Oðinn (see Suppl.).

The Norse myth arms Oðinn with a wonderful *spear* (*geir*), *Gáungvir* 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, Vols. saga cap. 11. He lends this spear to heroes to win victories with, Sæm. 165. A remarkable passage in the Fornm. sog. 5, 250 says: *seldi honum reyrspióta* (gave him the reeden spear) *í hönd, ok bað hann skióta honum yfir lið Styrbiarnar, ok þat skyldi hann mæla: Oðin â 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: *þa skaut Steinþórr spíoti at fornóm síð til heilla ser yfir flokk Snorra;* where, it is true, nothing is said of the spear launched over the enemy being the god's. Sæm. 5^a, of Oðinn himself: *fleigði ok í folk 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 *munnr* (*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. 42^b 88^a. Sn. 42. 56. 322. To the Greek Apollo too the *wolf* and *raven* were sacred;¹ his messenger the *raven* informed him when Koronis 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

¹ In Marc. Cap. 1, 11, the words: *'augurales vero alites ante currum Delio constiterunt*, are transl. by Notker 37: *to waren garo ze Apollinis reito sine wizegfogela, rabena unde albisse.* To Oðinn hawks are sometimes given instead of ravens: Oðins *haukar* Sæm. 167^b.

dove descending upon Christ at his baptism, Lu. 3, 22, and resting upon him, ἔμειven ἐπ' αὐτόν, mansit super eum, John 1, 32: 'in Krist er sih gisidalta,' says O. i. 25, 24; but Hel. 30, 1 of the dove: *sat im uppan* uses 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, Oswald 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 stylus 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 santez 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^b. Gold coins also were discovered near the village of Gommainga in Oeland, one of which represents Odin with the *ravens* on his shoulder; the reverse has runes, Kunstbl. 1844, no. 13, p. 52^a.

noticeable for its double form: *Bifliði* eða *Biflindi*, Sn. 3; Sæm. 46^b has *Biblindi*. 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. *Pepalindi*, 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, Formn. sog. 2, 16, hence a good sailing wind is called *oskabyrr*, Sæm. 16^a^b, *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 *wunschwind* in the same sense; Hartmann says, Greg. 615:

Dô sande in (to them) der sūeze Krist
den vil rehten wunschwind (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 Wodan'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, hwa ærost bocstafas sette?' 'ic the secge, *Mercurius se gygand*'. 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 Eddic *Rânatala þattr* seems to ascribe the first teaching of runes to Oðinn, if we may so

interpret the words: *nam ec upp rátnar*, Sæm. 28^a. þær ofrêð, þær ofreist, þær ofhugði Hroptr, *i.e.*, them Oðinn read out, cut out, thought out, Sæm. 195^b. Also Snorri, Yngl. cap. 7: allar þessar ídrottir kendi hann með *rátnum* ok *lioðum*. 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 prodidit, unde et Mercurius inventor illius dicitur*, 1, 656. Conf. Schol. to Odys. 23, 198, and MS. 2, 124^b: *der tiuvel* schuof das würfelpil. Our folk-tales know something about this, they always make the devil play at cards, and entice others to play (see Suppl.).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 Gallic² 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 centuries³ transferred to a Saracen deity *Termagan*,⁴ *Tervagan*, *Tervigant*, *Terviant*. 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 Misnere Amgb. 42^a, in enumerating all the planets, singles out Mercury to invoke in the words: *Nu hilf mir, daz mir sælde wache! schin er mir ze gelücke, noch so kum ich wider uf der sælden phat (pfad)*. Just so I find Odin invoked in Swedish popular songs: *Hiclp nu, Oden Asagrim!* Svenska fornsangor 1, 11. *hiclp mig Othin!* 1, 69. To this god first and foremost the people turned when in distress; I suppose he is called Asagrim, because among the Ases he bore the name of Grímnir?

¹ Reusch, sagen des preuss. Samlands, no. 11. 29.

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 Mercurii, *dia Geden*, whether modelled on the Engl. Wednesday or not, leads us to the form Goden, Gwoden (see Suppl.).

³ Even nursery-tales of the present time speak of a *groszmachtige Mercurius*, Kinderm. no. 99. 2, 86.

⁴ This *Termagan*, *Termagant* occurs especially in O. Engl. poems, and may have to do with the Irish *tormac augmentum*, *tormacaim augere*.

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 *Oðinn 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', ἣν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσιν.* Il. 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: *Selbiu ursa ist pî demo norde mannelîchemo zeichenhaftiu fone dien siben glaten sternon, die aller der liut wagen heizet, unde nah einemo gloccun joche² gescaffen sint, unde ebenmichel sint, ane (except) des mittelosten.* The Anglo-Saxons called the constellation *wænes þîsl* (waggon's thill, pole), or simply *þîsl*, but *carles wæn* also is quoted in Lye, the Engl. *charles wain*, Dan. *karlsvogn*, Swed. *karlwagn*. Is *carl* 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 wagan*, 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.) ourse, dat is te segghene Woenswaghen.* And elsewhere: *dar dit teekin Arcturus, dat wy heeten Woonswaghen, up staet; het sevenstarre ofde Woenswaghen;* conf. Huydec. proeven 1, 24. I have nowhere met with *plaustrum Mercurii*, nor with an ON. *Oðins 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 wec* or *strâza* (way or street). *Wódenesweg*, 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 Septentrion, que nos *char el ciel* apelon; Roman de Rou.

² Crossbeam, such as bells (*glocken*) are suspended on; conf. ans, as, p. 125.

older doc. of 937 is said to have *Watanesweg* (conf. Wiggert in the Neu. mitth. des thür. vereins VI. 2, 22). praedium in *Wodeneswege*, Dietm. Merseb. 2, 14 p. 750. Annal. Saxo 272. Johannes de *Wden-swege*, Heinricus de *Wôdensweghe* (Lenz.) Brandenb. urk. p. 74 (anno 1273), 161 (anno 1301). later, *Wutenswege*, *Godenschwege*, *Gutenswegen*, conf. Ledebur n. arch. 2, 165, 170. Gero ex familia *Wodenswegiorum*, Ann. Magdeb. in chron. Marienthal. Meibom 3, 263. I would mention here the lustration der *koninges strate*, RA. 69; in the Uplandslag vidherb. balkr 23, 7 the highway is called *karlsveg*, like the heavenly wain above. But we shall have to raise a doubt by and by, whether the notion of *way*, via, is contained at all in *Wodensweg*.

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 *Sigtÿs bergi*, Sæm. 248^a. *Othensberg*, now *Onsberg*, on the Danish I. of Samsøe; *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, *Wôdenesberg*, 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 *Wuodenesberg*, 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 *Wodenesberg* is named in a doc. of 1130, Wedekind's notes 1, 367; a curtis *Wôdenesberg* 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. *Wônesberch* = Wodanesberg) a radicibus astra petit,' said to be situate in pagus Gandavensis, but more correctly Mt. Ardenghen between Boulogne and St. Omer. Comes *Wadanimontis*, aft. Vaudemont in Lorraine (Don Calmet, tome 2,

preuves XLVIII. L.), seems to be the same, and to mean *Wodanions*.¹ A *Wóðnes 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 *Wodnesbyrg*' for *Wodnesberg*; but Florence, ed. 1592, p. 225, has '*Wodnesbeorh*, id est mons Wodeni'.² A *Wodnesbeorg* in Lappenberg's map near the Bearucwudu, conf. *Wodnesbury*, *Wodnesdyke*, *Wóðanesfeld* 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 prisoned 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 *Woteneshusun* (conf. Schannat no. 84. 105); in Oldenburg there is a *Wodensholt*, now *Godensholt*, cited in a land-book of 1428, Ehrentraut Fries. arch. 1, 445: 'to *Wodensholte* Tideke Tammen gut x schillinge'; *Wothenower* (*Wôdenover*?), seat of a Brandenburg family, Hofers 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 Graisivaudan, 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*, *byrig*, 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 eer 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, Othansale, 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 *Wônstoe* = *Wôdenesstoe*, 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. *Woedenspanne*, *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. 46^a 93^b. 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*.¹ 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 roggenarne geendet, heft men up den lesten platz eins idern (each) veldes einen kleinen ord unde humpel korns unafgemeiet stan laten, datsilve baven (b' oben, a-b'ove) an den aren drevoldigen to samende geschortet, unde besprenget (ears festooned together three times, and sprinkled). Alle meiers sin darumme her getreden, *ere hode* (their hats) *vam koppe genamen* (v. supra, p. 32), unde ere seisen (scythes) na der silven wode [mode ?] unde geschrenke (encircling) dem kornbusche upgerichet, und hebben den *Wodendüvel* dreimal sempelik lud averall also angeropen unde gebeden :

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

welker afgödischer gebрук im Pawestom gebleven. Daher denn ok noch an dissen orden dar heiden gewanet, bi etliken ackerlüden (-leuten, men) solker avergelovischer gebрук in anropinge des *Woden* tor tid der arne gespöret werd, und ok oft desilve *helsche jeger* (the same hellish hunter), sonderliken im winter, des nachtes up dem velde mit sinen 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 *Oden* 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 *Hogrumstrask* ; 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 *Högbysocken* 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. *Verelii notae* on the *Gautrekssaga* p. 40 quote from the *Clavis computi runici* : '*Odin beter hesta sma i belg bunden*,' which I do not quite understand. In the *Fornn. sog.* 9, 55-6 *Oðinn* 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), dorch Nicolaum Grysen, predigern in Rostock, Rost. 1593. 4, sheet E iiiib. 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,
 achter 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 Vestergötland 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 *Wold, Wold, Wold!* 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:

Wold, Wold, Wold!
 hävenhüne weit wat schüt,
 jümm hei dal van haven süt.

¹ Mussäus meklenb. volkssagen no. 5; in Lisch meklenb. jahrb. 2, 133 it is spelt *Waud*, and a note is made, that on the Elbe they say *fru'r Wod*, i.e. froho, lord; conf. infra, fru Gaue and fru Gauden in the 'wutende heer'.

² By Münchhausen in Bragur VI. 1, 21—34.

Vulle kruken un sängen hât hei,
 upen holte wässt (grows) manigerlei :
 hei is nig barn un wert nig old.
Wôld, Wôld, Wôld!

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. *Wôld*, though excused by the rhyme, seems a corruption of *Wôd*, *Wôde*,¹ rather than a contraction from *waldand* (v. supra, p. 21). 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, Oðinn, as a man's

¹ Conf. Dutch oud, goud for old, gold; so *Woude*, which approximates the form *Wode*. 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) *Wodenesweg*, *Wódenesberg*, *Wódenesholt*, *Wódeneshúsun*, and on the Jutish border *Wonsild*; from the Netherlands *Woensdrecht*; in Upper Germany such names hardly show themselves at all.¹ In England we find: *Woodnesboro'* in Kent, near Sandwich: *Wednesbury* and *Wednesfield* in Staffordshire; *Wednesham* in Cheshire, called *Wodnesfield* in Ethelwerd p. 848.² 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 *Odinsve* (Fornm. 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*³ 530. 542 *Othänso*. In Lower Norway, close to Frederikstad, a second *Oðinsey* (Heimskr. ed. Havn. 4, 348. 398), aft. called *Onsö*. In Jutland, *Othänshyllä* (-huld, grace, Wald. lib. cens. 519), aft. *Onsild*. *Othänsléf* (Othini reliquiae, leavings, ib. 526), now *Onslev*. In Halland, *Othänssäle* (-saal, hall, ib. 533), now *Onsala* (Tuneld's geogr. 2, 492. 504); as well as in Old Norway an *Odhinssalr* (conf. Woensel in Brabant, Woenssele?). In Schonen, *Othänshäret* (Wald. lib. cens. 528); *Othenshärat* (Bring 2, 62. 138. 142),⁴ now *Onsjo* (Tuneld 2, 397); *Onslunda* (-grove, Tuneld 2, 449); *Othensvara* (Bring 2, 46-7, Othenvara 39); *Othenströö* (Bring 2, 48), from *vara*, foedus, and *tro*, fides? In Småland, *Odensvalahult* (Tuneld 2, 146) and *Odensjö* (2, 109. 147. Sjoborg forsok p. 61). In Ostergotland, *Odenfors* (Tuneld 2, 72). In Vestergotland, *Odenskulla* (2, 284) and *Odenskälla* (2, 264), a medicinal spring; *Odensaker*, *Onsäker* (-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-*, *Wad-*, *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 *wig*, *wih*, *templum* (see p. 67). This becomes the more credible, as there occurs in the Cod. exon. 341, 28 the remarkable sentence :

Wóden worhte *weos*, wuldor alwealda
rûme roderas ;

i.e., Wôden construxit, creavit fana (idola), Deus omnipotens amplios coelos ; the christian writer had in his recollection the heathen sanctuaries assigned to Woden, 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 = Wôdaneswih, 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, *wodesterne* 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

¹ Olof Grau, beskrifning öfver Wästmanland. Wästerås 1754. conf. Dybeck runa I. 3, 41.

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 Wuotan 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 *λίχας*, was called in the Netherlands *Woedensspanne*, *Woedenspanne*, *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, Alamanns 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 Gotlanders 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: 'Olafur konungr kristnaði þetta ríki allt, oll blot braut hann niðr ok oll goð, sem

Thôr Engilsmanna goð, ok Oðin Saxa goð, ok Skiöld Skânûnga goð, ok Frey Svía goð, ok Goðorm Dana goð'; *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., Fornm. sog. 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 Woden, 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 *Wuodan*, 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 Wuodan'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 Wuodan, as the greatest of them, stood *in the middle*? as, according to Adam of Bremen, *Thor* did at Upsala, with *Wodan* and *Fricco* on each side of him.

In the ON. sagas, when *two* of these gods are named together, *Thorr* usually precedes *Oðinn*. The *Laxdælasaga*, p. 174, says of *Kiartan*: At hann þykist eiga meira traust undir afli sínu ok vapnum (put more trust in his strength and weapons, *conf.* pp. 6, 7) heldr em þar sem er *Thorr* ok *Oðinn*. The same passage is repeated in *Fornm. sog.* 2, 34. Again, *Eyvindr* relates how his parents made a vow before his birth: At sa maðr skal alt til dauðadags þiona *Thor* ok *Oðni* (this man shall until death-day serve, &c.), *Fornm. sog.* 2, 161.¹ But it does not follow from this, that *Thorr* was thought the greatest, for *Eyvindr* was actually dedicated to *Oðinn*. In *Fornm. sog.* 5, 249, *Styrbiorn* sacrifices to *Thorr*, and *Eirekr* to *Oðinn*, but the former is beaten. *Thorr* tok

¹ So in an AS. homily *De temporibus Antichristi*, in *Wheloc's Beda* p. 495, are enumerated ' *Thor* and *Eoðwen*, þe hæðene men heriað swiðe'; and before that, ' *Erculus* se ent (*Hercules gigas*) and *Apollinis* (*Apollo*), þe hi mærne god lêtôn'. The preacher was thinking of the Greek and the Norse deities, not of the Saxon, or he would have said *Thunor* and *Woden*. 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 Hálfðâni, Fornm. sög. 10, 178. In the popular assembly at Thrandheim, the first cup is drunk to *Oðinn*, the second to *Thorr*, *ibid.* 1, 35. In the famous Bravalla fight, *Othin* 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 Harbarzlioð seems to place *Oðinn* above *Thorr*. A contrast between *Oðinn* and *Thorr* is brought out strongly in the Gautrekssaga quoted below, ch. XXVIII. But, since *Thorr* 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*, *Thór*, *Freyr*, Sn. edda 131. According to Fornm. sög. 1, 16, voyagers vow money and three casks of ale to *Freyr*, if a fair wind shall carry them to Sweden, but to *Thorr* or *Oðinn*, if it bring them home to Iceland (see Suppl.).

It is a different thing, when *Oðinn* in ON. documents is styled *Thridi*, the third;² in that case he appears not by the side of *Thôr* and *Freyr*, but by the side of *Hâr* and *Iafnhâr* (the high and the even-high or co-equal, OHG. epan hoh) as the *Third High*³ (see Suppl.), Sn. 7. Yngl. saga 52. Sæm. 46^a. 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. 3^b, 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. 28^b 47^b, this may be derived from a lost þynja = AS. þunian, tonare, and so be equivalent to Donar; it is true, they explain þundr as loricated, from þund lorica. But Wuotan, as Voma, is the noise of the rushing air, and we saw him hurl the cudgel, as *Thorr* does the hammer.

² As Zeus also is τριτός, from which Τριτογένεια is more easily explained than by her birth from his head (see Suppl.).

³ Ælfric's glosses 56^a, *Altanus: Woden*. 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 μένος would be well adapted to unite the meanings of courage, fury (mut, 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 wiho, sanctus (Goth. Ahma sa veiha, Holy Ghost), and wih, 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 Wodan'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 up 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 *Oller* in his place (see Suppl.). The distant journeys of the god are implied in the Norse by-names *Gångruðr*, *Gangleri*, *Vegtamr*, and *Viðforull*, and in Saxo 45 *viator indefessus*. It is not to be overlooked, that even Paulus Diac. 1, 9 knows of Wodan's residence in *Greece* (qui non circa hæc tempora—of the war between Langobards and Vandals—sed longe antè, nec in Germania, sed in *Graecia* fuisse perhibetur; while Saxo removes him to *Byzantium*, and Snorri to *Tyrkland*). In the passage in Paul. Diac. : 'Wodan sane, quem adjecta litera Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis Germaniæ gentibus ut deus adoratur, qui non circa hæc tempora, sed longe antè, nec in Germania, sed in *Graecia* fuisse perhibetur'—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.

- 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, *Balder* and that *Saxnôt* who in the 8th century was not yet rooted out of N.W. Germany; and in the line of his progenitors, *Heremod* and *Geát*, the latter expressly pronounced a god, or the son of a god, in these legends, while *Wodan* 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 Geat and Wodan merge into *one* being, as in fact Oðinn is called 'alda *Gautr*,' Sæm. 93^b 95^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 Woden, 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 Woden 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, Thorr) 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: Oðinn 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.

KENT.	EASTANGLIA.	ESSEX.	MERCIA.
Woden	Wôden	Woden	Woden
Wecta	Casere	Saxneat	Wihtlæg
Witta	Titmon	Gesecg	Wærmund
Wihtgils	Trigel	Andsecg	Offa
Hengest (d. 489)	Hrôthmund	Sweppa	Angeltheow
Eoric (Oesc)	Hrippa	Sigetugel	Eomær
Octa	Quichelm	Bedeca	Icel
Eormenric	Uffa	Offa	Cnebba
Æthelbeorht (567)	Tidel	Æscwine (527)	Cynewald
	Rædwald (d. 617)	Sledda	Creoda
	Eorpwald (632)	Sæbeorht (604)	Wibba
			Penda (d. 656)

DEIRA.	BERNICIA.	WESSEX.	LINDESFARAN.
Woden	Woden	Woden	Wôden
Wægðæg	Bældæg	Bældæg	Winta
Sigegar	Brand	Brand	Cretta
Swæfdæg	Beonoc	Fridhogar	Queldgils
Sigegeat	Aloc	Freawine	Ceadbed
Sæbald	Angenwit	Wig	Bubba
Sæfugel	Ingwi	Gewis	Bedeca
Westerfalcna	Esa	Esla	Biscop
Wilgisl	Eoppa	Elesa	Eanferth
Uscfrea	Ida (d. 560)	Cerdic (d. 534)	Eatta
Yffe		Cynric	Ealdfrith
Ælle (d. 588)		Ceawlin	

According to this, Wôden had *seven* sons (Bældæg being common to two royal lines); elsewhere he has only *three*, e.g. Wil. Malin. p. 17: *tres filii*, Weldegius, Withlegius et Beldegius, from whom the Kentish kings, the Mercian kings, and the West Saxon and Northumbrian kings respectively were descended.

Ascending Series.

Wôden	Finn	Beaw	Hathra (Itermôd)
Fridhuwald	Godwulf (Folcwald)	Sceldwa	Hwala (Hathra)
Freawine (Frealaf)	Geat	Heremôd (Sceaþ)	Bedwig (Hwala)
Fridhuwulf	Tætwa	Itermon (Heremôd)	Sceaþ (Bedwig)

Some accounts contain only four links, others eight, others sixteen, stopping either at Fridhuwulf, at Geat, or at Sceaþ. Sceaþ is the oldest heathen name but after the conversion the line was connected with Noah, and so with Adam!

CHAPTER VIII.

DONAR, THUNAR, (THORR).

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. *þruma*, or *duna*, both fem. like the Gothic *þeihvô*, which was perhaps adopted from a Finnic language. To the god the Goths would, I suppose, give the name *Thunrs*. The Swed. *tordon*, Dan. *torden* (*tonitru*), which in *Harpestreng* still keeps the form *thordyn*, *thordun*, is compounded of the god's name and that same *duna*, ON. *Thorduna*? (see *Suppl.*). In exactly the same way the Swed. term *aska* (*tonitru*, *fulmen*), in the Westgothl. Laws *asikkia*,² has arisen out of *asaka*, the god's waggon or driving, from *as*, *deus*, *divus*, and *aka*, *vehere*, *vehi*, Swed. *aka*. In Gothland they say for thunder *Thorsakan*, Thor's driving; and the ON. *reið* signifies not only *vehiculum*, but *tonitru*, and *reiðarslag*, *reiðarþruma*, 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 οχημα του Διου η βροντη εἶναι*, *Hesychius* sub. v. *ελασίβροντα*. In Carniola the rolling of thunder is to this day *gottes fahren*. [To the Russian peasant it is the prophet *Ilia* driving his chariot, or else grinding his corn.] *Thorr* in the *Edda*, beside his appellation of *Asaðórr*, is more minutely described by *Okuþórr*, *i.e.* *Waggon-thorr* (*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 *dourstag*, Engl. *Thursday*, and Bav. *doren*, *daren* for *donnern* (*Schm.* 1, 390). In *Thorr* it is not RR, but only the first R (the second being flectional), that is an abbrev. of NR.; *i.e.* N suffers syncope before R, much as in the M. Dut. *ere*, *mire*, for *enre mînre*.

² Conf. *Onsike* (Odin's drive?) *supra*, p. 159.

*waggon*s too, especially Oðinn and Freyr (see pp. 107, 151), but Thôrr is distinctively thought of as the god who drives; he never appears riding, like Oðinn, nor is he supposed to own a horse: either he *drives*, or he *walks* on foot. We are expressly told: 'Thôrr *gengr* til dômsins, ok veðr âr,' walks to judgment, and wades the rivers (Sn. 18).¹ The people in Sweden still say, when it thunders: *godgubben åker*, the good old (fellow) is taking a drive, Ihre 696. 740. 926. *gofar 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. *vor gamle fader*). The Norwegian calls the lightning *Thors-varme*, -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.).² When a great noise and racket is kept up, a common expression is: you could not hear the Lord *thunder* for the uproar; in France: le bruit est si fort, qu'on n'entend pas Dieu *tonner*. As early as the Roman de Renart 11898:

Font une noise si grant
quen ni oist pas Dieu *tonant*.

29143: Et commença un duel si grant,
que len ni oist Dieu *tonant*.

Ogier 10915: Lor poins deterdent, lor paumes vont batant,
ni oissiez nis ame Dieu *tonant*.

Garin 2, 38: Nes Dieu *tonnant* ni possiez oir.

And in the Roman de Maugis (Lyon 1599, p. 64): De la noyse quils faisoyent neust lon pas ouy Dieu *tonner*.

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

¹ Scarcely contradicted by his surname *Hlórríði*; this *riði* probably points to *reið*, a waggon; *Hlórríði* seems to me to come by assimilation from *hloðriði*, conf. ch. XIII, the goddess *Hloðyn*.

- 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.

there scolding; in Bavaria: der *himmeltatl* (-daddy) greint (Schm. 1, 462). In Eckstrom's poem in honour of the county of Honstein 1592, cii^b, it is said:

Gott der herr muss warlich from sein (must be really kind),
dass er nicht mit *donner* schlegt drein.¹

The same sentiment appears among the Letton and Finn nations. 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 hüab, wanna essa waljan, mürrisep (the old father growls), Rosenplänters beitr. 8, 116. 'The Lord scolds,' 'heaven wages war,' Joh. Christ. Petris Ehistland 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 Thorr, if one thinks an assimilation from *rn* the more likely. But an old inscription gives us also *Tanarus* (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 κεραύνειος. Zeus εκτυπε, Il. 8, 75. 170. 17, 595. Διος κτυπος, Il. 15, 379.² 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 sieh darein, und werfe einen donnerstein, es ist gewislich an der zeit, dass schwelgerei und üppigkeit zerschmettert werden mansetodt! 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 Ζην (v. infra, Zio).

height of heaven, he also bears the name ἄκριος, and is pictured dwelling on the mountain-top (ακρις). 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 Thorr 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 *mons 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 Radevicus 1, 25, who designates it via Julii Caesaris, modo *mons Jovis*; in AS. writers *mnt Jofes* (Lye sub. v.), in Ælfr. Boet. p. 150 *mntgiow*; in our Kaiserchronik 88^d *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 summo 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. Ζεὺς καραιός occurs in Hesych. [κάρα means head, and so does the Celtic *pen, ben*]. The classic writers never use *mons Jovis*, and the tabula Antonini names only the summus Penninus and the Penni lucus; but between the 4th and 7th centuries *Jovis mons* 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: *isäinen* panee (Renval. 118^a), the father thunders. To the Finns *ukko* signifies proavus, senex, and is a surname of the gods Wainasnoinen and Ilmarinen. But also *Ukko* of itself denotes the thundergod (v. infra). Among the Swedish Lapps *aija* is both avus and touitrus (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).¹

Such names of mountains in Germany itself we may with perfect safety ascribe 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. wormat. probat. p. 9. Another *Thuneresberg* 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 *Thuneresberhe*' (anno 1123), Wigands feme 222. comitia de *Dunrisberg* (1105), Wigands arch. I. 1, 56. a iudicio nostro *Thonresberch* (1239), ib. 58. Precisely in the vicinity of this mountain stands the *holy oak* mentioned on p. 72-4, just as the *robur 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 *Donnerkaute*. In the Bernerland is a *Donnerbühel* (doc. of 1303, Joh. Müller 1, 619), called *Tonrbül* 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 marschalcus 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. 88^a translates it verbally *mendelberc*. In Romance poems of the 12-13th centuries, *monjoie* is the French battle-cry, generally with the addition of St Denis, e.g. *monjoya*, *monjoya sant Denis!* Ferabras 365. *monjoie enseigne S. Denis!* Garin 108. Ducange in his 11th dissertation on Joinville declares *monjoie* 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 *monjoie* 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 Thor: *Thors klint* in East Gothland (conf. Wildegren's Ostergotland 1, 17); *Thorsborg* in Gothland, Molbech 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, *Thorshala* (-hole, cave, Geijer's Svearikes hafder 1, 268).

And the Thunder-mountains of the Slavs are not to be overlooked. Near Milleschau in Bohemia stands a *Hromolan*, from hrom, thunder, in other dialects grom. One of the steepest mountains 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 *βρομος βρεμει*); 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. *Perûn*, 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 thundergod is *Perkunas*, *Pehrkons*, *Perkunos*, and a great many names of places are compounded 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: *θεον μιν γαρ εἶνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν ἀπάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν*

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 *κεραυνος* = *περαυνος*? 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.

νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερέια ἅπαντα. Again, the oak was consecrated to Perun, and old documents define boundaries by it (do *perunova duba*, as far as P.'s oak); and the Romans called the the acorn *juglans*, 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 Mordvins, *Porquini* (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 *faírguni* (Gramm. 2, 175. 453) means *ὄρος*, mountain.¹ What if it were once especially the Thunder-mountain, and a lost *Faírguns* the name of the god (see Suppl.)? Or, starting with *faírguni* with its simple meaning of mons unaltered, may we not put into that masc. *Faírguns* or *Faírguneis*, and consequently into *Perkunas*, the sense of the above-mentioned *ἄκριος*, he of the mountain top? a fitting surname for the thundergod. *Fergunna*, 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 Virgunt müesen da von cede ligen*, Black Forest and V. must lie waste thereby. In the compounds, without which it would have perished altogether, the OHG. *virgun*, AS. *firgen* may either bear the simple sense of mountainous, woody, or conceal the name of a god.—Be that as it may, we find *faírguni*, *virgun*, *firgen* connected with divinely-honoured beings, as appears plainly from the ON. *Fiorgyn*, gen. *Fiorgynjar*, which in the Edda means Thor's mother, the goddess Earth: *Thorr Jarðar burrr*, Sæm. 70^a 68^a. *Oðins son*, Sæm. 73^a 74^b. And beside her, a male *Fiorgynn*, gen. *Fiorgyns*, *Fiorgvins*, appears as the father of Oðin's wife *Frigg*, Sn. 10, 118. Sæm. 63^a. In all these words we must take *faírg*, *firg*, *fiorg* as the root, and not divide them as *faír-guni*, *fir-gun*, *fior-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. *Baírgahei* (*ἡ ορεινή*) in Lu. 1, 39, 65; never the simple *baírgs*.

Perkun, and will be confirmed presently by the meaning of mount and rock which lies in the word hamar. As Zeus is called *ἐνάκπιος*, so is his daughter Pallas *ἄκπια*, and his mother *ορεστερα Γᾶ, μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Διός* (Sophocl. Philoct. 389); the myth transfers from him to his mother and daughter. Of Donar's *mother* our very *märchen* 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. Lasiecz 47 tells us: *Per-cuna tete mater est fulminis atque tonitruī quae solem fessum ac pulverolentum balneo excipit, deinde lotum et nitidum postera die emittit.* It is just *matertera*, 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 giwâro, *Helias* sîs *ther mâro*,
 ther thiz lant so *tharta*, then *himil* so *bisparta*,
 ther iu *ni liaz* in notin *regonon* then liutin,
 thuangta si giwâro harto filu suâro.²

But what we have to note especially is, that in the story of Antichrist'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 arentibus 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 want des vilu gotmanno¹
 daz *Elias* in demo wîge arwartit :
 sar so daz *Eliases* pluot
 in erda kitriufit,
 so inprinnant 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 *Iliä* 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 *Eliäs day*, and stretched the skin on a pole with prayers.⁴ Even the Muhammadans, in praying that a thunder-storm 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

¹ *Gotman*, a divine, a priest ? Conf. supra, pp. 88-9.

² The Rabbinical 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 illaeque 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 Thorr 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 *νετιος, pluvius*, Il. 12, 25: *νε Ζεϋς συνεχες*), and the prevalence of *rotis imbrem 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 exorabant; itaque statim urceatim (in bucketfuls) pluebat, aut tunc aut nunquam, et omnes ridebant, uvidi tanquam mures*. M. Antoninus (*εις εαυτον* 5, 7) has preserved the beautifully simple prayer of the Athenians for rain: *ευχη Ἀθηναίων, ὕσον, ὕσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων* (see *Suppl.*). According to Lasiecz, the Lithuanian prayer ran thus: *Percune devaite niemuski und mana dirvu* (so I emend *dievu*), *melsu tavi, palti miessu*. *Cohibe te, Percune, neve in meum agrum calamitatem immittas* (more simply, *strike not*), *ego vero tibi hanc succidiam dabo*. The Old Prussian formula is said to have been: *Dievas Perkunos, absolomus! spare us, = Lith. apsaugok mus!* To all this I will add a more extended petition in Esthonian, as Gutschlaff³ heard an old peasant say it as late as the

¹ Aegidius aureae 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, 512^b. 513^b; the body of St Lupus carried about at Sens in 1097, *Pertz* 1, 106-7. *Conf. infra, Rain-making*.

³ Joh. Gutschlaff, *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 wildernesses. But unto us ploughers and sowers give a fruitful season and *sweet rain*. Holy *Thunder* (pöha Picken), guard our seedfield, that it bear good straw below, good ears above, and good grain within.' Picker or Picken would in modern Esthonian be called *Pitkne*, which comes near the Finnic *pitkäinen* = thunder, perhaps even Thunder; Hüpel's Esth. Dict. however gives both *pikkenne* and *pikne* simply as thunder (impersonal). The Finns usually give their thundergod the name *Ukko* only, the Esthonians that of *Turris* as well, evidently from the Norse Thorr (see Suppl.).¹

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, iniquant, praesidet in aere, qui tonitrua et fulmina, ventos imbresque, *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 Oðinn 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.² He clears up the atmosphere, he sends fertilizing

nandten bäche in Liefland Wöhlanda. Dorpt. 1644, pp. 362-4. Even in his time the language of the prayer was hard to understand; it is given, corrected, in Peterson's Finn. mythol. p. 17, and Rosenplänter's beitr., heft 5, p. 157.

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

² Uhland in his essay on Thorr, 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 Hrungrir and Orvandill sagas; in some of the others it seems not to answer so well.

showers, and his sacred tree supplies the nutritious acorn. Thôr'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 skiäg*' (F. Magnussen'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 Fornm. sog. 2, 182 and 10, 329 he is a tall, handsome, red-bearded youth: Mikill vexti (in growth), ok ungligr, friðr synum (fair to see), ok *rauðskeggjaðr*; in 5, 249 maðr *rauðskeggjaðr*. Men in distress invoked his red beard: Landsmennu tóko þat ráð (adopted the plan) at heita þetta hit *rauða skegg*, 2, 183. When in wrath, he shakes his beard: Reiðr var þa, *see gy nam at hrísta, scör nam at dýja* (wroth was he then, beard he took to bristling, hair to tossing), Sæm. 70^a. More general is the phrase: let síga brynnar ofan fyrir augun (let sink the brows over his eyes), Sn. 50. His divine rage (asmoðr) is often mentioned: Thorr 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 Thorr exhorts him to a brave resistance: *þeyt þú í mot þeim skeggrödd þína* (raise thou against them thy beard's voice). *þá gengu þeir út, ok blés Thórr fast í kampana, ok þeytti skeggraustina* (then went they out, and Th. blew hard into his beard, and raised his beard's voice). kom þá þegar andviðri môti konungi sva styrkt, at ekki matti við halda (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 *ruadhii-ret 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 *holtaborr*, Thorr 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*, ἀστραπή, the sound, *tonitrus*, βροντή, and the stroke, *fulmen*, κεραυνός (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. *blic*, Iw. 649. Wial. 7284, and by *plechazunga* (coruscatio), derived from *plechazan*,¹ a frequentative of *plechen* (fulgere), Diut. 1, 222-4; they also used *plechunga*, Diut. 1, 222. *Pleccateshem*, Pertz 2, 383, the name of a place, now Blexen; the MHG. has *blikze* (fulgur): die *blikzen* und die donerslege sint mit gewalte in siner pflege, MS. 2, 166^b.—Again *lohazan* (micare, coruscare), Goth. *lauhatjan*, presupposes a *lohen*, Goth. *lauhan*. From the same root the Goth forms his *lauhmunī* (αστραπή), while the Saxon from *blic* made a *blicsmo* (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 *bluc* flame was held specially sacred, and people swear by it, North Fris. 'donners *blosken* (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 *capreh* (fragor) from *prehhan* (frangere), Gl. hrab. 963^b, for which the MHG. often has *klac*, 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 *wolkenrîz* fem. for thunder, Parz. 378, 11. Wh. 389, 18; *gegenrîz*, Wartb. kr. jen.. 57; *reht als der wilde durmslac von himel kam gerizzen*, Ecke 105. der *chlafondo* doner, N. Cap. 114; der *chlaflaih* heizet toner; der doner stet *gespannen*, Apollon. 879. I connect the Gothic *peihvó* fem. with the Finnic *teuhaan* (strepo), *teuhaus* (strepitus, tumultus), so that it would mean the noisy, uproarious. Some L. Germ. dialects call thunder *grummel*, Strodtm. 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 *pleckan*, *plahta* (patere, nudari; bleak), MHG. *blecken*, *blacte*, Wial. 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 *plechan* is akin to *plih* (fulgur), we must suppose two verbs *plihhan* *pleih*, and *pléhhan* *plah*, the second derived from the first. Slav. *blesk*, *blisk*, but Bol. *bozhi posel*, god's messenger, lightning-flash. Russ. *molniya*, Serv. *munya*, fem. (see Suppl.).

when the simple *donner* is used in that sense: sluoc also ein *doner*, Roth. 1747. hiure hat der *schür* (shower, storm) erslagen, MS. 3, 223^a; commonly *donnerschlag*, *blitzschlag*. OHG. *blig-scuz* (-shot, fulgurum jactus), N. cap. 13; MHG. *blicheschoz*, Barl. 2, 26. 253, 27, and *blicheschoz*, Martina 205^a; fiurin *donerstrâle*, Parz. 104, 1; *donreslac*, Iw. 651; ter *scuz* tero fiurentûn *donerstrâlo* (ardentis fulminis), *erseozen* mit tien *donerstrâlôn*, N. Bth. 18. 175; MHG. *wetterstrahl*, *blitzstrahl*, *donnerstrahl*. MHG. *wilder donerslac*, Geo. 751, as lightning is called *wild fire*, Rab. 412, Schum. 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 pfil* der uz dem donre snellet, Troj. 7673. *doners pfîle*, Turnei von Nantheiz 35. 150) was merely imitated from the *κηλα Διός*, tela Jovis; the true Teutonic Donar throws wedge-shaped stones from the sky: 'ez wart nie *stein* geworfen dar er enkæme 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 donrestrâlen, Wolfram 9, 32. ein herze daz von *vlins* ime donre gewahsen wære (a heart made of the flint in thunder), Wh. 12, 16. *schûrestein*, Bit. 10332. *schawerstein*, Suchenw. 33, 83. sô slahe mich ein *donerstein*! Ms. H. 3, 202^a. We now call it *donnerkeil*, Swed. *åsk-rigg* (-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 *donnerârte* (-axes) *donnersteine*, *donnerhammer*, *albschosse* (elfshots), *strahlsteine*, *teufelsfinger*, Engl. *thunder-bolts*, Swed. *Thors rigge*, Dan. *tordenkile*, *tordenstraale* (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 *βελουίτης* a missile.

bant, . . . prisca virorum religione cultos; . . . cupiens enim antiquitas tonitruorum causas usitata rerum similitudine comprehendere, *malleos*, quibus coeli fragores cieri credebat, ingenti aere complexa fuerat (see Suppl.). To Jupiter too the *silex* (flint) 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 Thorr with a wonderful *hammer* named *Miölnir* (mauler, tudes, contundens), which he hurls at the giants, Sæm. 57^b 67^b 68^b; it is also called *Þrudhamar*, strong hammer, Sæm. 67^b 68^b, 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 lopt, Sn. 16), the giants know it, lightning and thunder precede the throwing of it: því næst sá hann (next saw he, giant Hrungrir) *eldlingar* oc heyrði þrumur storar, sa hann þa Thor í asmoði, for hann akaflega, oc reiddi hamarin oe 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 *Hother* 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 forskeptit 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, 214^b expresses himself about God the Father: der *smit uz Oberlande warf sînen hamer* in mîne schoz. The hammer, as a divine tool, was considered sacred, brides and the bodies of the dead were *consecrated* with it, Sæm. 74^b. 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

¹ As Zeus'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 Fergut). And in the AS. Solomon and Saturn, *Thunor* wields 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 Thor's hammer being stolen by a giant, and buried *eight miles underground*: 'ek hefi Hlôrriða hamar umfôlginn átta röstom for iörð nedan,' Sæm. 71^a. 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*, þursa drottinn, lord of the durses or giants, who has only got his own hammer back again, seems identical with Thorr, being an older nature-god, in whose keeping the thunder had been before the coming of the ases; this is shown by his name, which must be derived from þruma, tonitru. The compound þrumketill (which Biorn explains as aes 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 Teutondom, 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 *sax*, *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 'Faírguneis,' 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 Gemany, 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 *Thorkar* (Thorkarl) or *Thord af Hafsgaard*, who is robbed of his golden hammer, conf. Iduna 8, 122. Nyerups udvalg 2, 188. Arvidsson 1, 3. Schade's beskrivelse over oen Mors, Aalborg 1811, p. 93. Also the remarkable legend of Thor *með tungum hamri* in Faye's norske sagn. Arendal 1833, p. 5, where also he loses and seeks his hammer.

² Slav. *kamen* gen. *kamnia*, stone; Lith. *akmũ* gen. *akmens*; *kam* = *ham*.

current among the people, in which you can exchange Hamer for *Düvel*, 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* kennt 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 *Thore 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 Iormungandr. As Christ by his death overmastered the monster serpent (Barl. 78, 39 to 79, 14), so Thorr overcomes the miðgarðs-orm (-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! Strodtm. p. 80, conf. Schm. 2, 192. the hammer, or a great hammer strike you! Abeles künstl. unmordn. 4, 3. Gerichtsh. 1, 673. 2, 79. 299. 382. *verhamert* dür, kolt, Schütze 2, 96 = verdonnert, verteufelt, 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 *dumstig*, *dunnstig!* as in Hesse: *dounnerstag!* bim *hamer!* In Flanders: bi Vids morkel *hamer!* Willem's vloeken, p. 12.

² Finn Magnusen lex. 484-5.

one,¹ 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 *donnergug*, *donnerguge*, *donnerpuppe* (gug, guegi, beetle), perhaps because he likes to live in oak-trees, the tree sacred to thunder. For he also bears the name *eichoehs*, Swed. *ekoxe* (oak-ox); but then again *feuerschroter*, *furboter* (fire-beeter, *i.e.* kindler),² *borner* or *haus-brenner* (-burner), which indicates his relation to thunder and lightning. It is a saying, that on his horns he carries red-hot coals into a roof, and sets it alight; more definite is the belief mentioned in *Aberglaube*, p. xevi, that lightning will strike a house into which this beetle is carried. In Swed. a beetle is still named *horn troll* (see Suppl.).

Among herbs and plants, the following are to be specially noted: the *donnerbart*, stonecrop or houseleek, *sempervivum tectorum*, which, planted on the roof, protects from the lightning's stroke³: *barba Jovis vulgari more vocatur* (Macer Floridus 741), Fr. *Joubarbe* (conf. Append. p. lviii);—the *donnerbesen* (-besom), a shaggy tangled nest-like growth on boughs, of which superstition ascribes the generation to lightning; otherwise called *alpruthe*;—the *donnerkraut*, sedum;—the *donnerflug*, *fumaria bulbosa*;—the *donnerdistel*, *eryngium campestre*;—the Dan. *tordenskrepp*e, 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 donar, or still better from the Goth. *drunjus*, sonus, Rom. 10, 18 (conf. *dronen*, 'cymbal's droning sound' of Dryden)? or did the Lat. *thronus* pass into the sense of sky and thunder? 'forchst nicht, wanns tonuert, ein tron werd vom himmel fallen?' Garg. 181^b. The troubadour's 'Jhesus del tro' might then simply mean lord of the firmament.

² 'I wol don sacrifice, and tyres beete,' Chaucer. Hence beetle itself? AS. bytel.—TRANS.

³ A Provençal troubadour, quoted by Raynouard sub v. *barbajol*, says: e daquel erba tenon pro li vilan sopra lur maiso. Beside this *hauswurz* (*hauswurzel*, Superst. 60), the *hawthorn*, *albaspin*a, is a safeguard against lightning (Mem. 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 candles, a fire made on the hearth, are good for a thunderstorm,' Braunsch. anz. 1760, p. 1392. The *crossbill* 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?) *pchrkones*; 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 *δρυσ ψυκομος Διος*, Od. 14, 327. 19, 297, but at Troy the *beeck* often named in the Iliad: *φηγος ψφηλη Διος αιγιοχοιο*, 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), *grmiti* 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 thunderstorm. Dan. *myrehest*, Swed. *horsgjok*, Icel. *hrossagaukr*, horsegowk or cuckoo, from his neighing; the first time he is heard in the year, he prognosticates to men their fate (Biorn sub v.); evidently superstitious fancies cling to the bird. His Lettish name *pchrkona kasa*, *pchrkona ahsis* (thunder's she-goat and he-goat) agrees exactly with the German. In Lithuanian too, Mielcke 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. *firgengæt* (ibex, rupicapra, chamois), and *firginbucca* (capricornus), to which would correspond an OHG. *virgungeiz*, *virgunpocch*; so that in these the analogy of *faírguni* 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, Thorr 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-observed 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 Thorr 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 214^a. 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*,

cratation, and of the *boar* Sæhrímnir (Sn. 42) being boiled and eaten every day and *coming whole* again every evening, seems to re-appear in more than one shape. In Wolf's Wodana, p. xxviii, the following passage on witches in Ferrara is quoted from Barthol. de Spina († 1546), quaestio de strigibus: Dicunt etiam, quod postquam comederunt aliquem pinguem bovem vel aliquam vegetem, vino vel arcam seu cophinum panibus evacuarunt et consumpserunt ea vorantes, domina illa *percutit aurea virga* quam manu gestat ea vasa vel loca, et statim ut prius plena sunt vini vel panis ac si nihil inde fuisset assumptum. Similiter *congeri jubet ossa mortui bovis super corium ejus extensum*, ipsumque per quatuor partes super ossa revolvens *virgaque percutiens, vivum bovem reddit* ut prius, ac reducendum jubet ad locum suum. The diabolical witches' meal very well matches that of the thundergod. But we are also told in legends, that the saint, after *eating up a cock*, reanimated it out of the bones; and so early as parson Amis, we find the belief made use of in playing-off a deception (l. 969 seq.). Folk-tales relate how a magician, after a *fish had been eaten*, threw the *bones* into water, and the fish came alive again. As with these eatable creatures, so in other tales there occurs the reanimation of persons who have been cut to pieces: in the marchen vom Machandelbom (juniper-tree); in the myth of Zeus and Tantalus, where the shoulder of Pelops being devoured by Demeter (Ovid 6, 406) reminds us of the he-goat's leg-bone being split for the marrow, and remaining lame after he came to life again; in the myth of Osiris and St Adalbert (Temme p. 33); conf. DS. no. 62, and Ezekiel 37. Then in the eighth Finnish rune, Lemminkainen's mother gathers all the limbs of his dismembered body, and makes them live again. The fastening of heads that have been chopped off to their trunks, in Waltharius 1157 (conf. p. 93) seems to imply a belief in their reanimation, and agrees with a circumstance in Norske eventyr pp. 199, 201.

formerly *Donerswe*,¹ *Donnerswehe*, *Donnerswede* (Kohli handb. von Oldenb. 2, 55), which reminds us of *Oðinsve*, *Wodeneswege* (p. 151), and leaves us equally in doubt whether to understand *wih* a temple, or *weg* a way. The Norwegian folk-tale tells us of an actual *Thors vej* (way, Faye p. 5). A village *Donnersreut* 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, *Torslund* (Thors lundr, grove), *Tosingo* (Thors engi, ing);² several in Sweden, *Tors mase* (gorges) in a boundary-deed of Ostergotland, Broocman 1, 15, *Thorsborg* in Gothland, Gutalag p. 107. 260. *Thorsbiorg* (mountain) and *Thorshöfn* (haven) in Norway, Fornm. sog. 4, 12. 343; *Thorsmork* (wood, a holy one?), Nialss. cap. 149. 150.³ *Thors nes* (nose, cape), Sæm. 155^a and Eyrb. saga cap. 4 (see Suppl.). *Thors bro* (Thors bru, 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. *Thorðr*; and the Trad. fuld. 2, 23 *Albthonar*, which is the ON. *Thorólfr* inverted. Such name-formations are far more frequent in the North, where the service of the god prevailed so long: *Thorarr* (OHG. *Donarari*?), *Thorir*, *Thorðr*, *Thorhallr*, *Thorólfr* (OS. *Thunerulf* in Calend. merseb. Septemb.), *Thoroddr*, and the feminines *Thora*, *Thórun*, *Thóruna* (formed like *diorna*, Gramm. 2, 336), *Thórkatla*, *Thórhildr*, *Thórdís*, &c. I cannot see why the editors of the Fornmanna sögur deprive such proper names as *Thórgeirr*, *Thórbiörn*,

¹ 'to *Donerswe*, dar heft de herscup den tegenden (teind, tithe),' Land-register of 1428.

² Others specified in Suhm, krit. hist. 2, 651.

³ The settlers in Iceland, when they consecrated a district to Thor, named it *Thorsmork*, Landn. 5, 2. ed. nova p. 343. From *Donnersmark* (Zschotör tokely) in the Hungarian county of Zips, comes the Silesian family of Henkel von Donnersmark. Walach. manura: die Donnersmarkt.

Thôrsteinn, Thôrketill, Thôrvaldr, Thôrfinnr, Thôrgerðr, &c. of their long vowel; it is not the abstract þor, audacia, that they are compounded with, and the Nialssaga, e.g. cap. 65, spells *Thorgeirr, Thôrkatla*.—The frequent name *Thorketill*, abbrev. Thorkell, Dan. Torkild, AS. Turketulus, Thurkytel (Kemble 2, 286, 349. v. supra, p. 63), if it signifies a kettle, a vessel, of the thundergod, resembles Wuotan's sacrificial cauldron (p. 56). The Hymisqviða sings of Thorr fetching a huge cauldron for the ases to brew ale with, and wearing it on his head, Sæm. 57; which is very like the strong man Hans (ans, as?) in the nursery-tale clapping the church bell on his head for a cap.—The coupling of *Alp* (elf) with *Donar* in Albthonar and Thoralfir is worthy of notice, for *alpgeschoss* (elf-shot) is a synonym for the thunderbolt, and *Alpruthe* (elf-rod) for the donnerkraut [donnerbesen? see p. 183]. An intimate relation must subsist between the gods and the elves (p. 180), though on the part of the latter a subordinate one (see Suppl.).¹

It is observable that in different lays of the Edda Thôrr goes by different names. In Lokaglepsa and Harbardsljóð he is 'Thorr, Asaðôrr,' but in Hamarsheimt 'Vingþorr, Hlorriði' (yet Thorr as well), in Alvismâl always 'Vingþôrr,' in Hymisqviða 'Veorr, Hlorriði,' not to mention the periphrases *vagna verr* (curruum dominus), *Sifjar verr*, *Oðins sonr*. *Hlorriði* was touched upon in p. 167, note. *Vingthorr* they derive from *vængr, ala*; as if Wing-thunder, the winged one. *aëra quatiens?* This appears to be far from certain, as he is elsewhere called *fostri Vîngnis*, Sn. 101, and in the genealogies this *Vîngnir* appears by the side of him. Especially important is *Veorr*, which outside of Hymisqviða is only found once, Sæm. 9^a, 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. *Ve* 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 Thorr engaged in eastward travels: Thorr var í *austrvegi*, Sæm. 59, â *austrvega* 68^a; *fôr* or *austrvegi*, 75; *ec var austr*, 78^{a,b}; *austrförom þînom scaltu aldregi segja seggjom frá*, 68^a. In these journeys he fought with and slew the giants: var hann

¹ To the Boriât Mongols beyond L. Baikal, fairy-rings in grass are "where the sons of the lightning have danced."—TRANS.

farinn í austurveg at herja 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 (*su kynsloð er í austrvegum*), Sn. 193; and Iotunheim, 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 deo excepto, nullam monstrigenae virtutis potentiam expavere, cujus (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. 70^a, 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 *Thor blota*, Sæm. 113^b, *het* (called) *á Thor*, Landn. 1, 12, *truði* (believed) *á Thor*, Landn. 2, 12. He assigns to emigrants their new place of abode: *Thorr vísaði honum* (shewed him), Landn. 3, 7 3, 12. From the Landnamabok we could quote many things about the worship of *Thorr*: *þar stendr enn Thors steinn*, 2, 12. *ganga til fretta við Thor*, 3, 12. *Thorr* is worshipped most, and *Freyr* next, which agrees with the names *Thorviðr* and *Freyviðr* occurring in one family line 2, 6; *viðr* is wood, does it here mean tree, and imply a priestly function? *Oðinviðr* does not occur, but *Tyviðr* is the name of a plant, ch. XXXVII. It is *Thor'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 *Thorr* 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 Ascs, 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 Asathor afdrecka* (outdrink). Conversely, the good-natured old giant *Thrymr* 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 bidden 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 Oðinn; conf. *Gautrekssaga* p. 13. Finnr drags the statue of Thorr to King Olaf, splits and burns it up, then mixes the ashes in furmety and gives it to dogs to devour: 'tis meet that hounds eat Thorr, who his own sons did eat,' *Formn. sog.* 2, 163. This is a calumny, the Edda knows of no such thing, it relates on the contrary that Môði 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 modur*, and capitolium is translated *Thorshof* 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 Thorr 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 Thorr an ancestor of Oðinn. 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,¹ but one of them must have been *Jupiter* then, as we find it was afterwards.² 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.³ Was the pelting of

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 Helmshaus 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 sunnabends vor laetare (Letzn. 'sonnab. nach laet.') von einem hausmann von Algermissen gesetzt, davor (for which) ihm eine hofe (hufe, hide) landes gehört zur sankmeisterie (chantry?), und wie solches von dem hausmann nicht gesetzt worden, gehört Cantori de hove landes.' Hannoversche landesblätter 1833, p. 30.

³ Lüntzel on farmers' burdens in Hildesheim 1830, p. 205. Hannov. mag. 1833, p. 693. Protocols of 1742-3 in an article 'On the Stoning of Jupiter,' Hannov. landesbl., ubi supra.

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 losen, vater und mutter losen,' releasing, ransoming? Tobler 174^a (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 Esthonians 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 Eddic god *Tyr* (gen. *Tys*, acc. *Tý*) to account for it. The AS. *Tiwesdæg* and OHG. *Ziestae* 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. *Tiu*,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*, *Ty-r*, *Zio* make a series like the similar þiu-s, þeow (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*, *tiv*, *zio*, yield the meanings ‘brightness, sky, day, god’. Of Sanskrit words, *dyaus* (coelum) stands the closest to the Greek and German gods’ names *Zeus*, *Tius*.

	SANSKRIT.	GREEK.	GOTHIC.
Nom.	dyaus	<i>Zéús</i>	<i>Tius</i>
Voc.	dyaus	<i>Zéû</i>	<i>Tiu</i>
Acc.	divam	<i>Δίφα, Δία</i>	<i>Tiu</i>
Gen.	divas	<i>Διφός, Διός</i>	<i>Tivis</i>
Dat.	divê	<i>Διφί, Διί</i>	<i>Tiva</i>

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 þeow to þýr. Lye quotes, without references : *Twig*, Mars, *Tiiges-* vel *Tiis-dæg*, dies Martis. The Épinal glosses brought to light by Mone actually furnish, no. 520 (*Anzeiger* 1838, p. 145), *Twig*, Mars ; also Oehler p. 351. The change of letters is like that of *brüg*, *jusculum*, for *brîw* ; 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, *Ζεὺς 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 *Ζεὺς* presupposes an older *Δεὺς* which was actually preserved in the Æolic 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 υἱός, οὐράνιος, Ζεὺς αἰθέρι ναίων* (see Suppl.).

But apart from 'dyaus, Zeus and Jupiter,' the three common nouns *dēvas* (Sansk.), *θεός* 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 *θεός*, belongs to the flexion, not to the root, and therefore answers to the *a* in *devas*.¹ Nevertheless *deus* too must have sprung from *devus*, and *θεός* from *θεφός*, 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 *devas*, whose *e* (=ai) grew by guna out of *i*, so that the Lith. *dievas* comes nearer to it.² But the adjectives *διος* (not from *δίος*, but rather for *διφος*) and *dīvus* correspond to *devas* as *dīves* *dīvitis* (p. 20) to *devatas* (*deus*). This approximation between *dīvus* 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. 30^a 41^a; *ríkir tívar* (conf. rich god, p. 20), Sæm. 72^a 95^a; *valtívar*, 52^a; *sigtívar*, 189^a 248^a; the sing. is not in use. This *tívar*, though not immediately related to *Tyr*, yet seems related to it as *διος*, *θεός*, *θεῖος* are to *Ζεύς*; its *î* is established by the fact that the ON. dialect contracts a short *iv* into *y*; thus we obtain by the side of *tiv* a *tiv*, in Sanskrit by the side of *div* a *dev*, and in Latin by the side of *deus* a *dīvus*, 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 *Ζεὺς*, not to *deus* and *θεός*; 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 *Gott. anz.* 1834, pp. 795-6.

² Conf. *piemu ποιμήν*, and *kiemas κόμη háims*.

³ If, as hinted on p. 26, *διος* *deus* were conn. with *δέω*, the notion of binding must have arisen first out of the divine band, which is hardly conceivable.

root div, tiv (splendere).¹ If the earthborn Tuisco, the ancestral god of our nation, stands (as Zeuss p. 72 has acutely suggested) for *Tivisco*, *Tiusco*, 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. interdiu, 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 Juno for Jovino, Djovino, and Diana, just so the Lith. name for day, *diena*, 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 την ημεραν* vocant (call the day Zeus), ipsi quoque Romani Diespitrem appellant, ut diei patrem; Macrob. Sat. 1, 15. The poetic and Doric forms *Ζηνα*, *Ζηνος*, *Ζηνί*, and *Ζάνα*, *Ζανός*, *Ζανί*, for *Δία*, *Διός*, *Διί*, correspond to the above formations;² 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. *tívor* (deus?),³ Sæm. 6^b, AS. *tír*, gen. *tíres* (*tiir*, Cod. exon. 331, 18 gloria, splendor), and OS. *tír*, gen. *tíras*, *tíreas*; with which I connect the OHG. *ziori*, *ziari*, *zieri* (splendidus), and the Lat. *decus*, *decor*, *decorus*. The AS. poets use the word *tír* only to intensify other words: *tírmetod* (deus gloriæ, summus deus), Cædm. 143, 7; *æscetír wera* (hasta gloriosa virorum), 124, 27; *æscatír*, 127, 10; *tírwine*, Boëth. metr. 25, 41; *tírfuma*, Cod. exon. 13, 21; *tírmeahtig* (potentissimus), 72, 1; *tíreadig* (felicissimus), Cædm. 189, 13. 192, 16; *tírfæst* (firmissimus), 64, 2. 189, 19;

¹ Sometimes, though rarely, we find another ON. *díar*, Sæm. 91^r. Sn. 176. Yngl. saga cap. 2; it agrees with *θεός* more than with *δῖος*.

² We know to what shifts Socrates is driven in trying to explain the forms *Ζῆνα* and *Δία* (Plato's Cratylus p. 29, Bekker); *θεός* he derives from *θεῖν*, *currere* (p. 32).

³ Or must we read it *tivor*, and connect it with the AS. *tifer*, *tiber*, OHG. *zepar*?

much in the same way as the AS. eormen, OHG. irman is prefixed. Now when a similar prefix *tý* meets us in the ON. writings, e.g. *tyhraustr* (fortissimus), *tyspakr* (sapientissimus), Sn. 29, it confirms the affinity between *tír* and *Tý-r*.

These intricate etymologies were not to be avoided: they entitle us to claim a sphere for the Teutonic god Zio, Tiw, Tyr, which places him on a level with the loftiest deities of antiquity. Represented in the Edda as Oðin'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 Hadu; the finer distinctions in their cultus are hidden from us now.—It is not to be overlooked, that Oðinn is often named Sigtyr, Hroptatyr, Gautatyr, hangatyr, farmatyr (Sæm. 30. 47. 248^a. Sn. 94-6), bodvartyr, quasi pugnae deus, geirtyr (Fornm. sog. 9, 515-8); and that even Thorr, to whom Jupiter's lightning has been handed over, appears as *Reiðartyr*, *Reidityr* (Sn. 94), i.e. god of the waggon.¹ In all these poetical terms, we see that *tyr* bears that more general sense which makes it suitable for all divinities, especially the higher ones. Tyr 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*.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

¹ I do not reckon *Angantýr* among this set of words. It occurs frequently, both in the Hervararsaga and in Sæm. 114^a 119^b 9^a; this last passage calls Oðinn 'Friggjar angantýr'. The true form is doubtless *Anganþýr*, as appears from the OHG. *Angandeo* (Trad. fuld. 1, 57), and the AS. *Ongenþeow*, *Ongenþio* (Beow. 4770. 4945-67. 5843-97. 5917-67); -tyr would have been in AS. -teow, in OHG. -zio. Graff gives an *Agandeo* 1, 132. 5, 87, which seems to be a misspelling, though the Trad. wizenb. no. 20 have a woman's name *Agathiu* (for *Anganthiu*), to which add the acc. *Agathien*, *Agacien* (Walther. 629). The meaning of *angan*, *ongen*, is doubtful; 'angan illrar brudhar' is said to be 'deliciae malae mulieris,' but Biorn interprets it *pedisequa*, and Oðinn might fitly be called *Friggæ pedisequus*. That some proper names in the Edda are corrupt, is plain from *Hamdir*, which ought everywhere to be *Hamþyr*, OHG. *Hamadio*, *Hamideo* (Schannat no. 576. Cod. lauresh. 2529), MHG. *Hamdie* (MsH 3, 213^b). This much I am sure of, that neither *Anganþýr* nor *Hamþyr* can contain a *týr*, which is almost always compounded with genitives in a figurative sense.

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 Tencteri say right out: *Communibus deis, et principio deorum 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: *ἐπι θεον αυτον νομιζουσι μεγιστον 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 *irnan-* (of which he is speaking) and *tîr-*. The ON. writers, while they recognise Oðin’s influence on war and victory, speak no less distinctly of *Týr*, who is em-

¹ A passage in *Florus* 2, 4: ‘*mox Ariovisto duce vovere de nostrorum militum praeda Marti suo torquem: interceptit Jupiter votum, nam de torquibus eorum aureum tropaeum Jovi Flaminius crexit,*’ speaks of the Insubrian Gauls, who were beaten in the consulship of Flaminius B.C. 225. 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 *Θουλιται* (men of Thule) is their generic name, but he expressly includes among them the *Γαυτοί*, whom he rightly regards as a different people from the *Γότθοι*, *conf. Gött. anz.* 1828, p. 553.

phatically their *Vîgaguð* (deus proeliorum), Sn. 105, and again : hann er diarfastr ok best hugaðr, ok hann *ræðr* mioc *sigri* í *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 *Sigeberg* could not be dislodged, it was only distorted into Siegburg;¹ or are we to explain the name by the river Sieg, which flows through the district? The ON. *Sigtýsberg* (OS. *Sigu-tiwis-berag?*), Sæm. 348^a 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), *Tyisting*; in Jutland, *Tystathe*, *Tiislunde*. In Sweden: *Tistad*, *Tisby*, *Tisjo*, *Tyved*. *Zierberg* in Bavaria (Cirberg, Zirberc, 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 *Famars* 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 *Liphtinae* close by, where we have *Saxnot* named by the side of *Thunar* and *Wodan*. As for *Eresberg* and *Mersberg* (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 *Eresburch*, 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 plants also confess the god: ON. *Tysfiola*, I dare say after the Lat. *viola Martis*, march-violet; *Tyrhialm* (aconitum), otherwise Thorhialm, Thorhat (helmet, hat), conf. Germ. sturmhut, eisenhut, Dan. trolldhat, a herb endowed with magic power, whose helmet-like shape might suggest either of those warlike gods Tyr and Thorr; *Tyviðr*, Tý's wood, Dan. *Tyved*, *Tysved* (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. *Tiwesdæg*), 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 = Suapa,' MB. 7, 375 and Diut. 2, 370; which I take to be not Teutonoari, as Zeuss does, pp. 146-9, but *Ziowari* Martem colentes, warian expressing, like Lat. *colere*, both *habitare* and *θεραπεύειν*, so that the Suevi are *θεράποντες Ἄρης*.

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, *Tþr* 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 *Ti* 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. acceptance, and the form *Ti* (once, in Cod. vatic. Christinae 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. *Tius*. 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, rad,' *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 Tyr had to be twice inserted, Sæm. 194^b. 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: *tîr* bið *tácna* sum (*tîr* is one of the tokens, is a certain sign); where again the derivative form *tîr* is employed to explain the the simple *Tiw* or *Tî*. Occasionally the poets speak of 'tîre tacnian,' to mark with *tîr* (El. 753. Jud. 137, 18), and 'tîres to tacne,' as mark of *tîr* (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

¹ Conf. note to Elene 155-6.

Thus far we have dealt with the runic name Tÿr, 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 ʏ and the name *Ear* attached to it.¹ Then the OHG. alphabets, after using ↑ for tac, find a use for that very symbol ʏ to which some of them give the name Zio, others again *Eo*, *Eor*, *Aer*. And there are AS. alphabets that actually set down by ʏ 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 *Eresburg*, *Aeresburg* 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 *Eresberg* (as *Siegburg* was originally *Sigberg*, p. 198), follows both from the Latin rendering *mons Martis*, and from its later name *Mersberg*,² whose initial M could be explained by the contraction of the words ‘in dem Eresberge, Aresberge,’³ or it may be an imitation of the Latin name. There was a downright *Marsberg* in another district of Westphalia.⁴ This *Eresbere* then is a *Ziesbere*, a Sig-tiwes-berg, and yet more closely an Areopagus, Mars’ hill, *Ἀρειοπαγος, πετρα πάγος τ’ Ἀρειος* (Aeschyl. Eum. 690).

Still more plainly are High German races, especially the Bavarian (Marcomannic) pointed to by that singular name for the third day of the week, *Ertag*, *Iertag*, *Irtag*, *Eritag*, *Erechtag*, *Erichtag*, 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

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 saxonius (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, Marssem (close to the Weser, near Markló), 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 Erestac¹ 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 era 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 *Ἄρης* the son of Zeus; and as the Germans had given the rank of Zeus to their Wuotan, Týr 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:

Ear bið egle eorla gehwílcum,
 þonne fæstlice flæsc onginneð
 hræw colian, hrusan ceosan
 blac to gebeddan. blæda gedreosað,
 wynna gewitað, wera geswicað;

i.e., *Ear* fit importunus hominum cuiusque, quum caro incipit refrigescere, pallidumque corpus terram eligere conjugem. tunc enim gloriæ 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, ail-some) to men? The ordinary meaning of *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 aeris.'

is to be understood, from which a transition to the destructive god of battles, the *βροτολοιγός, μαιφόνος Ἄρης* is easy to conceive.¹ *Ἄρης* 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 bellicus, conf. 'Mars = caecht,' gefecht, fight, in Gl. Hrab. 969^a; as conversely the OIIG. *wīg* pugna, bellum (Graff 1, 740) seems occasionally to denote the personal god of war. 'Wiegch quoque Mars est' says Ermoldus Nigellus (Pertz 2, 468), and he is said to farneman, AS. forniman, carry off, as Hild (Bellona) does elsewhere: dat inan wïc fornam, Hildebr. lied; in AS.: *wīg* ealle fornam, Beow. 2155; wīg fornóm, 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 'turbines = *ziu*' (we have no business to write *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 *Zio* himself, or a synonymous female personification *Ziu*, bearing the same relation to *Zio* as *diu* (ancilla) to *dio* (servus).

Here comes in another string of explanations, overbold as some of them may seem. As *Eresburg* is just as often spelt *Heresburg* by the Frankish annalists, we may fairly bring in the Goth. *haírus*, AS. *heor*, OS. *heru*, ON. *hiorr*, 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 *Ἄρης* and *ἄρο*, sword, weapon, to compare with one another, and these point to a god of the sword. Then again the famous Abrenuntiatio names three heathen gods, *Thunar*, *Woden*, *Saxnot*, of whom the third can have been but little inferior to the other two in power and holiness. *Sahsnot* is word for word gladii consors, ensifer [Germ. genoss, sharer]; who else but *Zio* or *Eor* and the Greek *Ares*?³ The AS. genealogies preserve the name of *Saxneát*

¹ Or, without the need of any transition, Ear might at once be Ares: 'war is burdensome in old age'.—TRANSL.

- The notions of raving (wüten) and insanire are suitable to the blustering stormful god of war. Homer calls Ares *θυρπος* the wild, and *ἄφρων* the insensate, *ὃς οὔτινα οἶδε θέμιστα*, II. 5, 761. But *μαίνεσθαι* is said of other gods too, particularly Zeus (8, 360) and Dionysos or Bacchus (6, 132).

³ One might think of Fro, Freyr (ch. X), but of course glittering swords were attributed to more than one god; thus Poseidon (Neptune) wields a *δεινον ἄρο*, II. 14, 385, and Apollo is called *χρυσάροπος*, 5, 509. 15, 256.

as the son of Wôden, and it is in perfect accordance with it, that Tyr was the son of Oðinn, 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 *Cherusicans* of Tacitus, a people synonymous, nay identical with them, were named after *Cheru*, *Heru* = *Eor*, from whom their name can be derived.¹ 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. 'tîres tacen,' and consequently that the rune of Zio and Eor may be the picture of a sword with its handle, or of a spear.² 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 (*ἀκινάκης*), which was elevated on an enormous stack of brushwood ['three furlongs in length and breadth, but less in height']: ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ ὄγκου ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἴδρυνται ἀρχαῖος ἐκάστοισι· καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ Ἄρηος τὸ ἄγαλμα. Ammianus Marcellinus 31, 2 says of the Alani: Nec templum apud eos visitur aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest, sed *gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, cumque ut Martem*, regionum quas circumcircant praesulem, 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. *or*, gen. *orrar*, 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,¹ just as the Scythians and Romans did *per Martis frameam*, Juvenal 13, 79. So Arnobius 6, 11: *Ridetis temporibus priscis coluisse acinacem Scythiae nationes, . . . pro Marte Romanos hastam, ut Varronis indicant Musae*; this *framea* and *hasta* of the Romans is altogether like the Scythian sword.² 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. Quem Priscus historicus tali refert occasione detectum, quum pastor, inquiring, quidam gregis unam buculam conspiceret claudicantem (noticed one heifer walking lame), nec causam tanti vulneris inveniret, sollicitus vestigia cruoris insequitur, tandemque venit ad gladium, quem depascens herbas bucula incaute calcaverat, effossumque protinus ad Attilam defert. Quo ille 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 *Ἄρης* 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

¹ Conf. RA. 896; and so late as Wigal. 6517: 'Swert, ûf dînem 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 *Hreðmonað*, which Beda without hesitation traces to a goddess *Hreðe*; possibly other races might explain it by a god *Hrédū*? These names would come from hrôð gloria, fama, ON. hrôðr, OHG. hruod, OFrank. chrôd, which helped to form many ancient words, e.g. OHG. Hruodgang, Hruodhilt, OFrank. Chrodogang, Chrodhild; did *Hruodo*, *Chrodo* express to certain races the shining god of fame? ¹ The Edda knows of no such epithet for Tyr as Hroðr or Hrœði (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 (*αιματος ασαι "Αρηα*, Il. 5, 289. 20, 78. 22, 267); he raves and rages like Zeus and Wuotan, he is that 'old blood-shedder' 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 *οἰωνοι* and *κυνες* (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 Mid. 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 Irmanul. For all that, the tradition need not be groundless, if other things would only correspond. Unfortunately the form *Crodo* for *Chrodo*, *Hrodo*, *Rodo* [like *Catti*, afterw. *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, 208^b a *Krotolf*, which however has no business to remind us of *Hruodolf*, *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*, Il. 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 Ἀρηϊ*, Il. 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 Sahsnót, indeed its *sverðas* is another god, *Heimðallr*;¹ but it sets Tyr 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 *úlfiðr*, wolf-lith, *Sæm.* 65^a. *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: Tyr er *einhendr* Asa; *conf.* *Sn.* 105. The rest of Teutonic legend has no trace of it,² unless we are to look for it in Walther's *onchandedness*, 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. *Δεῖμος* and *Φόβος* (Il. 4, 440. 11, 317. 15, 119) answer to the Latin *Pallor*

¹ *Conf.* Apollo *χρυσάορος* above, p. 203, note.

² *Cod. pal.* 361, 65^a 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, darinne uobte sich der valant (devil), er clemmete im die hant, und gehabete sic im so vaste, daz er sich niht irlosen mohte (could not get loose). Besides, the wolf's limb has a likeness to the Wuotan'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 ετεραλκης*, Il. 8, 171. 16, 362; *νίκη ἐπαμειβεται ανδρας*, 6, 339) by an epithet of Ares, *Ἄλλοπρόσαλλος ὄ*, 831. 889. A certain many-shaped and all-transforming being, with a name almost exactly the same, *Vilanders* (Ls. 1, 369-92), *Bald-anderst*, *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 (*Velunutris*, *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, *Tras* (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 (Koniginh. hs. 84. 104); they are ghostly and spectral. This borders upon *Vóma*, *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 Wuotan and Zio. Thorr was called *ótti iotna*, 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 *χλωρον οεος* (neut.) *αιρεί*, pale fear seizes; but masculine embodiments like *δείμος*, *φόβος*, pallor, pavor, *trās*, *strakh*, bring it more vividly before us, and pavor was weakened by passing into the fem. *paura*, *peur* of the Romance. AS. *þa hine se broga ongeat* (terror eum invasit), Beow. 2583. OHG. *forhta cham mih ana*, N. ps. 54, 5; *forhta anafiel ubar inan*, T. 2, 4; conf. MHG. *diu sorge im was so verre entriten, sie mohte 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.

Tyr 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. 53^a, 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, *θεος*. While the names of other heathen gods became an abomination to the christians, and a Gothic *Vodans* or *Thunrs* would have grated harshly on the ear; this one expression, like the primitive *gub* 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 *Frö* gen. *Frös* (whence *Frösö*, Fro's island), the Swed. likewise *Fro*, ought to be in Gothic *Fraus* or *Fravis*,¹ instead of which, every page of Ulphilas shows *frauwa* gen. *fráujins*, translating *κυριος*; 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 '*fró mîn!*' (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 shortened form *fro mîn!* 123, 13. 140, 23. *frô mîn the godo!* 131, 6. 134, 15. 138, 1. 7. *waldand fro mîn!* 153, 8. *drohtin fro mîn!* 15, 3; but in other cases we do find the complete *frôho* gen. *frohon* 3, 24; *frâho* 119, 14, gen. *frahon* 122, 9, *fraon* 3, 24. 5, 23; *froio* 93, 1. 107, 21. Still the OS. poet uses the word seldomer than the synonyms *drohtin* and *herro*, and he always puts a possessive with it, never an adjective (like *mari drohtin*, *rîki drohtin*, *craftag drohtin*, *liob herro*), still less does he make compounds with it (like *sigi-drohtin*): all symptoms that the word was freezing up. The AS. *freá* gen. *freán* (for *freâan*, *freâwan*) has a wider sweep, it not only admits adjectives (*freá ælmihtig*, *Cædm.* 1, 9. 10, 1), but also forms compounds: *agendfrea*, *Cædm.* 135, 4. *aldorfrea* 218, 29. *folcfrea* 111, 7; and even combines with *dryhten*: *freadryhten*, *Cædm.* 54, 29, gen. *freadrihtnes*, *Beow.* 1585, dat. *freodryhtne* 5150.—But now by the side of our OHG. *fro* there is found a rigid (indecl.) *frôno*, 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 *fron*, and again an adj. *fronisc* (*pulcher*, *mundus*, *inclutus*, *arcanus*), OS. *fronisk*, *frânisk*. In MHG. and even modern German we have a good many compounds with *vron*, as also the adj. in the above sense, while *frohnen*, *fröhnen* is to do service to one's lord, to dedicate. The Frisian dialect contributes a *frân*, *dominicus*, and *frana*, *minister publicus*. The added *-n* in all these derivatives can be explained by the Gothic *fráujinon* *dominari*, though there was probably no Gothic *fráujinisks*, as *fronisc* seems not to have been formed till after the contraction *fro* and *frôno* had set in.

But even the Gothic *fráuja* does not present to us the simple stem, I look for it in a lost adj. *fravis* (like *navis νεκρός*, *Rom.* 7, 2), the same as the OHG. *fro* gen. *frouwes*, OS. *fra* gen. *frahes*, MHG. *vrô*, and our *froh* [*fröhlich*, *frolie*, &c.], and signifying *mitis*, *laetus*, *blandus*; whence the same dialects derive *frouwî*, *gaudium*, *frouwan*, *laetum reddere*, *frouwida*, *laetitia*, &c. (see *Suppl.*).

I do not mean to assert that a god *Frauja*, *Frouwo*, *Fraho* was as distinctly worshipped by the Goths, Alamanns, Franks and Saxons in the first centuries of our era, as *Freyr* was long after in

Scandinavia; it is even possible that the form *fráuja* 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 *vron* something weird, unearthly, a sense of old sacredness; this may account for the rare occurrence and the early disappearance of the OHG. *fro*, and even for the grammatical immobility of *frono*; 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 *Fráuja* 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 *Froila* (Fraujila); an OHG. *Frewilo* occurs in a document in Neugart no. 162. The AS. genealogies contain *Wûscfreá*; 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 *freáwine* (freáwine 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 *Freáwine*, whom Saxo Gram. calls *Frowinus* (better *Frôwinus*); OHG. documents likewise have the proper name *Frôwin* (Trad. juvav. p. 302, Cod. lauresh. 712, but *Friowini* 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 *Frcys vinr* (Sæm. 219^b), like the AS. *freáwine*, only uncompounded: *Sigurðr* is *Frey's* friend and protege, or perhaps his votary and servant, in the way shown on p. 93. Here again *freá*, *fro*, *freyr*, cannot have merely the general meaning of lord, any lord. The Swedish heroes in the Bravalla fight, who boast their descent from *Fro*, are in Saxo, p. 144, called *Fro dei necessarij*, which is exactly our *Frcys vinar*. In the same way the AS. and ON. poetries, and consequently the myths, have in common the expression *freá* *Ingwina* (gen. pl.), *Beow.* 2638, *Ingvinar* (gen. sing.) *freyr*, *Ingunnar freyr*, Sæm. 65^b, *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^a. 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, 'fiornis *freyr*, myrðifreyr' mean no more than hero or man in the heightened general sense which we noticed in the words irmin, tîr and tÿr. 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.

Frô 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 Frowa (Freyr with Freyja). As Liber and Libera are devoted to the service of Ceres or Demeter, Fro and Frowa 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 árs oc 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 Thor and Wodan (see Suppl.). Also in Sæm. 85^b he is named next to Oðinn and Thorr (asabragr) as the third god. Adam calls him *Fricco*,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. fuld. 386.

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, Fornm. sög. 2, 73-8. This progress takes place, 'þa er hann skal gera monnum *árbot*' 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. 221^a; 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 Lantslot ende Sandrîn, v. 374, a knight says to his maiden: 'ic heb u liever dan en *everswîn*, al waert *van finen goude ghevracht*,' 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. Fro 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 *πρίαπος* I would identify the ON. friof semen, friofr focundus; conf. Goth. fraiv, seed. The statement of Adamus 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 (ch. XI), though I do not venture exactly to identify him with *φάλλος*.

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 Berhta sallied out, and looked after the *ploughs* and *spindles* motherly goddesses instead of the god, Frouwa instead of Fro. With this again are connected the *formae aprorum* 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 deum*,’ of a female Fro, *i.e.*, of Freyja; and, what is conclusive on this point, the Edda (Sæm. 114^a) assigns the *Gullinbursti* 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 *coforcumble* beþeapt (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 eðgesyne grîmhelm manig, *cenlic coforcumbul* (tunc in duce apparuit horrida cassis, excellens apri forma), El. 260. The poet is describing a decoration of the old heathen time, *cumbul* 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* scionon ofer hleor beran gehroden golde, fah and fyrheard ferhwearde heold (apri formam videbantur supra genas gerere auro comptam, quae varia igneque durata vitam tuebatur), 605; het þa inberan *cofor heáfodscgn*, heaðosteápne helm (jussit afferri aprum, capitis signum, galeam in pugna prominentem), 4300; *swîn* ofer helme (sus supra galea), 2574; *swîn calgylden*, *cofor* îrenheard (sus aureus, aper instar ferri durus), 2216, *i.e.*, a helmet placed on the funeral pile as a costly jewel; helm befonen *Fréáwrásnum* (= OHG. Froreisanum), swa hine fyrndagum worhte wæpna smið, besette *swînlicum*, þæt hine siðþan no brond ne beadomêcas bitan ne meahtan (galea ornata Frohonis signis, sicut eam olim fabricaverat armorum faber, circumdederat eam apri formis, ne gladius ensesve laedere eam possent), 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.¹ The OHG. proper name *Epurhelm*, *Eparhelm* (eber, efor, aper), placed by the side of *Frôhelm* (both occur in the Trad. patav. no. 20; MB. 28^b, 18) acquires thus a special and appropriate meaning. Such boar-crests might still serve as ornaments even to christian heroes, after the memory of Fro 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-vow* 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*.² To most of the other gods tame animals are sacred, to Fro the daring dauntless boar, as well befits a god of the chase. Perhaps also a huge *boar* with white tusks,³ 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 Ragnarokr 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: insigne superstitionis, formas aprorum gestant; id pro armis omniumque tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat.*—TRANS.

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

³ *Λευκον οδοντα*, II. 11, 416. *σὺς λευκῶ οδοντι*, Od. 19. 465.

trusty blade. Sn. 73. There appear to have been other traditions also afloat about this sword;¹ and it would not seem far-fetched, if on the strength of it we placed the well-known trilogy of 'Thunar, Wodan, Saxnot' beside Adam of Bremen's 'Wodan, Thor and Fricco' or the Eddic 'Oðinn, Asabragr, Freyr,'² that is to say, if we took *Freyr*, *Fricco* = *Fro* to be the same as *Saxnot* the sword-possessor. Add to this, that the Edda never mentions the sword of Tyr. Nevertheless there are stronger reasons in favour of *Saxnot* being *Zio*: this for one, that he was a son of Wuotan, whereas *Freyr* comes of *Niorðr*, though some genealogies to be presently mentioned bring him into connexion with Woden.

For the brilliant *Freyr*, the beneficent son of *Niorðr*, the dwarfs had constructed a wonderful *ship* *Skiðblaðnir*, which could fold up like a cloth, *Sæm.* 45^b. Sn. 48. *Yngl. saga* cap. 7 (see *Suppl.*)³

Besides the Swedes, the *Thrændir* in Norway were devoted to *Freyr* above all other gods, *Form.* sog. 10, 312. Occasionally priests of his are named, as *Thorðr Freys goði* (of the 10th century), *Landn.* 4, 10 and *Nialss.* cap. 96; *Flosi* appears to have succeeded his father in the office; other *Freyrsgyðlingar* are cited in *Landn.* 4, 13. The *Vigaglumsaga* cap. 19 mentions *Freys hof* at Upsala, and cap. 26 his statue at *Thvera* 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 *Glumr*, who in cap. 9 had sacrificed an old ox to him, now on awaking from his dream neglected his service. In the *Landn.* 3, 2 and *Vatnsd.* pp. 44. 50 we are told of a *Freyr giorr 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: *Hialpi mer sva Freyr ok Niörðr ok hinn almáttki as* (so help me F. and N. and that almighty *as*)! by which last is to be understood *Thorr* rather

¹ In old French poetry I find a famous sword wrought by Galant himself (*Wielant*, *Wayland*), and named *Froberge* or *Floberge* (*Garin* 1, 263. 2, 30-8); the latter reading has no discoverable sense, though our later *Flamberge* seems to have sprung from it. *Froberge* might very well be either a mere *fro-bergende* (lord-protecting) weapon, or a reminiscence of the god *Fro's* sword; conf. the word-formations quoted in my *Gramm.* 2, 486. There are townships called in *OHG.* *Helidberga*, *Marahaberga* (horse-stable). The *ON.* has no *Freybiorg* that I know of, though it has *Thorbiörg* fem., and *Thorberg* masc.

² Also in Sn. 131, *Oðinn*, *Thorr*, *Freyr* are speakers of doom.

³ *Pliny N. H.* 5, 9 mentions Ethiopian 'naves plicatiles humeris translatas.'

than Oðinn, for in the Egilssaga p. 365, *Freyr*, *Niörðr* and the *landás* (Thôrr) are likewise mentioned together. In the same Egilss. p. 672, *Freyr* ok *Niörðr* are again placed side by side. The story of the Brísinga-men (-monile; append. to Sn. 354) says, Oðinn had appointed both *Freyr* and *Niörðr* to be sacrificial gods. Hallfreðr sang (Fornm. sog. 2, 53, conf. 12, 49):

Mer skyli *Freyr* oc *Freyja*,
fiarð læt ek aðul Niardar,
líknist grom við *Grimni* gramr ok *Thorr enn rammi* !

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

Of *Niörðr* 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 Fro with Frouwa. The Gothic form *Naurþus* would do for either or even for both sexes; possibly *Fráuja* was considered the son of the goddess *Naurþus*, as *Freyr* is of the god *Niörðr*, 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 *Niörðr*. According to Yngl. saga cap. 11, these very blessings were believed to proceed from *Niörðr* also: 'auðigr sem *Niörðr*' (rich as N.) was a proverbial saying for a wealthy man. Vatnsd. p. 202. Snorri, in Formali 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 *Niörðr*'s abode being in Noatun. As 'freyr' was affixed to other names of heroes (p. 211-2), I find *geirniörðr* used for a hero in general, Sæm. 266^b; conf. *geirmîmir*, *geirniflungr*, &c. The name itself is hard to explain; is it akin to north, AS. *norð*, ON. *norðr*, Goth. *naurþs*? In Sæm. 109^b there is *niarðlas* for *sera firma*, or *pensilis*? I have met with no *Nirdu*, *Nerd*, *Nird* among OHG. proper names, nor with a *Neorð* in the AS. writings. Irminon's polyptych 222^a has *Narthildis* (see Suppl.).

Niörðr appears to have been greatly honoured: *hofum oc hörgum hann ræðr hundmörgum*, Sæm. 36^a; 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 *Niarðar vötr*, 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 Niorðr, 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 *Vanir*, and therefore, according to the view of the elder Edda, different from Ases; as these dwelt in Asgarð, so did the Vanir in Vanenheim, the Alfar in Alfheim, the Iotnar in Iotunheim. Freyr is called *Vanângi*, Sæm. 86^b. The Vanir were regarded as intelligent and wise, Sæm. 36^a; and they entered into intimate fellowship with the Asen, while the Alfs and Iotuns always remained opposed to them. Some have fancied that the Alfs and Iotuns stand for Celtic races, and the Vanir for Slav; and building chiefly on an attempt in the Yngl. saga cap. 1 to find the name of the Tanais in Tanaqvîsl (or Vanaqvîsl!), they have drawn by inference an actual boundary-line between Aesir and Vanir = Germani and Slavi in the regions formerly occupied by them (see Suppl.). And sure enough a Russian is to this day called in Finnish Wenailainen, 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 Ases 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 Frouwa, Freyja answers to a Slavic goddess Priye, it does not at all follow that Fro, Frouwa 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 faírguni is better represented in Perkunas or Perun; so also, to judge by what clues we have, Frauja, Fro, 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 *Freá* into kinship with *Wóden*, making Finn the father of a *Freáláf* (*Friðleifr*), and him again of *Wóden*; some of them insert two more links, *Friðuwulf* and *Friðuwald*, so that the complete pedigree stands thus: *Finn*, *Friðuwulf*, *Freáláf*, *Friðuwald*, *Wóden* (or, in the place of *Frealaf*, our old acquaintance *Freawine*). Here evidently *Friðuwulf*, *Frealaf*, *Friðuwald* are all the same thing, a mere expansion of the simple *Freá*. This follows even from a quite different ON. genealogy, *Fornald. sog.* 2, 12, which makes *Burr* (= *Finn*; conf. *Rask*, *afh.* 1, 107-8) the immediate progenitor of *Oðinn*, and him of *Freyr*, *Niorðr* 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 *Folewald*, this last name is supported by the 'Fin Folcwalding' (-ing = son) of *Cod. exon.* 320, 10 and of *Beow.* 2172, where again the reference must be to *Frea* and his race, for the *Edda* (*Sæm.* 87^a, conf. 10^a) designates *Freyr* '*folevaldi* (al. *folevaldr*) goða'. Now this *folkvaldi* means no other than dominator, princeps, *i.e.* the same as *frea*, *frô*, and seems, like it, to pass into a proper name. On the linking of *Freyr* and *Niorðr* with *Oðinn*, there will be more to say in ch. XV (see *Suppl.*). If *Snorri*'s comparison of *Niorðr* with *Kronos* (*Saturn*) have any justification, evidently *Poseidon* (*Neptune*) the son of *Kronos* would come nearer to our Teutonic sea-god; and *Ποσειδων* might be referred to *ποσις* (lord, *Lith. pats*, *Sansk. patis*, *Goth. faps*), which means the same as *Fro*. Only then both *Fro* and *Nirdu* 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 *Sueves* 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 *Niorðr* 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 *Niorð* is nowhere named, as *Tacitus* conversely knows only a female *Nerthus* and no god of that name; but also on *Sæm.* 65^a: 'við svstor thinni gæztu 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 Hoðr, 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 Friðþiofssaga, v. Fornald. sog. 2, 63 seq. (see Suppl.).

Baldr, gen. *Baldrs*, reappears in the OHG. proper name *Paltar* (in Meichelbeck 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. *sinca bealdor*, Beow. 4852. *winia bealdor* 5130. It is remarkable that in the Cod. exon. 276, 18 *mægða bealdor* (virginum princeps) is said even of a maiden. I know of only a few examples in the ON.: *baldur î brynju*, Sæm. 272^b, and *herbaldr* 218^b are used for a hero in general; *atgeirs baldr* (lanceae vir), Fornm. sog. 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* (eberaar, boar-eagle), never *Epurar*.

exactly reminds us of *fráuja*, *frô*, *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 OIIG. 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. *ballr*. 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 *Nanþo* from *nanþjan*, in OHG. *Nandá* from *gi-nendan*. 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 *Balthae* (*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 *Woden's* son not *Bealdor*, *Baldor*, but *Baldæg*, *Beldeg*, 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 *dæg* and *tac*: OHG. *Adaltac*,

¹ *Baldrs*, *Paltar*, must be kept distinct from the compound *Baldheri* (*Schammat* no. 420. 448), *Paldheri* (*Tral. patav.* no. 35), AS. *Baldhere*. This *Paldheri* is the same as *Paldachar* (*Tral. patav.* no. 18).

² Goth.	kalds	} but	{	vilþeis	hulþs	gulþ.
ON.	kaldr			villr	hollr	gull.
OHG.	chalt			wildi	hold	kold.

³ Conf. Gothic *alþan* and *alþs aldís*, also *aldrs*; Goth. *falþan* 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. *fadr* stands for *fap̄r*, as we see by *pater* [the AS. 'fæder, modor,' after a usurpation of 1000 years, must have given place to the truer 'father, mother' again]. In the ON. *valda* pret. *olli*, we must regard the *ll* as older than the *ld*, in spite of the Goth. *valdan* and OHG. *waltan* [some would prefer to call *valda* an archaism].

⁴ *Baldr* may be related to *balþ*, as *tir* to *ty*, and *zior* to *zio*.

Alptac, Ingatac, Kêrtac, Helmtac, Iruodtac, Regintac, Sigitac ; OS. Alacdag, Alfdag (Albdag, Pertz 1, 286), Hildidag, Liuddag, Osdag, Wulfdag ; AS. Wegdæg, Swefdæg ; 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*, *tae* 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 *biel*, *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 *Bièlbogh*, *Bel-bôgh* 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 sva *fagr* âlitum ok *biartr svâ at lysir af honum*, oc eitt gras er sva hvitt, at iafnat er til *Baldrs brâr*, þat er allra grasa *hvítast* oc þar eptir mattu marka hans fegurð bæði a hari ok líki' ; 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 *Barbrogras* in Denmark, or the *matricaria maritima inodora*, which retains the original name in Iceland (see Suppl.).³ In Skane there is a *Baldursberg*, in the Ottingen 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,

¹ The cases are hardly analogous : Bæld-æg and Regin-tac.—TRANS.

² Homer emphasizes the dark brows of Zeus and Hera, *οφρυς κνανέα*. Conf. *λευκοφρυς* and Artemis *λευκοφρυνη*, white-browed Diana.

³ Germ. names of the camomile : *kuhauge*, *rindsauge*, *ochsenauge* (ox-eye). Dalecarl. *hvitet-oja* (white eye), in Bahuslan *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 *Bredblick*.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 : *Do bralhte Dietheriches vane zvincik dusint lossam in breither blickin uber lant*, Roth. 2635. In Wh. 381, 16 : ‘daz bluot über die *blicke* flôz, si wurdn almeistic rôrtgevar,’ did the blood flow over the paths of the field, or over the shining silks ?

If *Bældæg* 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 *Hcl*, as will be more fully shown in ch. XIII, answers to the Gothic impersonal noun *halja*, OHG. *hella*. *Hoðr* (acc. *Hoð*, 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. *Habus*, AS. *Heaðo*, OHG. *Hadu*, OFrank. *Chado*, of which we have still undoubted traces in proper names and poetic compounds. OHG. *Hadupraht*, *Hadufuns*, *Hadupald*, *Hadufrid*, *Hadumar*, *Hadupure*, *Hadulint*, *Haduwic* (*Hedwig*), &c., forms which abut close on the *Catumerus* in Tacitus (*Hadumar*, *Hadamar*). In AS. poetry are still found the terms *heaðorinc* (*vir egregius, nobilis*), Cædm. 193, 4. *Beow.* 737. 4927 ; *heaðowelm* (*belli impetus, fervor*), Cædm. 21, 14. 147, 8. *Beow.* 164. 5633 ; *heaðoswat* (*sudor bellicus*), *Beow.* 2919. 3211. 3334 ; *heaðowæd* (*vestis bellica*), *Beow.* 78 ; *heaðubyrne* (*lorica bellica*), *Cod. exon.* 297, 7 ; *heaðosigel* and *heaðogleam* (*egregium jubar*), *Cod. exon.* 486, 17 and 438, 6 ; *heaðolac* (*pugnae ludus*), *Beow.* 1862. 3943 ; *heaðogrim* (*atrocissimus*), *Beow.* 1090. 5378 ; *heaðosioc* (*pugna vulneratus*), *Beow.* 5504 ; *heaðosteap* (*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 *Habus*, *Hoðr*, 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 *Hoðr*, we

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 *Heremoð* among Woden's ancestors, and names as his son either Sceldwa or the Scaef 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 Niorðr. A later *Heremod* 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. 113^a, to whom Oðinn lends helm and hauberk. 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 Simgund and Sunna, nor yet Frua 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 fiet. Harundinem prende tibi viridem pedes IV aut V longam, mediam diffinde, et duo homines teneant ad coxendices. Incipe cantare in alio S.F.*

motas vaeta daries dardaries astataries *Dissunapiter!* 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 *Pholesauwa*, *Pholesouwa*, ten or twelve miles from Passau, which the *Traditiones patavienses* 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 *auc* 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 pascuum), mentioned in the *Friðþiofssaga*, was an enclosed sanctuary (*gríðastaðr*), 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 (Diut. 1, 357).¹ The ON. mythology supplies us with several eas named after the loftiest gods: *Oðinsey* (Odensee) in Fünen, another *Oðinsey* (Onsoe) in Norway, *Form. sog.* 12, 33, and *Thorsey*, 7, 234. 9, 17; *Hlessey* (Lassoe) in the Kattogat, &c., &c. We do not know any OHG. *Wuotanesouwa*, *Donaresouwa*, but *Pholesouwa* is equally to the point.

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

¹ So the Old Bavarian convent of Chiemsee was called *ouwa* (MB. 28^a, 103 an. 890), and afterwards the monastery there 'der herren *werd*,' and the nunnery 'der nunnan *werd*'. Stat 'zo gottes *ouwe*' in *Lisch. mekl. jb.* 7, 227, from a fragment belonging to Bertholds Crane. Demantin 242.

Pfalspiunt, 5, 399 anno 1290), now Pfalzpoint on the Altmühl, between Eichstadt and Kipfenberg, in a considerable forest. Piunt means an enclosed field or garden;¹ and if an ea could be consecrated to a god, so could a field. Graff 3, 342 has a place called *Frawûnpiunt*, 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 *Pfoltzborn*; there is however another village, *Falsbrunn* or *Falsbronn*, on the Rauhe Eberach in the Franconian Steigerwald. Now *Pfolesbrunno* 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,² 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 Klingen 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 militem opportuni liquoris beneficio recrearet, novos humi latices 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. Schopflin'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 Altag 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 Altag. 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 *Pholnheim* in Schannat, Vind. lit. coll. 1, 48. 53. Not far from Scharzfeld, between the Harz mts and Thuringia, is an old village named *Polde*, 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. *bael* rogn, and the Slav. *páliti* 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: *φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα δίφει ποτὲ καταχέντα εὐξασθαι τὸ Διὶ πατρὶ ἐπιδείξαι αὐτῷ μικρὰν λιβάδα. ὁ δὲ μὴ θέλων αὐτὸν κατατρύχεσθαι, ῥίψας κεραυνὸν ἀνέδωκε μικρὰν λιβάδα, ἣν θεασάμενος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ σκάψας εἰς τὸ πλουσιώτερον ἐποίησε φέρεσθαι* (Scholia in Il. 20, 74). This spring was Scamander, and the λιβάς Ἡρακλῆος may be set by the side of Pfolesbrunno as well as Pfolesouwa, λιβαδιον being both mead and ea; and does not the Grecian demigod's pyre kindled on Oeta suggest that of Balder?

- So I explain the proper name *Pholz* from Folbreht, Folrat, 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, foal, &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, phuzi; peda, 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. *Bièlbogh*, *Belbogh* (white-god), the adj. *biel*, *bel* (albus), Lith. *baltas*, which last with its extension T makes it probable that *Bældæg* 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 *Hermunduri* and *Marcomanni*, yet they seem to have also known his other name *Pultur* or *Balder*, while

¹ That is, really *borrowed* words, as port, paternal, palace, in which the Low Germ. makes *no* change (like that in firth, 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*, *Pholesbrunno* 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 Wodan (Ullr ok Ooinn)' made a perfect alliteration. And *Ullr* was connected with *Baldr*, who in Sæm. 93^a is called 'Ullar sefi,' 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 *Folla*; 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.

Baldag, *Bældæg* 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 (Sæm. 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 confinio Fresonum et Danorum ad quamdam 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 rerum, 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, quousque sepositis 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 *Pjölgraben* (-ditch), the *Pfulhecke* (-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 Eichsteld *Pulloineke* is pronounced with shyness and reluctance (Münchmer gel. anz. 1842, p. 762). A Niddawitz ordinance of the same district (3, 327) contains the family name *Boylsperg* (Polesberc ?), *Pfoylsperg*. 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 *suorum* injurias *deorum* 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.—Radbod feared king Pippin the Frank, and let the evangelist go unhurt.¹ What Wilibrord had left unfinished, was accomplished some time after by another priest, as the *vita sancti Liudgeri*, composed by Alfrid († 849), tells of the year 785: Ipse 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 *dei sui falsi Fosete Fosetelant* est appellata . . . Pervenientes autem ad eandem insulam, destruxerunt *omnia* ejusdem *Fosetis fana*, quae illic fuere constructa, et pro eis Christi fabricaverunt ecclesias, cunque 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 taecens* praesumebat (Pertz 2, 410).—Alfrid evidently had the work of Alcuin by him. From that time the island took the name of *hêlegland*, *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), describes the island thus: Ordinavit (archiepiscopus episcopum) in Finno (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 *praelam inde vel minimam tulerint, aut mox perisse naufragio, aut occisos ab aliquo, nullum redisse indemnum*; quapropter solent *heremitis ibi viventibus decimas praedarum offerre eum magna devotione*. est enim feracissima frugum, ditissima volucrum et pecudum nutrix, collem 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 nautis*, praecipue vero piratis, unde nomen accepit ut *Heiligeland* dicatur. hanc in vita sancti Willebrordi *Fosetisland* 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 Fohr 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. *Forseta*, 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. mosar for morsar, Low Germ. mosar; so in the Frisian Angeln, according to Hagerup p. 20, fost, foste = forste, 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 *fairagaggja* 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 (Plon, 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 Lassoë, 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 Cumbl], Dan. *fos*, and to assume a daemon of the whirlpool, a *Fossegrimm* (conf. ch. XVII. Niehus), 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. *Nandger*; and does not he suggest *Forseti's* mother *Nanna* = *Nandû*?

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.)

Heimðallr, or in the later spelling *Heimdallr*, though no longer mentioned in Saxo, is, like *Baldr*, a bright and gracious god: *hvítastr* âsa (whitest of âses, Sæm. 72^a),¹ *sverðás hvíta*, Sæm. 90^a, *hvíti* âs, 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 *himinn*; *þallr* seems akin to *þoll*, gen. *þallar* (pinus), Swed. tall, Swiss dale, Engl. deal (Stald. 1, 259, conf. Schm. 2, 603-4 on *mantala*), but *þoll* also means a river, Sn. 43, and *Freyja* bears the by-name of *Mardoll*, gen. *Mardallar*, Sn. 37. 154. All this remains dark to us. No proper name in the other Teutonic tongues answers to *Heimðallr*; but with *Himinbiörg* (Sæm. 41^b 92^b) or the common noun *himinfiöll* (Sæm. 148^a Yngl. saga cap. 39), we can connect the names of other hills: a *Himilînberg* (mons coelius) haunted by spirits, in the *vita S. Galli*, Pertz 2, 10; *Himmelberc* in *Lichtenstein's frauend.* 199, 10; a *Himilesberg* in the Fulda country, *Schannat Buchon.* vet. 336; several in

¹ When this passage says further, 'vissi ham 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. sog. 1, 373 calls him, I know not why, 'heimskastr allra asa,' *heimskr* usually signifying ignorant, a greenhorn, what the MHG. poets mean by tump.

Hesse (Kuchenb. anal. 11, 137) near Iba and Waldkappel (Niederh. wochenbl. 1834 pp. 106, 2183); a *Himmelsberg* in Vestgotland, and one, alleged to be Heimdall's, in Halland. At the same time, *Himinvangar*, Sæm. 150^a, 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. 118^{a,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,' Fornm. sog. 1, 52. It is worthy of remark, that Hallinskíði and Heimdali are quoted among the names for the ram, Sn. 221.

As watchman and warder of the gods (vorðr goða, Sæm. 41), Heimdall winds a powerful horn, *Gjallarhorn*, which is kept under a sacred tree, Sæm. 5^b 8^a. Sn. 72-3. What the Voluspa 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 Heimðallar*, 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 Fro over fruitfulness, so the creative faculty seems to have been divided between Oðinn 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 *Rîgr* (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 *Rîgr*, it seems to me to have sprung, like *dîs* from *idis*, by aphæresis 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 a, Fornald. sog. 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 straza*, *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 Bifrost.

Norwegian names of places bear witness to his cultus: *Heimdallarrvattn*, a lake in Guldbrandsdalen (Guðbrandsdalr), and *Heimdallshoug*, a hill in Nummedalen (Naumudalr); 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.* 46^a. *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 *bragi* gen. *braga*, and *bragr* gen. *bragar*, at all events the latter stands in the phrase '*bragr* karla' = vir facundus, praestans, in '*asa bragr*' deorum princeps = Thorr (*Sæm.* 85^b. *Sn.* 211^a, but *Bragi* 211^b), and even '*bragr* qvenna' femina praestantissima (*Sæm.* 218^a).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 *Bragningar*. 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 *bregogo*, in the sense of rex or princeps: *bregostol* in *Beow.* 4587 and *Andr.* 209 is *thronus regius*; *bregowearð* in *Cædm.* 140, 26. 166, 13 is princeps.⁴ Now, as gen. plurals are attached to

¹ Der gammel *Erik*, gammel *Erke* (old E.), has now come to mean old Nick in Swedish; conf. supra p. 124, on *Erchtag*.

² *Sæm.* 113^b, of *Oðinn*: *gefr hann brag skáldom* (dat carmen poetis).

³ Does not the Engl. *brag*, Germ. *prahlen* (gloriar) 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 *Comus*.—TRANS.

⁴ In *Beða* 4, 23 (*Stevens.* p. 304) a woman's name *Bregosuid*, *Bregoswið*; in *Kemble* 5, 48 (anno 749) *Bregeswiðestán*, and 1, 133-4 (anno 762), 5, 46 (anno 747), 5, 59 (anno 798) a man's name *Bregowine*. In *Beow.* 3847 *bregorof* is clarissimus.

it: brego engla, Cædm. 12, 7. 60, 4. 62, 3; brego Dena, Beow. 848; hæleða 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 Tyr, 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. *bregen* (like *regen* 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 *φρήν, φρενός, -φρων, -φρονος*. Now the ON. *bragr*, beside *poesis*, means also *mos, gestus*, and 'braga eftir einum' *referre aliquem gestu, imitari*. OHG. has nothing like it, nor any such proper name as *Prako, Brago, Brëgo*.

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 *Iðunn* dwelt in *Brunnaker*, Sn. 121^a, and she is called 'Brunnakers beekjar gerðr,' *Brunnakerinae sedis ornatix*, 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 brog' would present itself, and the AS. *broga* (terror), OHG. *pruoko, bruogo*, be akin to it. The connexion of *Bragi* with *Oegir* may be seen by *Bragi* appearing prominently in the poem *Oegisdrecca*, 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 *breitheam, 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 Oegir often interrupts him with questions (Sn. 93), as Gangleri does Har when holding forth in the first part of the Edda, were put in the mouth of the patron of poetry.

3. AKI, UOKI (OEGIR, HLËR). FÏFEL, GEOFON.

This Oegir, 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 ôg' had given birth to plenty of derivatives in our ancient speech: Goth. agis φόβος, ôg φοβέομαι, OHG. akiso, egiso, AS. egesa horror, OHG. akî, ekî, AS. ege (êge? awe) terror, ON. œgja terrori esse, which can only be spelt with œ, not æ. To the proper name *Oegir* would correspond a Goth. Ogeis, AS. Ège, OHG. Uegi, instead of which I can only lay my hand on the weak form *Uogo, Oago*. But œgir also signifies the sea itself: sol gengr î œginn, the sun goes into the sea, sets; œgi-sior pelagus is like the Goth. mari-saivs; the AS. eagor and egor (mare) is related to ege, as sigor to sige. I attach weight to the agreement of the Greek ωκεανός, 'Ωκεανός and 'Ωγην, whence the Lat. oceanus, Oceanus was borrowed, but æquor (mare placidum) seems not cognate, being related to æquus, not to aqua and Goth. ahva (see Suppl.).¹

The boisterous element awakened awe, and the sense of a god's immediate presence. As Woden was also called Woma (p. 144), and Oðinn Omi and Yggr, so the AS. poets use the terms woma, sweg, broga and egesa almost synonymously for ghostly and divine phenomena (Andr. and El. pp. xxx—xxxii). *Oegir* 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 oll qvikvendi brœðast at sia, 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, Sæm. 188^a; vera (to be) undir *Oegishialmi*, bera *Oegishialm* yfir

¹ Oegir is also called *Gymir*, Sæm. 59. *Gámir*, Sn. 125. 183 possibly epulator? but I know no other meaning of the ON. gauur than cura, attentio, though the OHG. gouma, OS. goma means both cura and epulae, the AS. gyming 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. sog.* 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, *ormr í auga*, was something similar.¹ 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 *Eggihelm*), *i.e.* *Agihelm*, identical with the strengthened-vowel form *Uogihelm*, 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 *Hildegriem*, *Hildegriin*; and the ON. *gríma* mask or helmet (in *Sæm.* 51^a a name for night) has now turned up in a *Fulda gloss*, *Dronke* p. 15: 'scenici = *erimain*' presupposes a sing. *kríma* larva, persona, galea; so we can now understand *Krímhilt* (*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 *grímhelm*. I venture to guess, that the wolf in our ancient apologue was imagined wearing such a helmet of dread, and hence his name of *Isangriem*, iron-mask, *Reinh.* ccxlii (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* *Eckisax*, in *Veldek's Eneit* *Uokesahs* (not a letter may we alter), in the *Eckenlied* *Ecken sahs*, as *Hildegriin* was *Ecken helm*, *Eckes helm*. In the Greek *αίγίς* I do not look for any verbal affinity, but this shield of *Zeus αἰγιοχος* (*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*, *Hildegriem* 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.* 59,²

¹ *Formn. sög.* 9, 513: *gekk alvaldr nnd Ýgishialmi*. The spelling with *ý* goes to confirm our *œ*, and refute *æ*, as an *y* can only stand for the former, not for the latter; conf. *mor* and the deriv. *myri* = *mœri*, *Gramm.* 1, 473.

² In the great feast which he gave to the gods, the ale came up of itself (*sialft barse þar ol*, *Sæm.* 59), as *Hephaestus's* tripods ran *αυτομάτοι* in and out of the *θεῖον ἄγῶνα*, *Il.* 18, 376. Even so *Freyr* had a sword *er sialft vegiz* (that swings itself), *Sæm.* 82^a, and *Thór's Miölnir* comes back of itself everytime it is thrown.

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 *Abentrot*, of whom more hereafter. As the Greek *Okeanos* has rivers given him for sons and daughters, the Norse *Oegir* has by *Ran* 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*, *Aegidora* (Pertz 1, 355-70-86. 2, 620-31); Helmold 1, 12. 50 spells *Egdora*. The ON. writers more plainly write *Oegisdyr* (Fornm. 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 *Oegissiða*, *latus oceani*. Further, it comes out that by the AS. name *Fífeldor* in Cod. exon. 321, 8 and by the *Wieglesdor* 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* = *Eggedor*, *Egidor*. Now, seeing that elsewhere the AS. poems use *Fifelstreám*, *Fífelwæg* (Boeth. 26, 51. El. 237) for the ocean, and *Fífelcynnes eard* (Beow. 208) for the land of the ocean-sprites, we may suppose *Fífel* and its corruption *Wiegel* to be another and an obsolete name of *Oegir*.

The same may hold good of the AS. *Geofon*, OS. *Geban*, a being whose godhead is sufficiently manifest from the ON. *Geffjun*, who is reckoned among the *Asynior*, though she bore sons to a giant. The Saxon *Geban* however was a god; the *Heliand* shows only the compound *Gebenesstrom* 90, 7. 131, 22, but the AS. poets, in addition to *Geofenes begang*, Beow. 721, *Geofenes stað*, Cædm. 215, 8, and the less personal *geofonhus* (*navis*), Cædm. 79, 34, *geofonflod*, Cod. exon. 193, 21, have also a *Geofon* standing independently in

the nom., Cædm. 206, 6, and gifen geotende, Beow. 3378. An OHG. *Kepan* is nowhere found, even in proper names, though Stählin 1, 598 gives a *Gebeneswilaro*. 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 *χιτων* fem. [*χιτων*, 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. sog. 2, 17) we read: Forniotr átti 3 syni, hett einm *Hler*, er ver kollum *Oegi* (one hight Hler, whom we call Oegir), annarr Logi, þridji Kari (Rask, afh. 1, 95: Kâri). *Hlér*, gen. *Hlês*, 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 *Hlês-ey* (Sæm. 78^b 159^b 243^b), 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-miotr* primus occupans, but rather as *forn-iotr*, the ancient *Iotr* (Rask, anhand. 1, 78), a particularly apt expression for those giants, and closely connected with *iotunn* itself, AS. *eoton*, 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*, *Fornetes 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 *Firnez*, and the plant *Firnezes folma*. We remember how, in Beow. 1662, Grendel has torn off the hand of a water-sprite, and presents it as tacen of his victory, just as Tristan chops off the giant Urgan's hand, and takes it with him to certify the deed, 16055-65-85. The amputation of the huge giant-hand seems therefore part of an ancient myth, and to have been fitly

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, GRENDEL), SATURN.

Logi, as we have seen, was a second son of Fornioth, and the three brothers *Hler*, *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 Hephæstus (Vulcan) of the Greeks ; Okeanos was a friend and kinsman of the former. But the two get mixed up. In *Loki*, *sa er flestu illu ræðr* (Sn. 46), who devises the most of ill, we see also the giant demon who, like Hephæstus, sets the gods a-laughing ; his limping reminds us of Hephæstus and the lame fire (N. Cap. 76), his chaining of Prometheus's, for *Loki* is put in chains like his son *Fenrir*. As Hephæstus 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 Hephæstus being hurled down from Olympus by Zeus (Il. 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. 61^b*, and from the juxtaposition of three creative deities on their travels, *Oðinn*, *Hæmir*, *Loðr*, *Sæm. 3^a*, instead of which we have also *Oðinn*, *Hæmir*, *Loki*, *Sæm. 180*, or in a different order *Oðinn*, *Loki*, *Hæmir*, Sn. 80. 135 (conf. supra, p. 162). This trilogy I do not venture to identify with that of *Hler*, *Logi*, *Kari* above, strikingly as *Oðinn* corresponds to the *ἰς ἀνέμοιο* ; and though from the creating *Oðinn*

proceed breath and spirit (önd), as from *Loðr* (blaze, glow) come blood and colour (la ok litr), the connexion of Hœnir, who imparts sense (ôð), 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. Lauha 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 âs 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 dauin* (Lokii odor) is Icelandic for the ignis fatuus exhaling brimstone (ibid. 44); *Lokabrenna* (Lokii incendium) for Sirius; *Loka spœnir* are chips for firing. In the north of Jutland, a weed very noxious to cattle (polytrichum comm.) is called *Lokkens 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 crista galli. When the fire crackles, they say '*Lokje smacks his children*,' Faye p. 6. Molbech's Dial. lex. p. 330 says, the Jutland phrase '*Locke saaer havre idag* (to-day),' or what is equivalent '*Locke 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 hore paa Lockens eventyr* (adventures)' means to listen to lies or idle tales (P. Syv's gamle danske ordsprog 2, 72). According to Sjoborg's Nomenklatur, there is in Vestergotland a giant's grave named *Lokchall*. 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 dæmon, which is found among the other Teutonic races. If Logi comes from liuhan (lucere), *Loki* will apparently fall to the root lukan (claudere, conf. claudus lame); the ON. lok 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 moder* (4232-74), a veritable devil's mother and giant's mother. An AS. document of 931 in *Kemble* 2, 172 mentions a place called *Grendles mêre* (*Grendeli 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 *hollriegel* or the devil's grandmother; and *Hugo von Langenstein* (*Martina* 4^b) 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 *tremill*, which mean both cacodaemon and also, it seems, clathri, cancelli: 'tramar gneypa þik skulo!' *Sæm.* 85^a; 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 þrami, 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 *lissetra*, i.e., the pole with which a load is tied down.

Beside *Loki* the as, *Snorri* sets another before us in the *Edda*, *Utgardaloki*, as a king whose arts and power deceive even godlike *Thórr*; 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 Ases, rests mainly on the antithesis of an Okuþorr to Asaþorr, of Logi to Loki, and probably of Hler to Oegir, each pair respectively standing for thunder, fire,

never once names the Eddic 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, Thorr 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*,¹ *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 *Skoll* chases the sun, *Hati*, *Hróðvitnis* sonr (Sæm. 45^a) 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 tayl 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, Feniri? can it be our fahnentraget, 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 bondum' (ch. XXIII). In the Life of Goz von Berlichingen, p. 201: 'the *devil* was everywhere at large'; in Detmar's chronik 1, 298: 'do was de *duvel* 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' a 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 dorft ihr nicht mehr für ihn betten, dass ihn Gott *vor den wölfen wolle behuten,* denn sie werden ihn diss 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 *wolfe,* um zwolfe bricht das *gewolbe,*' 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 Ragnarokr 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 bourguignon*, 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 verðr lauss' (= unz riufaz regin, till the gods be destroyed), answers exactly to the Greek *πρὶν αὐ ἐκ δεσμων χαλάσθῃ Προμηθεύς* (Aesch. Prom. 176. 770. 991); the writhings of the fettered Loki make the earth to quake (Sæm. 69. Sn. 70), just as *χθων σεσάλευται* 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-ea) and *Nál* (needle; thin and insinuating, miô ok auðþreiflig, 355), all of them words easy to translate into OHG. as *Farpôzo* (remex), *Loupuwa*, *Nadala*, though such names are nowhere found. He is never called *Farbauta* sonr, but always after his mother, *Loki Laufeyjar* sonr (Sæm. 67^a 72^b 73^a), which had its origin in alliteration, but held its ground even in prose (Sn. 64) and in the *Locke Loje*, *Loke Lovmand*, *Loke Lejemand* of the later folk-songs. This *Laufey* (Swed. *Lofo*) 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 *Jörmungandr* and a daughter *Hel*. It is worthy of notice, that he himself is also called *Loptir* (ærius), and one of his brothers *Helblindi*, 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 sâ	Then on the Saturday
einez heizet rotunda,	Is a thing named rotunda
daz was ein herez betehus,	That was a lofty temple,
der got hiez <i>Saturnûs</i> ,	The god was named Saturnus,
darnach was iz aller tiuvel êre.	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: *Sæteresday* or *Saternesdæg*, *Saturday*, *Saterdei*, *Saterdaech*, *Satersdag*, and even the Irish have adopted *dia Satuirn* or *Satarn*; 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 *Satarnes-* nor a *Sazarnestac* can be found; but in AS. *sætere* means insidiator (OHG. *sâzari*, conf. *sâza*, MHG. *sâze insidiae*, a sitting in wait, as *lâga*, *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 *Sæteresbyrig*, quite on a par with *Wodnesbyrig*; further, the plant gallicus, our hahnenfuss, Engl. crowfoot, was in AS. *sâtorlâðe Saturni taedium* as it were (·loathing, ON. *leiði*, 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 Marculf 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 *Vingþorr* and *Alviss*, between *Har* and *Gangleri*. Here also the name *Saturn* seems to make for my point, and to designate a god of Teutonic paganism.

dagr, Swed. lögerdag, Dan. løverdag, by which in later times no doubt washing or bathing day was meant, as the equivalent þvottdagr shows; but originally *Logadagr*, *Lokadagr* may have been in use,¹ and Logi, Loki might answer to the Latin Saturnus,² 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 ON. is likewise seducer, tempter, trapper. We might even take into consideration a by-name of Oðinn in Sæm. 46^a, *Saðr* or perhaps *Saðr*, though I prefer to take the first form as equivalent to Sannr (true) and Sanngetall.

But that AS. *Sateresbyrig* 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 *Krodo*; to this we may add the name touched upon in p. 206 (*Hreðe*, *Hreðemonað*), for which an older *Hruodo*, *Chrodo* was conjectured.³ We are told of an image of this Saturn or Krodo, 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.).⁴

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^a and 17^a 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

¹ Conf. Finn Magnusen, lex. pp. 1041-2, dagens tider p. 7.

² I suppose the author had in his mind Homer's constant epithet, *Κρονος ἀγκυλομήτης* wily, crooked-counselled Kronos.—TRANS.

³ To *Hródo* might now be referred those names *Royssel* (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 *Hruodtac*, a man's name in OHG. (Graff 5, 362), and an OS. *Hróddag* is found in Trad. corb. § 424, ed. Wigand; these may be related to Hruodo, Hródo as Baldag to Balder, and the contraction Roydag, Rodag would be like Roswith for Hrodsuith. If Roydag should turn out to be the seventh day of the week, it would be a strong testimony to the worship of Chrodo; if it remain the third, we have to add, that the third month also was sacred to Mars, and was called *Hréðemonað* 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 *Satjâr*. The Saxon Saturn is supported by Hengest's reference to that god'. (Extracted from Suppl., vol. iii.)

Sitivrato^v zin' (woodpecker, Sitivrat's son); and in a third 20^a, 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 Stracec = Picus; and in fact Greek myths treat Picus (*Πικος*) 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.¹ 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 *Satyâvrata*, 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.² 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 Satyavrata, *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 goddesses¹ 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. *airþa*, OHG. *erada*, *erda*, AS. *eorðe*, ON. *iordǫ*, Gr. *ερα* (inferred from *εραζε*); Lat. *terra*, *tellus*, *humus* = Slav. *zeme*, *ziemia*, *zemlia*, Lith. *zieme*, Gr. *χαμή* (? whence *χαμᾶζε*), *αἰᾶ*, *γαῖα*, *γῆ*: the 'mother' subjoined in *Δημήτηρ*, *Zemamate*, indicates the goddess. The form *airþa*, *ërda* (also *herda*) is itself a derivative; the simpler OHG. *ero* (in the Wessobr. prayer: *ero noh ufhimil*, earth nor heaven) and *hero* (in a gloss, for *solum*,

¹ OHG. in Notker has only the strong form *gutin* gen. *gutinno*, MHG. *gotinne*, Trist. 4807. 15812. Barl. 246-7. seldomer *gütinne*, MS. 2, 65^b; AS. *gyden* pl. *gydena*, but also weak *gydene* pl. *gydenan*, Mones gl. 4185 Proserpinam = to *gidenan* (l. *tôgydenan*, additional goddess); ON. *gyðja* (which might be *dea* or *sacerdos fem.*), better *ásynja* (see Suppl.).

Graff 4, 999) might be masc. (like herd = solum, Graff 4, 1026) or fem. still.¹ 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. *feld*, field, Finn. *peldo* (campus), Hung. *fold* (terra). But the ON. *Iörð* appears in the flesh, at once wife and daughter of Oðinn, and mother of Thorr (Sn. 11. 39. 123), who is often called *Iarðar burr*. Distinct from her was *Rindr*, another wife of Oðinn, and mother of Vali (Sæm. 91^a 95^a 97^b), called *Rinula* 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 *Iörð* 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 Germani that Tacitus imputes the worship of *Nerthus*, only to the Langobardi (?), Rendingi, Aviones, Angli, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones and Vuithones (Germ. 40): *Nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum*,² *id est Terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehi populis, arbitrantur. Est in insula oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo veliculum, veste contectum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrali deam intelligit, vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum: pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata: donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium deam templo reddat. Mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluatur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit.*³ Arcanus hinc

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 *nehertum* (Massmann in *Aufsess and Mones anzeiger*, 1834, p. 216); I should prefer *Nertus* to *Nerthus*, 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 *airþa*, not *airþus*. Besides, *Aventin* already (Frankf. 1580, p. 19^a) 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

terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident (see Suppl.).¹

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 *Niorðr*, 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 clump left standing, take hold of the ears of rye, and shout three times over:

Fru Gaue, haltet ju fauer, Lady Gaue, keep you some fodder,
düt 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 Gaue 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 *Nertereans*, 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 düit dei *gaue frue* (or, de *fru Gaunen*) 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 *vergodendeclsstrüss*, 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 Woden* or *fro Gaue* (conf. *Gaunsdag* 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 *Wuotan*, 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. *Goi* (Sn. 358. *Fornald. sog.* 2, 17), a mythic maiden, after whom February was named. The Greek *Taïa* or *Γῆ* 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 'erree, erree, erree, *eorþan modor!*' by which not the earth herself, but her mother seems to be meant; however, the expression is still enigmatical. Can there lie disguised in *erree* a proper name *Erree* gen. *Ercan*, connected with the OHG. adj. *erchan*, simplex, genuinus, germanus? it would surely be more correct to write *Eoree*? ought it to suggest the lady *Erche*, *Herkyja*, *Herche*, *Helehe* 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. zel. 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: *Zemenyle ziedekle, pakylek musu ranku darbus!* blooming Earth, bless the work of our hands.

² *Adalb. Kuhns markische sagen*, pp. 337. 372, pref. p. vii. Conf. in ch. XXII the cry of the dwarfs: 'de *gaue fru* is nu dot (dead)'.

them a good scratching or soils their distaff (see Suppl.).¹ 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 aera*, quoniam apud gentiles Junoni aer deputabatur. Et quod Juno quandoque *Hera* appellabatur et depingebatur cum tintinnabulis et alis, dicebant vulgares praedicto tempore: *vrouwe Hera* seu corrupto nomine *vro Here de vlughet*, 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. *Eree* 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 modor!*' 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 forefathers, just as the service of Gaia and her daughter Rhea mixed itself up with that of Ops mater, Ceres and Cybele.² 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 deum mater* in her lion-drawn *car* through the lands of the earth:

Quo nunc insigni per magnas praedita terras
 horrice fertur 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 deum*, and kept it as a feast, Ovid. fast. 4, 337:

¹ Adalb. Kuhn in the Märkische forschungen 1, 123-4, and Märk. sagen pp. 371-2; 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 $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ seems also to lead to $\gamma\eta\ \mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ (see Suppl.).

Est locus, in Tiberin qua lubricus influit Almo,
 et nomen magno perdit ab amne minor ;
 illic purpurea canus eum veste sacerdos
 Almonis dominam sacraque lavit aquis.

Ammian. Marcell. 23, 3 (Paris 1681, p. 355) : Ad Callinicum,—ubi ante diem sextum kal. quo Romae matri deorum pompae celebrantur annales, et *carpentum quo vehitur simulacrum* Almonis undis ablui perhibetur. Conf. Prudentius, hymn. 10, 154 :

Nudare plantas ante *carpentum* scio
 proceres togatos *matris Idacae* sacris.
 Lapis nigellus evehendus essedo
 muliebris oris clausus argento sedet,
 quem dum ad lavacrum praeundo 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 *Bharani*, wife of Shiva, is likewise driven round on her feast-day, and *bathed in a secret lake* by the Brahmans (see Suppl.).¹

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 *wearry* of her, she was *drowned*

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 (Augustoduno) *simulachrum* fuisse *Berecynthiae*, sicut sancti martyris Symphoriani passionis declarat historia. Hanc cum *in carpento, pro salvatione agrorum et vinearum suarum*, misero gentilitatis more *deferrent*, adfuit supradictus Simplicius episcopus, haud procul adspiciens *cantantes atque psallentes ante hoc simulachrum*, gemitumque pro stultitia plebis ad Deum emittens ait : illumina quaeso, Domine, oculos hujus populi, ut cognoscat, quia simulachrum *Berecynthiae* nihil est ! et facto signo crucis contra protinus simulachrum in terram ruit. Ac defixa solo animalia, quae plaustrum hoc quo vehebatur trahebant, moveri non poterant. Stupet vulgus innumerum, et *deam laesam* omnis caterva conclamat ; *immolantur victimae*, animalia verberantur, sed moveri non possunt. Tunc quadringenti de illa stulta multitudine viri conjuncti simul ajunt ad invicem : si virtus est ulla deitatis, ei gatur sponte, jubeatque boves, qui telluri sunt stabiliti, procedere ; certe si moveri nequit, nihil est deitatis in ea. Tunc accedentes, et *immolantes unum de pecoribus*, cum viderent deam suam nullatenus posse moveri, relicto gentilitatis errore, inquisitoque antistite loci, conversi 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 *Skaldskaparmal*, p. 178, she is named both *Fiörgyn* and *Hlóðyn*.

Of *Fiörgyn* I have treated already, p. 172; if by the side of this goddess there could stand a god *Fiorgynn* and a neuter common noun *faírguni*, if the idea of Thor's mother at the same time passes into that of the thundergod, it exactly parallels and confirms a female *Nerthus* (Goth. *Nairþus*, gen. *Nairþaus*) by the side of the masculine *Niorðr* (*Nerthus*), just as Freyja goes with Freyr. If it was not wrong to infer from *Perkunas* a mountain-god *Faírguncis*, Lithuanian mythology has equally a goddess *Perkunatele*.

Hlóðyn is derived in the same way as *Fiörgyn*, so that we may safely infer a Goth. *Hlópunja* and OHG. *Hluodunia*. In *Völuspá* 56 Thorr is called 'mogr *Hlóðynjar*,' which is son of earth again; and *Fornald. sog.* 1, 469 says: *í Hlóðynjar skaut*. In the ON. language *hloð* is a hearth,³ the goddess's name therefore means protectress of the fireplace; and our OHG. *herd* (p. 251), beside *solum* or *terra*, also denotes precisely *focus*, *arula*, *fofnacula*, 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 schön 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 kühl und nass füllt scheunen und fass' (see *Suppl.*).

³ *Later. strues, ara*, from *hlaðan hloð*, *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.¹ In this inscription I see striking evidence of the oneness of Norse and German mythology. Thorlacius, not without reason, compares the name with *Ἀητω* and *Latona*. Might not *Hlórríði*, an epithet of Thorr the son of Illôdyn, be explained as *Hloðriði*?

2. TANFANA. NEHALENNIA.

Another goddess stands wrapt in thicker darkness, whom Tacitus calls *Tanfana*, and a stone inscription *Tanfana* (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 import² 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 *Walachuriun*).

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 Mercurius, Hercules, and Mars, he adds (cap. 9): *Pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino*

¹ *Antiq. bor. spec.* 3, Hafn. 1782. Conf. Fiedler, *gesch. und alt. des untern Germaniens*, 1, 226. Steiner's *cod. inser. 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.

² *Montfaucon ant. expl.* 2, 443. *Vredii hist. Flandr.* 1, xlv. *Mem. de l'acad. celt.* 1, 199—245. *Mone, heidenth.* 2, 346.

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*.¹ The principal evidence is found in Apuleius and Lactantius,² 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. lambec.* (Graevii thes. 8, 98).

- Apuleii met. lib. 11 (Ruhnken p. 764-5): *Diem, qui dies ex ista nocte nascetur, aeterna mihi nuncupavit religio; quo sedatis hibernis tempestatibus et lenitis maris procellosis fluctibus, navigabili jam pelago rudem dedicantes carinam primitias commeatus libant mei sacerdotes. Id sacrum sollicita nec profana mente debetis 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 deosculabundus rosis decerptis, pessimae mihi que detestabilis dudum belluae istius corio te protinus 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 procacitatem et superbiam humiliandam et propriam injuriam de eis ulciscendam pauper quidam rusticus ex villa nomine Inda¹ hanc diabolicam excogitavit technam. Accepta a iudicibus fiducia et a levibus hominibus auxilio, qui gaudent jocis et novitatibus, *in proxima silva navem composuit*, et eam *rotis suppositis affigens vehibilem super terram effecit*, obtinuit quoque a potestatibus, ut *injectis funibus textorum humeris* ex Inda Aquisgranum traheretur.² Aquis suscepta cum *utriusque sexus grandi hominum processione*: nihilominus a textoribus Trajectum [Maestricht] est provecta, ibi emendata, *malo veloque insignita* Tungris [Tongres] est inducta, de Tungris Los [Looz]. Audiens abbas (sancti Trudonis)³ Rodulfus *navim illam infausto omine compactam* malaque solutam alite cum *hujusmodi gentilitatis studio* nostro oppido adventare, praesago spiritu hominibus praedicabat, ut ejus susceptione abstinerent, quia *maligni spiritus* sub hac 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* accipiunt villae textores, qui *ad profanas hujus simulacri excubias 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 Jülich country, afterwards Cornelimünster, not far from Aix; conf. Pertz 1, 394. 488. 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 Fro 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 Liege and Louvain.

tatem? Cogebant sententia proscriptionis textores, nocte et die *navim stipare omni armaturae genere*, sollicitasque 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.

Textores interim occulto sed praecordiali gemitu Deum justum judicem super eos vindicem invocabant, qui ad hanc ignominiam eos detrudebant, cum juxta rectam vitam antiquorum Christianorum et apostolicorum virorum manuum suarum laboribus viverent, nocte et die operantes, unde alerentur et vestirentur, liberisque suis idipsum providerent. Quaerebant et conquerebantur ad invicem lacrymabiliter, unde illis magis quam aliis mercenariis haec ignominia et vis contumeliosa, cum inter Christianos alia plura essent officia suo multum aspernabiliora, cum tamen nullum dicerent aspernabile, de quo Christianus posset se sine peccato conducere, illudque solum esset vitabile et ignobile quod immunditiam peccati contraheret animae, meliorque sit rusticus textor et pauper, quam exactor orphanorum et spoliator viduarum urbanus et nobilis judex. Cumque haec et eorum similia secum, ut dixi, lacrymabiliter conquererentur, concrepabant ante illud, nescio cujus potius dicam, *Bacchi* an *Veneris*, *Neptuni* sive *Martis*, sed ut verius dicam ante omnium *malynorum spirituum* execrabile domicilium genera diversorum *musicorum*, *turpia cantica* et religioni Christianae indigna *convenientium*. *Sancitum quoque erat a iudicibus*, ut praeter textores, quicumque ad tactum navi appropinquarent, pignus de collarum erectum textoribus relinquerent, nisi se ad libitum redimerent. Sed quid faciam? loquarne an sileam? utinam spiritus mendacii stillaret de labiis meis: sub fugitiva adhuc luce diei imminente luna matronarum catervae abjecto femineo pudore *audientes strepitum hujus vanitatis*, *passis capillis de stratis suis exiliebant*, *aliae seminudae*, *aliae simplice tractum clamide circumdatae*, chorosque ducentibus circa navim impudenter irrumpendo se admiscebant. Videres ibi aliquando mille hominum animas sexus utriusque prodigiosum et infaustum *celcusma usque ad noctis medium* celebrare. Quando vero execrabilis illa chorea rumpebatur, emisso *ingenti clamore vocum inconditarum* sexus uterque hac illacque bacchando ferebatur; quae tunc videres agere, nostrum est tacere et deflere, quibus modo contingit graviter luere. Istis tam nefandis factis *plus quam duo-*

decim diebus supradieto ritu celebratis, conferebant simul oppidan: quid agerent amodo de *deducenda a se navi*.

Qui sanioris erant consilii, et qui eam *suseptam* fuisse dolebant, timentes Deum pro his quae facta viderant et audierant et sibi pro his futura conjiciebant, *hortabantur ut comburatur* (combureretur) aut isto vel illo modo de medio tolleretur; sed stulta quorundam coecitas huic salubri consilio contumeliose re-nitebatur. Nam *maligni spiritus, qui in illa ferebantur*, disse-minaverant in populo, quod locus ille et inhabitantes *probrosi nomine amplius notarentur, apud quos remansisse inveniretur*. Dedu-cendam igitur eam ad villam, quae juxta nos est, Leugues decre-verunt. Interea Lovaniensis dominus audiens de *daemonioso navis illius ridiculo*, instructusque a religiosis viris terrae suae de illo vitando et terrae suae arcendo *monstro*, gratiam suam et amicitiam mandat oppidanis nostris, commonefaciens eos humiliter, ut pacem illam quae inter illos et se erat reformata et sacramentis confir-mata non infringerent, et inde praecipue illud *diaboli ludibrium* vicinia suae inferrent; quod si *ludum* esse dicerent, quaerent alium cum quo inde luderent. Quod si ultra hoc mandatum committerent, pacem praedictam in eum infringerent et ipse vii-dictam in eos ferro et igne exsequeretur. Id ipsum mandaverat Durachiensibus dominis, qui et homines ejus fuerant manuatum, et interpositis sacramentis et obsidibus datis sibi confoederati. Hoc cum jam tertio fecisset, spretus est tam ab oppidanis nostris quam Durachiensibus dominis. Nam propter peccata inhabitantium vo-lebat Dominus mittere super locum nostrum ignem et arma Lo-vaniensium. Ad hanc igitur *plebeiam fatuitatem* adjunxit se dominus Gislebertus (advocatus abbatiae S. Trudonis) contra generis sui nobilitatem, *trahendamque* decrevit *navem* illam *terream* usque Leugues ultra Durachiensem villam, quod et fecit malo nostro omine cum omni oppidanorum nostrorum multitudine et ingenti *debacchantium vociferatione*. Leuguenses, oppidanis nostris pru-dentiores et Lovaniensis domini mandatis obsequentes, portas suas clausurunt et *infausti ominis monstrum intrare non per-miserunt*.

Lovaniensis autem dominus precum suarum et mandatorum contemptum nolens esse inultum, diem constituit comitibus tanquam suis hominibus, qui neque ad primum, neque ad secundum, sed nec ad tertium venire voluerunt. Eduxit ergo contra eos et contra

nos multorum multitudinis exercitum armatorum tam peditum quam militum. Nostro igitur oppido seposito, tanquam firmiter munito et bellicosorum hominum pleno, primum impetum in Durachienses fecit, quibus viriliter resistentibus castellum, nescio quare, cum posset non obsedit, sed inter Leugues et Durachium pernoctavit. Cumque sequenti die exercitum applicare disponderet et ex quatuor partibus assultum faceret, habebat enim ingentem multitudinem, supervenit Adelbero Metensium primicerius filiorum Lovaniensis domini avunculus, cujus interventu, quia comitissa Durachiensis erat soror ejus, et Durachiense erat castellum sancti Lamberti, Lovaniensis 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 artisans, 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. stadtwesen 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. Sebast. Frank, p. 51^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 *aratrum circumducere*, puellas obvias per lasciviam ad illius jugum accedere etiam repugnantes cogere, hoc veluti ludicro poenam expetentes ab iis quae *innuptae* ad eum usque diem mansissent'.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.² In this way the

¹ Scheffer's *Haltaus*, 202. Hans Sachs also relates I. 5, 508^a, how the maids who *had not taken men*, were forced *into the plough* (see *Suppl.*).

- 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 mercatoriae deditus, qui frequenter mare transiret; hic quodam tempore maxima tempestate in medio mari deprehenditur, ab omnibus conclamatur, et nil nisi ultimus vitae terminus timetur. Tandem finito aliquanto tempore auxilium beati Godehardi implorabant, et *argenteam navim* delaturos, si evaderent, devoverunt. Hos in ecclesia nostra *navim argenteam* deferentes postea vidimus (in King Lothair's time). In a storm at sea, sailors take vows: E chi dice, *una nave vo far 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.

4. HOLDA, HOLLE.

Can the name under which the Suevi worshipped that goddess

yule-tide offer to their *jauloherra* small *ships* smeared with reindeer's blood, and hang them on trees; Hogstrom, *etterretninger 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.).

¹ Philostr. *de vitis sophist.* lib. 2 cap. 1, ed. Paris. 1608, p. 549.

² So Jean le Maire de Belges in his *Illustrations de Gaule*, Paris, 1548, bk. 3 p. xxviii: 'Au temps duquel (Hercules Allemannus) la deesse *Isis*, royne d'Egypte, veint en Allemaigne et montra au rude peuple l'usage de mouldre 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 *Cumbra*, 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.

Holdâ is the kind, benignant, merciful goddess or lady, from hold (propitius), Goth. hulþs (Luke 18, 13; root, hilþan halþ hulþun, to bend, bow), ON. hollr; the Gothic form of it would be *Hulþô*. For the opposite notion of a malignant diabolic being, Ulphilas employs both the fem. *unhulþô* and the masc. *unhulþa*, from which I infer a *hulþa* by the side of *hulþô*: 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 'mîn wâre 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.¹ In the largely expanded Low German version of the Ship of Fools (Narragonia, Rostock 1519; 96^a) we find the following passage which is wanting in the HG. text: 'Mannich narre lovet (believeth) an vogelgeschrei, und der *guden hollen* (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. 194^a:² Credidisti

¹ Frankf. 1631; 4, 171^a von einer wazzerholden, rh. solden; 176^a wazzerholde, rh. solde.

- If, in the inscription 'deae *Hludanae*' quoted p. 257, we might by a slight transposition substitute *Huldanae*, this would be even more welcome than the analogy to ON. Hloðyn, it would be the most ancient evidence for *Hulda*, supported as she already is by the Goth. *unhulþô* and the OHG. female name *Holda*, a rare one, yet forthcoming in Schannat, trad. fuld. no. 445; also *Holdasind* in Graff 4, 915. Schütze's treatise De dea Hludana first appeared Lips. 1741; and when Wolf (in Wodana, p. 50) mentions a Dutch one De dea *Huldea*, 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 Eccard. A Latin dative *Huldanae* would mean our weak form, OHG. Holdun, 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 *Danpr*, 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 vulvaris stultitia *Holdam* (al. *unholdam*) vocat, certis noctibus equitare debere super quasdam bestias, et in eorum se consortio annumeratam esse. The remarkable varia lectio '*unholda*' 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 Rhon 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 damp; granted a change of F into CH or TH [*f* has become *ch* in *sachte*, *nichte*, *achter*, *ruchtbar* 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 *Hludana* may also maintain itself, and be explained as *Hlûda* (*clara*, *praeclara*); the weight of other arguments must turn the scale. Among these however, the use of *gute holden* and *hollar vættir* (Sæm. 240^b) for spirits, and of *holl regin* (Sæm. 60^a) for gods, is especially worthy of notice. In ON. the adj. *hollr* had undergone assimilation (Goth. *hulps*, 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.

² Jul. Schmidt's Reichenfels p. 152.

³ Reinwald, Henneb. id. 1, 68. 2, 62. Schmeller 2, 174.

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.¹ She stirs up *snow*, as Donar does rain: the Greeks ascribed the production of snow and rain to their Zeus: *Διος ομβρος*, Il. 5, 91. 11, 493 as well as *νιφάδες Διος*, Il. 19, 357; so that Holda comes before us as a goddess of no mean rank.² 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 *wasserholde*.³

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.⁴ Her annual *progress*, which, like those of Herke and Berhta, is made to fall between Christmas and Twelfth-day, when the supernatural has sway,⁵ 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 Wuotan, 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 trone de *neige*! (Barzas breiz 1, 27). May not the otherwise unintelligible Hildesheim legend of Hillesnee (DS. no. 456) have arisen out of a *Holde sne*?

³ If the name *brunnenhold* in the *Marchenbuch* 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.

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.¹ Into the same 'furious host,' according to a wide-spread popular belief, were adopted the souls of *infants 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:² 'hush, there's *Hulle-betz* (-bruin), *Hulle-popel* (-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 (Marchen 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, *Holla* 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.³ The girl whose spindle dropt into her fountain, she rewarded bountifully. When she

¹ Estor's oberh. idiot., sub v.

- Erasm. Alberus, fable 16: 'Es kamen auch zu diesem heer Viel weiber die sich forechten sehr (were sore afraid), Und trugen *sicheln* in der hand, *Fraw Hulda* hat sie ausgesandt.' Luther's Expos. of the Epistles, Basel 1522 fol. 69^a: 'Here cometh up *dame Hulde* with the *snout* (potznase, 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* (stroharnss); then falls to work, and scrapes it featly on her *fiddle*.' He compares nature rebelling against God to the heathenish Hulda with the frightful nose (Oberlin, sub v. potzmännchen), as she enters, muffled up in straw and frippery, to the fiddle's playing.

³ Bruckner, Contrib. to the Henneberg idioticon, p. 9, mentions a popular belief in that part of Franconia: 'On the high day comes the *Holl-frau* (Hollefra, Hullefra), and *throws in reels*; whoever does not spin them full, she breaks their necks,' (conf. infra *Berhta* and *Berhtolt* and the *Devil*). '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. *gaue fru*, p. 253) we perceive its originally adjective character. Cod. pal. 355^b: 'ich wen, kain *schusel* in *kain rocken* wart nie als hesslich als du bist,' I ween no scare-crow on a distaff was ever as ugly as thou.

enters the land at Christmas, all the *distaffs* 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 Rhon mts, they do no farm-work on *Hulla's* Saturday, neither hoe, nor manure, nor 'drive the team a-field'. 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*, Oðin'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 *Mariärock*, 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 Braunsch. 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 *piutnitsa*, 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 הולדה Huleddah, Huldah, for which Luther puts *Hulda*; the Septuagint has *Ἰολδά*, 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 Eddic mythology has not a Holla answering to our Holda; but Snorri (Yngl. saga c. 16. 17) speaks of a wise woman (volva, seiðkona) named *Huldr*, and a later Icelandic saga composed in the 14th century gives a circumstantial account of the enchantress *Hulda*, beloved of Oðinn, 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*, *Huldre*, 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.

² Muller's sagabibl. 1, 363—6.

called *huldrefolk*.¹ In Iceland too they know of this *Huldufólk*, 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 *kara* (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 *huldufólk* was imported into the Icelandic tongue from the Danish or Norwegian. It is harder to explain the R inserted in the forms *Huldra*, *Huldre*; did it spring out of the plural form *hulder* (*boni genii*, *hollar vættir*)? or result from composition?

The German *Holda* presides over spinning and agriculture, the Norse *Hulle* over cattle-grazing and milking.

5. PERAHTA, BERCHTE.

A being similar to *Holda*, or the same under another name, makes her appearance precisely in those Upper German regions where *Holda* 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 *Holda* 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

¹ Details to be found in Müller's sagab. 1, 367-8. Hallager p. 48. Faye pp. 39-43 and 10. 15. 25. 26. 36. Frigge, nytaarsgave for 1813, p. 85. Strom's Söndmör 1, 538-59. Vilses Spydeberg 2, 419. Villes Sillejord. p. 230. Asbiornsen, *passim*.

² A portion of Franconia and Thuringia knows both *Berchta* and *Holda*, 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 *Menglöð* is a *Biört* (Sæm. 111^a), *Menglöð* herself is called 'su in solbiarta' (111^b), and the father of her betrothed *Svipdagr Solbiartr* (sun-bright, 112^v). A *Menglöð* in a later story appears to some one in a dream (Formn. sog. 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*. *Thorr* says he has had *suldr ok hafra* (herrings and oats) for supper, *Sæm.* 75^a; our *white lady* has prescribed the country folk a dish of *fish* and *out-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 Voigtland 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 *polse*, a thick pap of flour and water prepared in a peculiar way; if any one omits it, she *rips his body open*, *Jul. Schmidt*, *Reichenfels*, p. 152. The name *Werra* (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.* *Andr. Rivinus* or *Bachmann's Liber Kiranidum Kiruni*, *Lips.* 1638): *Nostrates hodieque petulantioribus et refractariis manducum aliquem cum ore hiantem freudentem dentibus, aut furibundam silvescente coma, facie lurida, et cetero habitu terribilem cum comitatu maenadum Werram interminantur.* *Reinesius* (1587-1667) came from Gotha, but lived at Hof in the Voigtland. A *werre* is also a noisome chirping insect of the cricket kind (*Popowitsch* 620). In *MHG.*: 'sæjet diu *Werre* (*Discordia*) ir samen dar,' sows her seed, *Ms.* 2, 251^b, *conf. Troj.* 585 (see *Suppl.*); and in

And the same threat is held out in other districts also (see Suppl.).

Borner'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 *rohm 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 Langendenbach 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 (Wackernagel's lb. 903), there is exhibited, together with *bruoder Zornli* and *bruoder Ergerli*, a *bruoder Werra*, 'der sin herze mit weltlichen dingen also *beworren* hat (has so entangled his heart with worldly things), daz da niht me 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 Chlungere*, 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, *Berhta* 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 Konitz 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 Kostriz 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 stepped 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 Kostriz 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 *Perehtha*, 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 *Perehtha’s* night, and waited by the Orla, just where his master had met *Perehtha*; 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 *Perehtha* 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 *Perehtha* 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, *Perehtha* 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 *Perehtha* 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 Trauenstein (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 *ciserne 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 recht-waz (ich) in sage :	Now mark aright what I you tell:
nach wihennaht am zwelften tage,	after Christmas the twelfth day,
nâch dem heiligen ebenwihe ³	after the holy New-year's day
(gotgeb, daz er uns gedihe),	(God grant we prosper in it),
do 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 carrocium *Berta* and *Berteciola* (Ducange sub v.), perhaps the carriage of the travelling goddess or queen?

² Joach. Camerarius, chronol. Nicephori, p. 129.

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
 do sprach er zem gesinde
 und zuo sîn selbes kinde :
 ‘*ezzet hînte fast* durch mîn bete,
daz iueh die Stempe niht entrete.’
 daz kintlîn dô von forhten az,
 er sprach: ‘veterlîn, waz ist daz,
 daz du die *Stempen* nennest ?
 sag mir, ob dus erkennest.’
 der vater sprach: ‘daz sag ich dir,
 du solt ez wol gelouben mir,
 ez ist so griuwelîch getan,
 daz ich dirz niht gesagen kan :
 wan swer des vergizzet,
daz er nicht fast izzet,
ûf den kumt 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 *Stempho*, 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* (Doderlein, Antiq. nordg. 41), *i.e.*, the trampling racketing one; Stalder defines trâmpeln as walking with short, measured steps (tripping), and the Drut (night-goblin) approaches with soft foot-fall; 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 *Tanfana*, *Tanfana*, p. 257 (see Suppl.).

Martin of Amberg¹ calls her *Percht mit der eisnen nasen* (with

¹ His *Gewissenspiegel* (mid. of 14th cent.) is in two MSS. at Vienna (Hoffm. pp. 335-6); conf. Schm. 4, 188. 216, and the *Jahrb. der Berliner gesellsch. für deutsche spr.* 2, 63—65.

and had to table brought
 all that they should eat,
 whatso the master would give,
 then spake he to his men
 and to his own child :
 ‘eat fast (hard) to night, I pray,
 that the *Stempe* tread you not.’
 The child then ate from fear,
 he said: ‘father, what is this
 that thou the *Stempe* callest ?
 tell me, if thou it knowest.’
 The father said: ‘this tell I thee,
 thou mayest well believe me,
 there is a thing so gruesome done,
 that I cannot tell it thee :
 for whoso forgets this,
 so that he eats not fast,
 on him it comes, and treads him.’

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 *Perehtel*, a so called *Perehta-running*, *Perehta-leaping* at the time of the *rauchnächte* [incense-nights ?]¹ In the Pinzgau, from 100 to 300 young fellows (styled the *Berehten*) 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 *Berehtli* the softened form *Bechtli* or *Bechteli* is in use, *Bechteli'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 Zurich, for men to intercept and press one another to take wine; this was called 'conducting to *Berehtold*' (Stald. 1, 150-6). There was thus a masculine *Bereht* or *Berehtolt*, related to Wuotan, as Berhta was to Freke; and from this again there arose in Swabia a new feminine, *Berehtolterin*, *Perehtölterin* (Schmid, Schwab. wtb. 93). In Alsace the *bechten* 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 Dankrozheim says in his *Namenbuch*, composed 1435: ³

darnauch so komet die milde *Behte*,
die noch hat ein gar gross geslechte (great kindred).

He describes her as the *mild*, gracious to men, not as the terrible. *Berehtolt* 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 *Perchtenspringen* 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.

³ Ad. Walt. Strobel's beitr., Strasb. 1827, p. 123.

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 dandles 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.¹ *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 mythic origin.² She is called *Berhte mit dem fuoze* (foot), Flore 309; in French, *Berthe au grand pied*; and acc. to the Reali di Franza 6, 1: '*Berta del gran pie*, perche 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 extenuate 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 brede voeten*,' Floris 3966. But the one big foot is more genuine, as may be seen by the far

¹ I can produce another *spinning Bertha*. The Vita S. Berthae Avennensis in diocesi Remensi (conf. Flodoardus 4, 47) says (Acta Sanctor., Maii p. 114^b): Quae dum lustraret situs loci illius, pervenit ad quendam hortum, in quo erat fons mirae pulcritudinis. Quem ut vidit Deo devota femina, minime concupivit, sed possessoribus ipsius praedii sic locuta est: O fratres, hunc fontem praedii vestri vendite mihi, et accepta digna pecunia cedite usibus nostris. Cui sic aiunt: En praesto sumus, si tamen detur pretium a nobis taxatum. Sancta autem, videntibus qui aderant, libram unam denariorum posuit super lapidem qui erat super os ejusdem fontis, domini vero ac venditores receperunt aes. Tunc sancta mater, Deo plena, colo quam manu tenebat coepit *terram fodere*, et in modum sulci *rigam facere*, orans ac dicens: Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis! Revertens namque monasterium, colum eadem post se trahebat, tantaque abundantia aquae eam sequebatur, ut ad usus omnes hominibus pertinentes sufficeret, sicut usque hodie apparet. Nomen quoque sancta mater fluvio ipsi composuit, dicens: *Libra* vocaberis, quia una libra pro emptione tua data est.

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 Blancheflor, whose name again contains the notion of whiteness.

more ancient tradition of a 'reine *Pédauque*, regina *pede aucae*,' 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 tampling 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 (Einn. 394), theophania is rendered *giperahta 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, perhtennaht' (for OHG. *zi demo perahtin taga, zi deru Perahtun naht*); again, 'an der berechnaht,' M. Beham (Mone, anz. 4, 451); 'ze perhnahten,' MB. 8, 540 (an. 1302); 'unze an den ahtodin tac nah 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, *Perchtentag*, *Perchtennaht*, the bright day becoming Bright's, *i.e.*, dame Bright's, day. (Conrad of Dankrotsheim, p. 123, puts his *milde Behte* 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 Aitd. w. 3, 47-8; Paris too connects this *Pédauque* with Berte, iii. iv. 198; *reine Pédauque*, Michelet hist. de France 1, 496-8. 2, 152.

² Luke 2, 9. O. i. 12, 3. 4. Hel. 12, 8. Maria 182.

³ The OHG. '*pherintac* = *parascève* (Graff 5, 360) is Good Friday, and distinct from Prehentag, Perchtentag.

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 ‘perahtûn naht’ might have developed into ‘Perahtûn 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 *waggon*s, 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 Berhta 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, perche qualcun le dia d' una ballestra’.¹ 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. Crusca sub v. befana.

6. (HERODIAS. DIANA. ABUNDIA).

Herodias, of whom we have just been reminded by Befana, 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 et phantasmatibus seductae, credunt se et profitentur 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 Polyer. 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 Bensozia¹ 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 Cambay, 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 decipiuntur, 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.

de quibus) ait Gen.¹, *Herodiam* illam baptistae Christi interfectricem, quasi *reginam* imo *deam* proponant; asserentes, *tertiam totius mundi partem* illi traditam: quasi haec merces fuerit prophetae occisi, cum potius sint daemones, talibus praestigiis infelices mulierculas, hisque multum vituperabiliores viros, quia perditissimos, decipientes.—A full and remarkable account of the medieval tradition, that was tacked on to Herodias, is contained in the Reinardus 1, 1139—1164:

Præcipue *sidus* celebrant, ope cujus, ubi omnes
defuerant testes, est data Roma Petro,
traditaque injusto *Pharaildis* virgo labori;
sed sanctificiunt qualiacunque volunt.

Hac famosus erat felixque fuisset *Herodes*
prole, sed infelix hanc quoque laesit amor:
haec virgo, thalamos *Baptistae* solius ardens,
voverat hoc demto nullius esse viri.

Offensus genitor, comperto prolis amore,
insontem sanctum decapitavit atrox.

Postulat afferri virgo sibi tristis, et affert
regius in disco tempora trunca cliens.

Mollibus allatum stringens caput illa lacertis
perfundit lacrimis, osculaque addere avet;
oscula captantem *caput aufugit* atque *resufflat*,
illa per impluvium turbine flantis abit.

Ex illo nimium memor ira *Johannis* eandem
per vacuum coeli flabilis urget iter:

mortuus infestat miseram, nec vivus amarat,
non tamen hanc penitus fata perisse sinunt.

Lenit *honor* luctum, minuit *reverentia* poenam,
pars hominum moestae tertia servit herae.

Quercubus et corylis a noctis parte secunda
usque nigri ad galli carmina prima sedet.

Nunc ea nomen habet *Pharaildis*, *Herodias* ante
saltria, nec subiens nec subeunda pari.

Conf. Aelfrici homiliae 1, 486. Here we have Herodias described as *moesta hera* cui *pars tertia hominum* servit, the reverential homage she receives assuages her bitter lot; only from midnight

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 *Pharaildis*, 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. *Pharaildis* on the contrary, M. Dutch *Verelde*,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 *Pharaildis*, 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 *Ziu* 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 *Herodus* 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 (*Praetorius*, *Rübezahl* 3, 120), and on the Rhön mts.: 'Säuzagel,' 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. *Belg. mus.* 6, 319. Conf. *Vergode* for *frau Gaude*.

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 praeferendus esset. Diana namque apud illum 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 Alvernus (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 aliis de nocte domos et cellaria dicitur frequentare, et vocant eam Satiam a satietate, et dominam Abundiam pro abundantia,*¹ *quam eam praestare dicunt domibus, quas frequentaverit: hujusmodi 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 eas facere escarum et potuum, maxime si vasa escarum sint discooperta et vasa poculorum non obstructa eis in nocte relinquuntur. 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 eomis 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.¹ 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 vetularum, ut vasa vini et receptacula ciborum discocerta relinquunt, et omnino nec obstruant neque claudant eis noctibus, quibus ad domos suas eas credunt aventuras, ea de causa videlicet, ut cibos et potus quasi paratos inveniant et eos absque difficultate apparitionis pro beneplacito sumant.

The Roman de la rose (Meon 18622 seq.) informs us :

qui les cinc sens ainsine decoit
 par les fantosmes, quil reçoit,
 dont maintes gens par lor folie
 euident estre par nuit estries
errans avecques *dame Habonde*,
 et dient, que par tout le monde
li tiers enfant de nacion
sunt de ceste condicion.
 qu'il vont trois fois en la semaine,
 si cum destinee les maine,
 et par tous ces ostex se boutent,
 ne cles ne barres ne redoutent,
 ains sen entrent par les fendaees,
 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 veues
 ne sunt pas en lor liz venues,
 ains sunt lor ames qui laborent
 et par le monde ainsinc sen corent, &c.

18686. Dautre part, que *li tiers du monde*
aille ainsinc avec dame Habonde,
 si cum voles vielles le pruevent
 par les visions que truevent,
 dont convient il sans nule faille
 que trestous li mondes i aille.

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 *enfants* may refer either to the *unchristened 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.¹ The *domina clothed in white* reminds one of *Perahta* the bright, the *bona domina* or *bona socia*² 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*, *Berhta*), 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 tertia mundi. Ovid. met. 5, 372; tertia pars mundi fumans perit Africa flammis, Coripp. 1, 47: tertia pars orbis Europa vocatur, Walthar. 1.

² Is the name *socia* connected with the *Satia* in *Guilielmus 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 *Eástre*, 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 antiquae observationis vocabulo gaudia novae solennitatis vocantes.*’¹

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. *lenzinmanot*, named after the season *lenzo*, *lengizo* [lengthening of days];² 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 Rathlef’s *Hoya and Diepholz* 3, 16) reads: *Veteres Anglicani populi vocant Estormonath paschalem menssem, idque a dea quadam cui Teutonici populi in paganismo sacrificia fecerunt tempore mensis Aprilis, quae Eostra est appellata.*

² *Gramm.* 2, 510. *Langez. Diut.* 3, 88.

(Weisth. 1, 175) has *Redtmonet*, it is not clear for what month. When we find in the Appenzeller reimechronik p. 174 :

In dem *Redimonet*
 die puren kamen donet,
 do der merzenmonat gieng herzu
 an ainem morgen fru
 do zudentz 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 untenably, by a mountain. Apart from the Swiss term altogether, I believe the AS. name was really *Hreð* or *Hreðe* = OHG. *Hruod* or *Hruodá*, and derived, as I said on p. 206, from *hruod* gloria, fama ; so that we get the meaning of a shining and renowned goddess. The Trad. fuld. 2, 196, furnish a female name *Hruada*, gen. *Hruadun*, and in 1, 42. 2, 26, another nom. *Hruadun*, this last apparently formed like ON. *Fiorgyn* and *Hlodyn*. The AS. adj. *hreð* or *hreðe* means *crudelis* (Cædm. 136, 21. 198, 2), perhaps *victoriosus*? I am in doubt about *hreð*, *sigehreð*, *guðhreð*, Beow. 5146. 974. 1631 ; they waver between an adj. and a subst. sense, and in the last passage, 'Beowulfe wearð guðhreð gifeðe,' *victoria* is evidently meant. When the AS. Menologue, line 70, translates *Martius* by *reðe*, this may stand for *hreðe*.

We Germans to this day call April *ostermonat*, and *óstarmánoth* 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 *ostará* gen. -un ;¹ it is mostly found in the plural, because two days (*ostartagâ*, *aostortaga*, Diut. 1, 266^a) were kept at Easter. This *Ostará*, like the AS. *Eástre*, 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.

áustrô, though he must have known the word;¹ the Norse tongue also has imported its paskir, Swed. pask, Dan. paaske. The OIG. adv. *óstar* expresses movement toward the rising sun (Gramm. 3, 205), likewise the ON. *austr*, and probably an AS. eastor and Goth. austr. 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 *Austri*, so a female one might have been called *Austra*; the High German and Saxon tribes seem on the contrary to have formed only an *Ostarâ*, *Eástre* (fem.), not Ostaro, Eástra (masc).— And that may be the reason why the Norsemen said paskir and not austrur: they had never worshipped a goddess *Austra*, or her cultus was already extinct.

Ostara, *Eástre* 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.).

8. ZISA.

Beda's account of Hrele and Eástre⁴ 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 *sagqs*, 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 Visigotha, Vistrimund, Westeralap, Sundarolt, Nordberaht, &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'cen*, if I knew any more about her than what Lye's glossary quotes from Cod. Cot. 65, 87: *Ricenne* Diana. It is formed like *Jinen* (ancilla), *wylpen* (bellona), &c.

The Cod. Monach. Lat. 2 (of 1135), and the Cod. Emmeran. F. IX. fol. 4^a (of 12-13th cent.) contain identic 'Excerpta ex Gallica historia'.¹

'Dum hec circa *renum* geruntur, in *noricorum* (interlined *bawariorum*, Cod. Vind. CII. *pauwariorum*) finibus grave vulnus romanus populus accepit. quippe *germanorum* gentes (interlined *suevi*), que *retias* occupaverant, non longe ab alpibus tractu pari patentibus campis, ubi duo rapidissimi amnes [interlined *lieus* et *werthaha* (CII *vuerdaha*)] inter se confluent, in ipsis *noricis* finibus (interlined terminis *bawariorum* et *suevorum*) civitatem non quidem muro sed vallo fossaque cinxerant, quam appellabant *zizarim* (CII. *cizarim*) ex nomine dee *cize*,² quam religiosissime colebant. cujus templum quoque ex lignis *barbarico* ritu constrictum, postquam eo³ colonia *romana* deducta est, inviolatum permansit, ac vetustate collapsum nomen⁴ colli servavit. hanc urbem *titus annius* pretor ad arcendas barbarorum excursiones kal. sextilibus (interlined exacta janii estate) exercitu circumvenit. ad meridianam oppidi partem, que sola a continenti (interlined littoribus) erat, pretor ipse cum *legione martia* castra operosissime communivit. ad occidentem vero, qua barbarorum adventus erat, *avar*, *bogudis* regis filius, cum equitatu omni et auxiliaribus *macedonum* copiis inter flumen et vallum loco castris parum amplo infelici temeritate extra flumen (interlined *werthaha*) consedit. pulchra indoles, non minus *romanis* quam *grecis* disciplinis instructa. igitur quinquagesimo nono die, qua eo ventum est, cum is dies *dee eize* (CII. *deę cizeę*) apud *barbaros* celeberrimus, ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostentaret, immanis *barbarorum* (interlined *suevorum*, CII. *svivorum*) multitudo, ex proximis silvis repente erumpens ex improvise castra irrupit, equitatum omnem, et quod miserius erat, auxilia sociorum delevit. *avar*,⁵ 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 interlinears into the text, but otherwise agrees.

² On margin: 'Quem male polluerat cultura nefaria dudum
gallus monticulum hunc tibi eiza tulit'.

³ On margin: 'post conditam urbem *augustam* a *romanis*'.

⁴ Marg. note: 'ut usque hodie ab incolis *eizunberc* nominetur'.

⁵ Marg. note: 'ex cujus vocabulo, quia ibi mactatus et tumulatus est *chrikesaveron* (CII *chrekasaver*) nomen accepit. *grecus* enim erat'.

que apud *barbaros* reverentia ?] more pecudis ibidem mactatur.¹ oppidani vero non minori fortuna sed maiori virtute pretorem in auxilium sociis properantem adoriuntur. *romani* laud segniter 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 *perleikh*) frustra ceperat, *romana* vi resistantem obtruncant. legionem⁴ divinam (interlined *martiam*), ut ne nuncius cladis superesset, funditus delent. *Verres* solus tribunus militum amne transmisso in proximis paludibus se occultans⁵ honestam mortem subterfugit. nec multo post *sicilie* proconsul immani avaricia turpem mortem promeruit. nam cum se magistratu abdicaret, iudicio 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* ‘*Cacus*,’ but agrees in the other names. Further, for loco parum *amplo*, 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 ‘*Habbino, Caccus, amplo*,’ and concludes with *promeruit*. Lazius

¹ On margin :

‘Hoc nomen terris *bogudis* 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 *habenonberch* dedit, quem rustici *havenenberch* (CII *havenonperch*) dicunt.’

³ CII : ‘a cuius nomine putamus *iekingen* nominari.’

⁴ On margin : ‘de hac ibi perdita legione adhuc *perleikh* nominatur.’

Then in smaller but contemporaneous writing :

‘Indicat hic collis *romanam* nomine cladem
martia quo legio tota simul periit.
subdidit hunc *rome* prepes victoria *petro*,
hoc sibimet templum qui modo constituit.’

⁵ On margin : ‘hic quia in paludibus adjacentibus latuit, lacui *uerisse* huc usque nomen dedit’.

says: '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 *perleich* (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'.¹

De Augusta Vindelicorum vel Rhetiae. sicut ex scriptis veterum colligitur haec civitas tria nomina accepit. Germanorum quippe gentes primum considentes in partibus Rhetiae, quae nunc est pars Sueviae, non longe ab alpihus in planitie, loco tamen munito propter concursum duorum rapidorum fluminum, hanc urbem 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 exsculpti hi versus sunt reperti :

quem 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 excursionses cum exercitu in kal. Augusti eam circumdedit, 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, *Arar Bogudis* regis

¹ Chron. Conradi ursperg. Argent. 1532, p. 308. ed. 1609, p. 225.

filius cum omni equitatu et auxilio *macedonico* consedit. igitur quinquagesimo nono die, quam eo ventum est, cum is dies *deae Zize* apud barbaros celeberrimus esset, ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem cives ostentarunt. tunc etiam immanis barbarorum multitudo, quae de partibus Sueviae illuc convenerat, de proximis silvis repente erumpens ex improvise 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 *Cricchesaveron*, in quo hi versus reperti sunt :

his nomen terris *Bogudis* dat regia proles

Graceus Avar, pecudis de *Suevis* more litatus.

oppidani vero non minori fortuna sed majori virtute praetorem in auxilium sociis properantem 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 *Gegginen* denominari. denique coadunatis *Suevis* et oppidanis castra irrumpunt, et praetorem, qui paulo altiore tumulum frustra ceperat, romana vi resistentem obtruncant, 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 anne transmisso in proximis paludibus se occultans honestam mortem subterfugit, lacui *Vernse* hucusque 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 iudicio 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, K \ddot{u} chlin, composed in rhyme a history of Augsburg¹ 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 abgottin,
die sie nach heidnischen sitten (after heathen ways)
anbetten zu denselben zeiten (adored in those days).
Die stat ward genennt (city got named) auch *Zisaris*
nach der abgottin (after the goddess), das was der pris.
Der tempel als lang stund 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),
daruf gestanden was (whereon had stood) das werck,
und haist noch hüt (hight still to-day) der *Zisenberck*.

Conf. Keller's *Fastn. sp.*, p. 1361. Sigism. Meisterlin, in his Augsburg chronicle² (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 K \ddot{u} chlin, and again at the end of chap. 7 : 'das er auch melt (tells) von der gottin *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 schwebischen sitten angebettet. von der gottin 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.,³ 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.

- Augsb. 1522 fol. Meisterlin wrote it in 1456, and died about 1484.

³ Niebuhr's *Rom. Hist.* 3, 677.

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), eizunberc, habino, habinonbere, 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. *eikileihi*, *aigilaihi* (phalanx), 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 *Pfersen* (Veris-se) MB. 33^b, 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* (graeci) *avarâ* (imago, conf. pp. 86, 95, yet also *avaro* proles) first suggested 'Graecus Avar,' as well as *Habinonbere* 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.

² Marci Velseri rer. Augustanar. libri 8. 1594 fol. p. 45.

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. 30^b: '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 *Haltaus*, 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 *Zisûnberg* 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. FRIKKA (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 frauja (p. 209), Freyja leads us to expect a Gothic fraujo, gen. fraujons, both in the general sense of domina mistress, and in the special one of a proper name *Fráujo*. The notion of mistress, lady, never occurs in Ulphilas. To make up for it, our OHG. remains express it very frequently, by *frawâ*, *frôwâ*; 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 herre, 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 wîp (femina),² wîp 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

no Slav gods need be looked for; neither does the Slav mythology know anything at all certain about a Ziza, alleged to be Ceres mammosa (Boh. cic, cec, Pol. cyc, Russ. titi, mamma), in support of whom forsooth our Cisa must be wronged; see Hanusch 278. It were better to think of the MHG. name for the zeisig (zeis-chen, siskin) diu *zîse*, ein kleiniu *zîse*, Ms. 1, 191^b. Wh. 275, 30; which can scarcely have arisen from cicindela (glow-worm, Graff 5, 711); however, no connexion has come to light between the goddess and the form of a bird, though some little birds, the woodpecker, the titmouse, were held sacred.

¹ Like our *frô*, the O Fr. *dame* (dominus) is now lost; *dame* (domina) remains, like our *frau*. The Span. keeps both *don* and *dona*, the Ital. only *donna*. The Romance tongues express the masc. notion by two other words, *sire*, *sieur* (p. 27) and *seigneur*, *signore*, *señor*, i.e., senior, out of which an Ital. *signora*, a Span. *señora* have sprouted, but no Fr. feminine.

² Walth. 48-9. 57. Amgb. 45^b 46^a. Ms. 2, 182^b 216^a. Docen misc. 2, 278-9. frouwe unde wîp, Parz. 302, 7 (see Suppl.).

harp on the connexion of *frau* with *froh* glad (fro-lic) and *freude* joy; conf. Fridank 106, 5—8. Tit. 15, 55.

The AS. and OS. languages have done the very reverse: while their masc. *frea*, *fraho* is used far more freely than the OHG. *frouwo*, they have developed no fem. by its side. The M. Dutch dialect has *vrauwe*, *vrouwe* in addressing and as title (Huyd. op St. 1, 52. 356. Rein. 297. 731. 803. 1365. 1655. 2129. 2288. 2510-32-57-64, &c.), seldomer 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 *husfreyja* housewife, Sæm. 212^b, and Snorri is still able to say that *freyja* is a tignarnafn (name of honour) derived from the goddess,¹ that grand ladies, ríkiskonur, are *freyjur*, Sn. 29. Yngl. saga c. 13. The readings *frur*, *fruvor* here are corrupt, for the Icel. form *fru* has evidently slipped in from the Dan. *frue*, Swed. *fru*, and these from Germany. The goddess should be in Swed. *Froa*, Dan. *Froe*, 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 *Froa*. Our Merseburg poem has now at last presented us with *Frua* = *Frowa*, as the proper name of the goddess.²

Frigg gen. *Friggjar*, daughter of *Fiörgynn* and wife of *Oðinn*, is kept strictly apart from *Freyja*, gen. *Freyju*: in the *Vafþrúdnismál* and the beginning of the *Grímnismál*, *Oðinn* and *Frigg* are plainly presented as husband and wife; and as *Hroptr* and *Svafnir* are also names of *Oðinn*, ' *Hroptr ok Frigg*, *Svafnir ok Frigg* ' in Sæm.

¹ As *fráujô* from *Fráujô*, and *freyja* from *Freyja*, a song of *Frauenlob's*, Ettm. p. 112 makes *wip* come from a Frankish king *Wippeo*. Is this an echo of a mythical *Wippo*, *Wibba* (geneal. of Mercia, end of ch. VII)? The explanation is as false as when the *Edda* derives *vif* from *veta*, 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. sog. 2, 459. 3, 250. 594.

² The reasons why we may not take *frûâ* 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 *Friia* = *Frija*, *Friga*, *Fria*, would be acceptable (*friiu* does occur in T. 93, 3). *Frua* and *Fria* are alike welcome and suitable for my explanation.

91^b 93^a express the same relation. Saxo Gram., p. 13, has correctly '*Frigga* Othini conjux'. In prayers the two goddesses even stand side by side: 'sva hialpi ther hollar vættir, *Frigg* ok *Freyja*, ok fleiri goð (more gods), sem þu feldir mer far af hondom!' Sæm. 240^b. So they do at the burning of Baldr's body, Sn. 66, conf. 37. And that Danish folk-song has likewise '*Frigge*, *Fru* og Thor'.

The ON. usually has *gg* where the AS. has *cg* and OHG. *ee* or *ek*, namely, where a suffix *i* had stood after *g* or *k*: thus, ON. *egg* (acies), AS. *eeg*, OHG. *ekki*; ON. *bryggja* (pons), AS. *bryege*, OHG. *prukka*; ON. *hryggr* (dorsum), AS. *hryeg*, OHG. *hrukki*. In the same way we get an AS. *Frieg*, OHG. *Frikka*, *Frikkia*, 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 *Fro* 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 *Freyjudagr* and also *Fríadagr*, in OHG. never *Frouwuntac*, but *Fríatac*, *Frígetac*, now *Freitag*, in AS. *Frigedæg* (for *Fricgedæg*?), v. supra, pp. 123-6, and in Faröese *Frujggjadeâ* (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'¹

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. *frea*. As an ON. *bru* (pons) stands related to *bryggja*, so will *frí* to *frigg*. The Langob. *Frea* is = *Frea*, *Fria*, *Frija*, *Frea*. Its root is suggested by

¹ The AS. chroniclers (p. 128) borrow *Frea* from Paulus. With *Frea* we must above all connect the *frea* of the Laws of Lintprand 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 þu Freyju ok á Hött* (Oðinn),' it is *Frigg* that should have been associated with Oðinn, as is done in the *Grímnismál* (see Suppl.).

such words as: Goth. freis, frijis (liber), OHG. frî; Goth. frijôn (amare), OHG. frîon; especially may we take into account the OS. neut. frî (mulier), Hel. 9, 21. 13, 16. 171, 21. 172, 1, the AS. freo (mulier), Cædm. 29, 28. freolîc cwen (pulcra femina), Beow. 1275. freolîc meowle, Cod. exon. 479, 2. freolîc wîf, Beow. 1222. freolîc fæmne, Cædm. 12, 12. 54, 28.¹ Now, as frî (liber) and our frech, ON. frekr (protervus, impudens), frî (mulier formosa) and ON. fríðr (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 gladsome, gladdening, sweet, gracious goddess, *Frigg* the free, beautiful, loveable; to the former attaches the general notion of frau (mistress), to the latter that of frî (woman). *Holda*, from hold (sweet, kind), and *Berhta* from berht (bright, beautiful) resemble them both. The Swedish folk-song, in naming Froijenborg, calls her 'den vana solen,' the beautiful sun.

Hence the mingling of their myths becomes the more conceivable. Saxo, p. 13, relates how *Frigga*, 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. *Friatag* ought clearly to be Friggjardagr in ON., and the ON. *Freyjudagr* should be Frouwuntag 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 ἡλακάτη), is called by the Swedish people *Friggerock* (colus Friggæ, Ihre, p. 663) or *Frejerock* (Finn Magnusen 361^a), as we noticed before, or *Frojas rock* (Wieselgren. 383). The orchis odoratissima, satyrium albidum, a plant from which love-potions are brewed, Icel. *Frigggjargras*, otherwise hionagras (herba conjugalis); the later

¹ Conf. the MHG. wîplich wîp, Parz. 10, 17. MS. 1, 50^a 202^a. 2, 42^b 182^b 258^a. wîbin wîp, MsH. 1, 359^b; similarly θηλυτεραι γυναῖκες, Od. 11, 386. 434. 15, 422. Hesiod sent. 4.

² We might connect Venus with the Goth. qinô, qêns, as venire with qiman; the Wel. *gwen* would answer to Gvenus for Venus; the Ir. dia beine, Friday, from *bean*, *ben* (lady) = Venus = AS. *cwen*.

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 *Mariürok*, *Marirok*. Several kinds of fern, adiantum, polypodium, asplenium, are named lady's hair, maidenhair, *Mariengras*, *capillus Veneris*, Icel. *Freyjuhár*, Dan. *Fruehaar*, *Venusstraa*, *Venusgräs*, 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, (*frîo seoniosta*, *idiso seoniost*, Hel. 61, 13. 62, 1), but she was pre-eminently *our lady*, *frau*, *domina*, *donna*. Conf. infra *frauachueli*, *ladycow*, *Marienköblein*. In the nursery-tales she sets the girls *sewing* and *spinning* like Holda and Berhta, 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. *frijon*, the OHG. *friudil* (lover), MHG. *vriedel*, and the Slav. *priyatel* (friend), Boh. *přitel*, Pol. *przyjaciel*, it must have meant either Freyja the goddess of love and fruitfulness, or Frigg the divine mother and patroness of marriage. In Sanskrit also *prî* is to love, *priyas* a friend, *Ramapriya* 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 *prithivi* is the earth, and *matâ Prithvî* Terra mater, from whom comes fruit and increase (conf. Wel. *pridd* terra, Bopp's gloss. 223^b); and the word, though next of kin to *prithus* (*πλατυς* *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. 63^b. Sn. 23. 64), is consulted by Oðinn (Sæm. 31^a), administers oaths, handmaids fulfil her hest, she presides over

¹ Some of the AS. genealogies have 'Wöden et *Freálf* ejus uxor,' so that Frigg = Frealaf (OHG. *Froleip*?) which fits in with that *Fridlefsborg* in the Danish song, p. 300; others make Frealaf Wöden's father. But in lieu of him we have also *Fridulaf* and *Friduwulf*, a fresh confirmation of the connexion between *frið* and the goddess's name.

marriages, and her aid is implored by the childless (Fornald. sög. 1, 117); hence *hionagras* 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 Frigg. 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 *Frigga*, the principal action of the play consisting in two swords being swung and clashed together about the neck of a boy without hurting him.¹ Still more remarkable is the clear vestige of the goddess in Lower Saxony, where to the common people she is *fru Freke*,² and plays the very parts which we saw assigned to *frau Holle* (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. *Fræcinghyrst*, Kemble 1, 248. 2, 265. There is a *Vrekeleve*, *Frickleben*, not far from Magdeburg (see Suppl.).

Freya is the goddess most honoured after or along with Frigg; her worship seems to have been even the more prevalent and important of the two, she is styled 'agætuz af Asynjum,' Sn. 28, and 'blotgyðja,' 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.³ 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 Esthonian custom (Superst. M. 13).

² Eccard de orig. Germ. p. 398: Celebratur in plebe Saxonica *fru Freke*, cui eadem munia tribuuntur, quae superiores Saxones Holdae suae adscribunt. Fru Freke has just been unearthed again by Ad. Kuhn, namely in the Ukermark, where she is called Fruike, 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. sog. 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 *Syr* (Sn. 37) would perhaps be Saurs in Gothic: Wilh. Müller has detected the very same in the *Syritha* of Saxo Gram. p. 125, who likewise goes in search of *Othar*. Freyja's tears were golden, gold is named after them, and she herself is 'gratfagr,' 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 Thorr drives two goats)¹ she rides to the battlefield, 'rîðr til vígs,' and goes shares with Oðinn in the slain (supra p. 133, conf. Sæm. 42^a. Sn. 28. 57). She is called 'eigandi valfalls' (quæ 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 *Folkvângr* or *Fólkvângar*, the plains on which the (dead?) folk troop together; this imparts new credibility 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. Thorgerðr in the Egilss., p. 103, refuses earthly nourishment, she thinks to feast with Freyja soon: 'ok engan (nattverð) mun ek fyrr enn at *Freyju*'. Yet love-songs please her too, and lovers do well to call upon her: 'henni líkaði vel mansongr, a 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* (-carrion). 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 rîtest gerner *eine guldîn katze*, ald einen wunderlîchen Gerhart 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 *muhmlein* (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 (*γαλεη*), 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,¹ 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 *Frea*, 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 *Brisínga men* (Brisingorum monile); she is called 'eigandi Brísingamens,' 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 Brísings þiofr (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 it micla men Brísínga), Sæm. 71^b. When Thorr, 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 *frau Frene*, 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. Vrene, Ben. 328.

hann (have he) it mikla *men Brísinga!*' Sæm. 72.—Now this very trinket is evidently known to the AS. poet of Beowulf 2399, he names it *Brosinga mene*, without any allusion to the goddess; I would read 'Brísinga mene,' and derive the word in general from a verb which is in MHG. brîsen, breis (nodare, nodis constringere, Gr. *κεντεῖν* 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 *Brísingar?* 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 Fraujo, they too would doubtless know of a Breisigge 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 *το αγιον* sacrum (Matt. 7, 6), the OS. poet makes it a helag *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. *Brísinga men* is no other than Aphrodite's *ὄρμος* (Hymn to Venus 88), and the chain is her girdle, the *κεστος μιας ποικίλος* which she wears on her bosom, and whose witchery subdues all gods and mortals. How she loosens it off her neck (*ἀπο στηθεσφιν*) and lends it to Here to charm her Zeus with, is told in a lay that teems with world-old myths, Il. 14, 214-8. As the *μιάς* 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 *Brísinga 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 frouwà*, so necklace-wearing serves to describe a beautiful wife or maiden. In Sæm. 97^a *menglöð* (*monili lacta*, rejoicing in a necklace) means simply femina, but in 108^a 111^a *Menglöð* is a proper name (see p. 272 note); in 222^a *menskögul* is used of Brynhildr. Women are commonly named from their ornaments of gold or precious stones, Sn. 128 (see Suppl.).

átti ser eina skemmu, er var bæði fögr ok sterk, svâ at þat segja menn, ef hurðin var læst, at eingi matti komast í skemmuna an (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 (Il. 14, 165-8) he knows of Here's *θαλαμος*,

τόν οἱ φίλος υἱὸς ἔτευξεν

"Ἥφαιστος, πυκινὰς δὲ θύρας σταθμοῖσιν ἐπήρσε
κλιῖδι κρυπτῇ, τὴν δ' οὐ θεὸς ἄλλος ἀνώγειν.

What can be more exactly in accordance with that inaccessible apartment of Freyja, especially as the *μας* 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.

10. FOLLA. SINDGUND.

Another thing that betrays the confusion of Frigg with Freyja is, that the goddess *Follá*, now proved by the Merseburg poem to belong to our German mythology, is according to it a sister of Frua, while the ON. *Fulla* 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 Fulla or Folla was at the same time thought of as the full-moon (Goth. *fulliþs*, Lith. *Pilnatis*, masc.), as another heavenly body, Orion, was referred to Frigg or Freyja: in the Merseburg MS. she is immediately followed by *Sunna* with a sister *Sindgund*, whose name again suggests the path of a constellation. The Eddic *Sól* 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 Frua, 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.).

11. GART. SIPPJA. SUNIA. WARA. SAGA. NANDA.

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 *Gerðr*, 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 (Sæm. 81. Sn. 39). His wooing was much thwarted, and was only brought to a happy issue by the dexterity of his faithful servant Skirnir. The form of her name *Gerðr*, gen. *Gerðar*, acc. *Gerði* (Sæm. 117^b), points to a Goth. *Gardi* or *Gardja*, gen. *Gardjos*, acc. *Gardja*, and an OHG. *Gart* or *Garta*, which often occurs in the compounds *Hildigart*, *Irmingart*, *Liutkart*, &c., but no longer alone. The Latin forms *Hildegardis*, *Liudgardis* have better preserved the terminal *i*, which must have worked the vowel-change in *Gerðr*, *Thorgerðr*, *Valgerðr*, *Hrímgerðr*. 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*, *sifi amicus* (OHG. *sippio*, *sippo*), *sift* 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 Oðinn and Thor agree, their wives *Frigg* and *Sif* have also a common signification. *Sif* in the Edda is called the fair-haired, 'it *harfagra goð*,' and gold is *Sifjar haddr* (*Sifae peplum*), because, when Loki cut off her hair, a new and finer crop was afterwards forged of gold (Sn. 119. 130). Also a herb, *polytrichum 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 *ξανθή Δημητήρη* (Il. 5, 500); and with it agrees the fact that the O Slav. *Siva* is a gloss on 'Ceres dea

frumenti' (Hanka's glosses 5^a 6^{a,b}); only the S in the word seems to be the Slav. zhivete = Zh, and V does not answer to the Teut. F, B, P. The earth was Thor'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 *sunjô* (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 *Vor* gen. *Varar*, goddess of plighted faith and covenants, a *dea foederis* (Sn. 37-8), just as the Romans deified Tutela. The phrase 'vígja saman *Varar hendi*,' consecrare 'Tutelae manu (Sæm. 74^b), 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 Aventure* of the Mid. Ages is a relic of the same.

Nanna the wife of Baldr would be in Goth. *Nanþô*, OHG. *Nandâ*, AS. *Nôðe*, the bold, courageous (p. 221), but, except in ON., the simple female name is lost; Procopius 1, 8 has Gothic *Θευδενάυθα*, ON. *Thioðnanna* (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-

futation]. The discovery from legend or elsewhere of a harmony between myths may raise our guesses into demonstrations.¹

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. *Gefjon* the Old Saxons had, as far as we know, not a female but a male being, *Geban*, *Geofon* (sea, p. 239). With four giant oxen, according to Sn. 1, *Gefjon* 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 Gefjon*, F. Magn. lex. 386 (see Suppl.). *Gefn*, a name of Freyja (Sn. 37 and *Vigaglúmss. cap. 27*) reminds one of *Gefjon*.

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*) *dætr.*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. sog. 2, 78; and *sitja at Ránar* to be drowned, Fornm. sog. 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 ἀρμονία. Lachmann directs me to instances in point. Er. 7534-40 (conf. Iwein, p. 400):

So hete des meisters sin
geprüvet ditz gereite
mit grozer wisheite;
er gap dem helfenbeine
und da bî dem gesteine
sîn gevellige stat,
als in diu *Gevuoge* bat.

So had the master's thought
turned out this riding-gear
with great wisdom;
he gave the ivory
and withal the jewelry
each its proper place,
as him dame *Fitness* bade.

(Conf. Er. 1246: als in mîn ware schulde bat).—Parz. 121, 11:

Wer in den zwein landen wirt,
Gefuoge ein wunder an im birt;

Whoso in the two lands thrives,
Fitness a wonder in him bears;

he is a miraculous birth of *Fitness*, her child, her darling.—Conversely, *Walther* 64, 38:

Fró Unfuoge, ir habt gesiget.

Dame *Unfitness*, thou hast triumphed.

And 65, 25:

Swer *Ungefuoge* swigen hieze
und sie abe den bürgen stieze!

Whoso bade *Indecorum* hush,
and hurled her from her strongholds.

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. *Fuoga*, gen. *Fuogûn*, as in N. cap. 135 *hifuogun*, *sotigenam* (see Suppl.).

² Sæm. 79^b 144^a 153^b 180. Sn. 124-9. 185. Eyrbygg. saga p. 274, and index sub v. *Ran*. Egilssaga p. 616.

carried them off, whence the explanation of her name: *rân* neut. is rapina, *ræna* rapere, spoliare (see Suppl.).

On the discovery of the rare word *rahanen* (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.¹

As we passed from Oegir (through Forniot and Logi) to Loki, so we may from Ran to *Hel*, who is no other than Loki's daughter, and like him a dreadful divinity. Ran 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. Haljos, OHG. *Hellia*, *Hella* gen. Hellia, Hella, AS. *Hell* gen. Helle; only, the personal notion has dropt 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 *œgir* 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.² Thus hellia can be explained from Hellia even more readily than ostara 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 (*blá* half, en half með horundar 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, Rhaan (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 resounds): a likelier connexion is that with our höle antrum, OHG. holî, more frequent in neut. hol, for which we should expect a Gothic hul, as in fact a fem. hulundi is caverna, for a cave covers, and so does the nether world (both therefore from hilan celare). Only, the vowels in hole (= huli) and holle (= halja) do not

passages her *blackness* alone is made a subject of comparison: *blár sem Hel*, Nialss. 117. Fornm. sog. 3, 188; conf. *Heljar skinn* for complexion of deathly hue, Landnamab. 2, 19. Nialss. cap. 96. Fornald. sog. 2, 59. 60;¹ 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 *Niflhel*, there is her court (rann), there her halls, Sæm. 6^b 44^a 94^a. Sn. 4. Her platter is named *hungr*, 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 *í hel slá*, *drepa*, *berja í hel*, to smite into hell, send to Hades; *í 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. *ihjel*, 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. *helvíti* (supplicium infernale), OHG. *hellowîzi*, MHG. *hellewîze*. 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 un pitying nature of the Eddic *Hel* is expressly emphasized; what she once has, she never gives back: *haldi Hel því er heftr*, Sn. 68; *heftr nu Hel*, Sæm. 257^a, 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

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: '*furva Proserpina*,' Hor. Od. 2, 13 (Censorin. De die nat. c. 17). *Black* Aphrodite (Melanis) is spoken of by Pausanias 2, 2. 8, 6. 9, 27 and by Athenæus 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, Wurzburg (Altd. W. 2, 209. 286), at Oettingen (Goethe's Corresp. with a child 2, 184), at Puy (Büsching's Nachr. 2, 312-333), Marseilles and elsewhere. I think it specially significant, that the Erinnys or Furia dwelling in Tartarus is also represented both as black and as *half white half black*.

² O Swed. has more correctly *ihæl*, i.e., *ihäl* (Fred. af Normandie 1299. 1356. 1400. 1414). In Östgötalagen p. 8, one reading has already *ihæll* for *ihæl*; they no longer grasped the meaning of the term.

Helreið Brynhildar and the Vegtamsqviða; in the latter, Oðin's ride on Sleipnir for Baldr's sake seems to prefigure that which Hermoðr afterwards undertakes on the same steed in Sn. 65-7. But the incidents in the poem are more thrilling, and the dialogue between Vegtam¹ and the vala, who says of herself:

var ek snifin sniofi (by snow), ok slegin regni,
ok drifin doggo (by dew), dauð (dead) var ek leingi,

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 alegde, hæðene sawle (vitam deposuit, animam gentilem), þær hine *Hel onfeng*,' 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 ferslindet* al daz ter lebet, si *ne wirdet niomer sat*,' N. Cap. 72. 'diu *Helle* und der arge wân werdent *niemer 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 wuoterîch	The raging tyrant
der was der <i>Hellen</i> gelîch,	he was like the Hell
diu daz abgrunde	who the chasm (steep descent)
<i>begenit mit ir munde</i>	be-yawneth with her mouth
unde den himel zuo der erden.	from heaven down ² to earth.
unde ir doch niht ne mac werden,	And yet to her it cannot hap

¹ Oðinn calls himself *Vegtamr* (way-tame, broken-in to the road, gnarus viae), son of *Valtamr* (assuetus caedibus), as in other places *gangtamr* (itineri assuetus) is used of the horse, Sæm. 265^b, but Oðinn himself is *Gangraðr* or *Gangleri*. *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 imer werde vol ; that she ever become full ;
 si ist daz *ungesatliche* 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, hellagrunt, helliporta, &c. Gramm. 2, 458 ; der abgrunde tunc, der tiefen helle tunc (the deep hell's dinge, darkness), Mart. 88^b 99^c.

Of course there are Bible texts that would in the first instance suggest much of this, *c.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. *αδης* 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 *Kalî* or *Mahakâlî*, 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 (*kala niger*, conf. *caligo* and *κλεινός*) 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 Meuse 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 Rhenu, ab septentrione in lacus, ab occidente in amnem Mosam se spargit, medio inter haec *ore* modicum nomine suo custodiens alveum, Plin. 4, 29. Tac. also says 2, 6 : immenso *ore*. Conf. supra p. 198 on *Oegisdyr* (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,¹ finds utterance only now and then, particularly in the story of Prometheus, which I have compared to the Norse ragnarok, p. 245-6.

In the common way of thinking, the gods are supposed to be *immortal* and *eternal*. They are called θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες, Il. 1, 290. 494, αἰειγενέται 2, 400, ἀθάνατοι 2, 814, ἀθάνατος Ζεὺς 14, 434; and therefore μακαρες 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 ἀμβρόσιος, 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 βροτοί live, οἱ ἀρουρης καρπον εδουσιν, Il. 6, 142. With βροτος again is connected βρότος thick mortal blood, whereas in the veins of the gods flows ἰχώρ (Il. 5, 340. 416), a light thin liquid, in virtue of which they seem to be called ἄβροτοι = 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;² no Greek poem tells us the ingredients of ambrosia, but it was an ἀμβροσιη τροφή (food), and there was a divine drink besides, γλυκυ νεκταρ, Il. 1, 598, of a red colour 19, 38, its name being derived either from νη and κτασθαι, or better from νεκ-ταρ necem avertens. Where men take bread and wine, the gods take ambrosia and nectar, Od. 5, 195, and hence comes the

ἄμβροτον αἶμα θεοῖο,
 ἰχώρ, οἶός περ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν·
 οὐ γὰρ σῖτον ἔδουσ', οὐ πίνουσ' αἶθοπα οἶνον·
 τοῦνεκ' ἀναίμονές εἰσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται.

—Il. 5, 339.

Theirs is no thick glutinous αἶμα (conf. our seim, ON. seimr, slime), nor according to the Indians do they sweat; and this ἀναιμων (bloodless) agrees with the above explanation of ἄβροτος. The

¹ Atque 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 ἄβροτος, ἄμβροτος, ἄμβρόσιος, νεκτάρειος are passed on from the food to other divine things¹ (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, *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 *eylifr* or *odauðligir*, and their death is spoken of without disguise: þa er regin *deyja*, 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; Oðin's destined *fall* is mentioned in the Voluspa 9^a, Oðins *bani* (bane), Sn. 73, where also Thorr falls *dead* on the ground; Hrungrnir, a giant, threatens to slay all the gods (*drepa guð oll*), 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 Valholl 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 Oðinn *needs no food* (*onga vist þarf hann*), and *only drinks wine* (*vín er honum bæði dryckr ok matr*, both meat and drink); with the viands set before him he feeds his two wolves Geri and Freki. Við vín eitt vapngofugr Oðinn æ lifir (*vino solo armipotens 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, Il. 19, 38; they ward off hunger, Il. 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 (olr) 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. ol giora, 68^b; Heimdall gladly drinks the good mead, 41^b; 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 *Oðhræris drecker*, 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. Oðhræris drecker confers the gift of poesy, and by that very fact immortality: Oðinn and Saga, goddess of poetic art, have surely drunk it out of golden goblets, gladly and evermore (um alla daga, Sæm. 41^a). We must also take into account the creation of the wise Qvasir (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: Iðunn has in her keeping certain *apples*, by eating of which the aging gods make themselves *young again* (er goðin skulo abíta, þa er þau eldaz, oc verða þa allir ungir, Sn. 30^a). 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 Eddic view, the gods have a means, it is true, of preserving perpetual freshness and youth,

¹ As Homer too makes Ganymede *οινοχοεύειν*, Il. 20, 234, and of Hebe it is even said, *νέκταρ έφνοχοει* 4, 3.

² Zeus goes to banquet (*κατά δαίτα*) with the Ethiopians, Il. 1, 423; *ὅταν πρὸς δαίτα καὶ ἐπὶ θοίνην ἴωσι*, Plato's Phædr. 247, as Thórr does with the Norwegians; even when disguised as a bride, he does not refuse the giants' dishes, Sæm. 73^b; and the Ases 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 *sudhahara*, or *amritaharana*, nectar-thief or ambrosia-thief (Pott, *forsch.* 2, 451); it is in the shape of an eagle that Oðinn carries off Oðhrærir, 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), Thorr as in the full strength of manhood, Balder as a blooming youth. The gods grow *hárrir* ok *gamblir* (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*, Sæm. 28^a 50^a 51^a 52^b, *ginheilög* goð 1^a; it is of the same root as *gīna*, OHG. *kīnan*, *hiare*, and denotes numina ampla, late dominantia, conf. AS. *ginne grund*, Beow. 3101. Jud. 131, 2. *ginne rīce*, Cædm. 15, 8. *ginfæst*, *firmissimus* 176, 29. *ginfæsten god*, *terrae dominus* 211, 10. *garsecgas gin*, *oceanī amplitudo* 205, 3.

The Homeric *ρεῖα* (= *ραδίως*, Goth. *raþizo*) 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 ρεῖα ζῶοντες*, Il. 6, 138. Od. 4, 805. 5, 122. When Aphrodite wishes to remove her favourite Alexander from the perils of battle, *τον δ' ἐξηρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτη ρεῖα μάλ'*, ὅσ τε θεός, Il. 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 *ρεῖα μάλα*, as a boy at play would a sand-heap 15, 362. With a mere breath (*πνοιῆ*), blowing a little (*ἦκα μάλα 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 (*ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινήν*) to the newborn Apollo, than he leapt, *κατεβρωσ ἄμβροτον*, 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* (*einnætt*), unwashen and unkempt, he sallies forth to avenge Baldr's death on Hoðr, *Sæm.* 6^b 95^b. Here the coincidence of *ακερσεκομης* with the Edda's '*ne hofuð kenbr*' is not to be disregarded. Hermes, born at early morn, plays the lute 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* (*καρπαλιμωσ μενοσ και φαίοιμα γυία ηὔξετο τοίω ἀνακτοσ*), 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, Thor's son by the giantess Iarnsaxa: when three nights old (*þrínætt*), he flung the giant Hrúngni's enormous foot, under whose weight Thorr 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 (*επτα δ' ἐπεσχε πελεθρα πεσων*, *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 Thorr especially: he devours at a wedding one ox and eight salmon, and drinks three casks of mead, *Sæm.* 73^b; 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 *ἑκατόγχιρες*. 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 Khuvera, 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: Oðinn is one-eyed, Tyr one-handed, Hoðr blind, and Logi or Loki was perhaps portrayed as lame or limping, like Hephæstus 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 *λευκωλενος* or *βοωπις* (the former used also of Helen, Il. 3, 121,² the latter of a Nereid 18, 40), Athene *γλαυκωπις* or *ἠυκομος* (which again does for Here), Thetis *ἀργυροπεζα*, Iris *αελλοπος*, *ποδήνεμος*, *χρυσοπτερος*, Eos *ροδοδάκτυλος*, Demeter (Ceres) *ξανθη* 5, 500, and *καλλιπλόκαμος* 14, 326, just as Sif is *harfogr* (p. 309), in allusion to the yellow colour of the waving corn. As the sea rolls its dark waves, Poseidon bears the name *κυανοχαίτις*, Il. 14, 390. 15, 174. 20, 144. Zeus could either be called the same, or *κυανόφρυς* (a contrast to Baldr *brâhvîtr*, brow-white p. 222), because to him belong *ἀμβροσiai χαίται* Il. 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 (*νευειν*, *κατανεύειν κυανησιν επ οφρυσιν* Il. 1, 527. 17, 209) is the regular expression of Zeus's will: *κεφαλῆ κατανεύσομαι*, *ἀθανάτοισι μέγιστον τέκμωρ*, Il. 1, 524. In refusing, he draws the head back (*ἀνανεύει*). Thôt's indignant rage is shown by sinking the eyebrows over the eyes (*sîga brynnar ofan fyrr*

¹ O. Müller's archæol. p. 515.

- And Aphrodite throws her *πήχεε λευκῶ* round Æneas.—TRANS.

angun, 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 lowering look (*δεινα δ' υποδρα ιδων*, Il. 15, 13), he above all is the *μέγ' ὀχθήσας* (1, 517. 4, 30), and next to him Poseidon of the dingy locks (8, 208. 15, 184). Zeus again is distinguished by beaming eyes (*τρεπεν οσσε φαεινω* 13, 3. 7. 14, 236. 16, 645), which belong to none else save his own great-hearted daughter 21, 415; Aphrodite has *ομματα μαρμαιροντα*, 3, 397, twinkling, shimmering eyes (see Suppl.).

Figures of Greek divinities show a *cirle 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 wanting. 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. Amnian. Marc. 16, 12 mentions Chnodomarius, *cujus vertici flammeus torulus aptabatur*. N. Cap. 63 translates the *honorati capitis radios* of the Sol auratus by *houbetskîmo* (head-sheen), and to portray the sun's head surrounded with flames is extremely natural. In ON. I find the term *roða* 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 restore, 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

¹ O. Müller's archæol. p. 481.

² Gotting. 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 *blíð regin* (p. 26), as we find 'froh' in the sense of gracious applied to gods and kings,¹ and the spark of joy is conveyed from gods to men. *Frauja*, lord, is next of kin to *froh* glad (p. 210). It is said of the Ases, *teitir varo*, Sæm. 2^a; and of Heimdall, *drechr glaðr hinn goða mioð* 41^b. And 'in *sváso guð*' 33^a contains a similar notion. In this light the passages quoted (pp. 17-8) on the *blithe* 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 (*ορωων φρενα τερψομαι*, Il. 20, 23), then laughs the blessed heart of him (*ἐγέλασσε δέ οί φίλον ἦτορ*, 21, 389); which is exactly the Eddic 'hlô honum hugr î briosti, hlô Hlôrriða hugr î briosti,' laughed the mind in his breast: a fresh confirmation of the essential oneness of Zeus and Thorr. But it is also said of heroes: 'hlo þa Atla hugr î briosti,' Sæm. 238^b. 'hlo þa Brynhildr af ollum hug,' with all her heart 220^a. OS. 'hugi ward fromod,' Hel. 109, 7. AS. 'mod ahloh,' 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 *smielinden munde* si über ahsel sah,' looked over her shoulder. Often in the song of the Cid: '*sonrisose de la boca*,' and '*alegre era*.'² *Θυμὸς ἰάνθη*, Il. 23, 600; conf. *θυμὸν ἴαινον*, Hymn. in Cer. 435. Half in displeasure Here laughs with her lips, not her brows: *ἐγέλασσε χεῖλεσιν, οὐδὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὀφρύσι κυανέησιν ἰάνθη*, Il. 15, 102; but Zeus feels joy in sending out his lightnings, he is called *τερπικεραυνος* 2, 781. 8, 2. 773. 20, 144. So Artemis (Diana) is *ἰοχαιρα*, rejoicing in arrows, 6, 428. 21, 480. Od. 11, 198. At the limping of Hephæstus, the assembly of gods bursts into *ασβεστος γελως*, uncontrolled laughter, Il. 1, 599; but a gentle smile (*μειδαν*) is peculiar to Zeus, Here and Aphrodite. As

¹ Andreas and Elene p. xxxvii.

² Helbl. 7, 518: diu warheit des *erlachtet*, truth laughs at that.

Aphrodite's beauty is expressed by φιλομμειδής, smile-loving (Il. 4, 10. 5, 375), so is Freyja's on the contrary by 'grátfogr,' 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 μεν, βῆ ἱεναι, Il. 1, 44. 2, 14. 14, 188. 24, 347, βεβηκει 1, 221, εβη 14, 224, βάτην 3, 778, βήτην 14, 281, ποσι προβιβάς 13, 18, προσεβήσετο 2, 48. 14, 292, κατεβήσετο 13, 17, απεβήσετο 2, 35; and in the Edda *gengr*, Sæm. 9^a, gêk 100^a, gêngo 70^a 71^b, gengêngo 1^a 5^a, or else *fôr* 31^a 31^b 53^a 75^a, this *fara* meaning no more than ire, proficisci, and Oðinn was even called Gangleri, Sæm. 32. Sn. 24, *i.e.*, the walker, traveller; the AS. poets use *gewat* (evasit, abiit) or *síðode* 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, Il. 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. *hvaírban*, OHG. *huerban*, AS. *hweorfan* (verti, ferri, rotari): '*hwearf* him to heofenum hálig dryhten' says Cædm. 16, 8; and 'Oðinn *hvarf* þa,' vanished, Sæm. 47. Homer employs, to express the same thing, either the verb *αἴσσω* (impetu feror), or the adverbs *καρπαλίμως* (as if *αρπαλιμως* raptim) and *κραιπνως* raptim. Thus Athene or Here comes *αἴξασα*, Od. 1, 102. Il. 2, 167. 4, 74. 19, 114. 22, 187; Thetis, the dream, Athene, Here, all appear *καρπαλίμως*, Il. 1, 359. 2, 17. 168. 5, 868. 19, 115. Od. 2, 406; Poseidon and Here *κραιπνά, κραιπνως*, Il. 13, 18. 14. 292; even Zeus, when he rises from his throne to look on the earth, *στη ἀναιξας* 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. 53^a of Thorr and Tyr: *foro driugom* (ibant tractim, raptim, *εκληδον*), for *driugr* is from *driuga*, Goth. *driugan* trahere, whence also Goth. *drauhts*, OHG. *truht* turba, agmen, ON. *draugr* 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 betoken the god's approach, the wôma and ôni above, from which Oðinn took a name (p. 144-5). The rapid movement of descending gods is sometimes likened to a shooting star, or the flight of birds, Il. 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 *αρπη* (falcon?), Il. 19, 350, an *ὄρνις* bird, Od. 1, 320, or a *φήνη* osprey, 3, 372; as a swallow she perches (*ἔζειτ' 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 Oðin's taking his flight as a falcon, after he had in the shape of Gestr conversed and quarrelled with Heiðrekr: *víðbrast í vals liki*, Fornald. sog. 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, Il. 13, 71:

*ἶχνια γὰρ μετόπισθε ποδῶν ἠδὲ κνημῶν
 ῥεῖ' ἔγνων ἀπίόυτος· ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοί περ.*

So, when Venus leaves Aeneas, Virg. 1, 402:

*Dixit, et avertens rosea cervice refulsit
 et vera incessu patuit dea. Ille ubi matrem
 agnovit, tali fugientem est voce secutus.*

So, Il. 3, 396, Alexander recognises the

*θεᾶς περικαλλέα δειρήν,
 στήθεά θ' ἱμερόεντα καὶ ὄμματα μαρμαίροντα.*

And in ON. legend, Hallbiörn on awaking sees the shoulder of a figure in his dream before it vanishes: *þykist sia a herðar honum*, Fornald. sog. 3, 103; as is likewise said in Olaf the saint's sagr cap. 199. ed. Holm., while the Fornm. sog. 5, 38 has it: *sia svi mannsins er a 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 *ἶχνια* of the ancient god.

As the incessus of Venus declared the goddess, the motion (*ἴθμα*) of Here and Athene is likened to that of timorous doves, Il. 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* (*πεδιλα*), 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* (*fiadrhamr*) which Freyja possessed, and which at Thôr's request she lent to Loki for his flight to Iötunheim, Sæm. 70^{a,b}; 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 log' 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: Geirroðr 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 *ὄχημα* 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 Il. 5, 720-76; so likewise Demeter and Kora appear seated in a carriage. Hermes is drawn by rams,¹ as the Norse Thorr [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 Wuotan and Phol ride in the forest, which is not at all inconsistent with the word used, 'faran'; for it is neither conceivable that Wuotan 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. 93^a), Baldr and Hermoðr; in Sæm. 44^a 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 mount, except Thorr, who is invariably introduced either driving or walking (p. 167), and when he gets Gullfaxi as spoil from Hrungrnir, gives him away to his son Magni, Sn. 110. Oðin's horse leaps a hedge seven ells high, Fornm. sog. 10, 56. 175. Even the women of the gods are mounted: the valkyrs, like Oðinn, ride through air and water, Sn. 107, Freyja and Hyndla 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 Hrîmfaxi, rîmy-mane, as Day (masc.) had Skînfaxi, shiny-mane.

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 Berhta 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 Thorr 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 Skíðblaðnir, the best of all ships, Sæm. 45^b.

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 Thorr 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 (*ἐκλαυξαν*) on his shoulder 1, 44, *δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γέμετ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο*, 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. 94^a; 'biorg brotnoðo, brann iorð loga, ok Oðins sonr î Iotunheima,' mountains crumbled, earth blazed, when rode, &c. 73^a; 'flo Loki, fiaðrhamr dundi,' the wing-coat whirred, 70^a 71^a; 'iorð bifaz (quaked), enn allir for scialfa garðar Gymis' when Skirnir came riding 83^a. 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 Here in his arms, shot up a thick growth of sweet herbs and flowers, and glittering dewdrops trickled down, Il. 14, 346—51. So, when the valkyrs rode through the air, their horses' manes shook fruitful dew on the deep vales below, Sæm. 145^b; or it falls nightly from the bit of Hrîmfaxi's bridle 32^b (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, Il. 3, 381. 5, 776. 18, 205. 21, 549. 597. It is called *ηερι καλυπτειν, ηερα χειν, αχλυν* or *νέφος στέφειν*, and the contrary *ἀχλὺν 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 Bravik, Oðinn mingled with the combatants, and assumed the figure of a charioteer *Bruni*; Saxo Gram., p. 146. Fornald. sog. 1, 380. The Grîmmismal makes Geirroðr the protege (*fostri*) of Oðinn, Agnarr that of Frigg, and the two deities take counsel together concerning them, Sæm. 39; in the Vols. saga cap. 42, Oðinn 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*, Il. 2, 279. *ἐγγύθι*, Od. 1, 120. *ἀγχοῦ*, Il. 2, 172. 3, 129. 4, 92. 5, 123. *πρόσθεν* 4, 129. *ὀπιθεν* 1, 197); Athene leads by the hand through the battle, and wards the arrows off 4, 52; she throws the dreadful *ægis* 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

seq.; now clothed in terror: χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς, Il. 20, 131 (see Suppl.).

The Iliad, 14, 286 seq., relates how Ὕπνος (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, Il. 1, 609. 2, 2. 24, 677. Still less can it be doubted of the Norse gods, that they too slept at night: Thorr 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 hagsott (mind-sickness) awakened the pity of all the gods. Oðinn, Niorðr and Freyr, according to the Yngl. saga 10. 11. 12, all sink under sicknesses (sottdauðir). Aphrodite and Ares receive wounds, Il. 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 nurserytales 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, πολλά παρασκωπτουσα, μειδῆσαι γελάσαι τε, καὶ ἴλαον σχεῖν 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:

ὄν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες
Αἰγαίων'. Il. 1, 403.

τὴν ἦτοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,

¹ De la venue de Dieu à Arras, in Jubinal's Nouveau recueil de contes 2, 377-8.

ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης. 2, 813.

χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν. 14, 291.

ὄν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον. 20, 74.¹

μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί. Od. 10, 305.

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 goð and æsir are treated as synonymous, a distinction is drawn between goð 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:

scý heitir með mönnum, en *scúrvarn* með goðom,
 kalla *vindflot* Vanir,
úrvarn iötnar, álfar *veðrmegin*,
 kalla í heljo *hiálm 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. Scurvan [shower-weening] pluviae expectatio, from skur imber, Germ. schauer; urvan just the same, from ur pluvia, with which compare the literal meaning of Sanskr. abhra nubes, viz. aquam gerens.² Vindflot is apparently navigium venti, because the winds sail through the air on clouds. Veðrmegin transposed is exactly the OHG. maganwetar turbo; and hiálmr

¹ Perhaps we ought also to reckon αἰετός and περκνός 24, 316, which is no mere ἐπίκλησις as in 7, 138. 18, 487 (Od. 5, 273). 22, 29. 506, though Ἄστυνάξ in this last passage happens to have Σκαμάνδριος (6, 402) answering to it, as Ξάνθος has Σκάμανδρος.

² Bopp, gloss. sausk. 16^a 209^a.

huliz appears elsewhere as hulizhiâlmr, OS. helith-helm, a tarn-helmet, grîma, 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; *c.g.*, nifl, OHG. nebal, Lat. nebula, Gr. νεφέλη; Goth. milhma, Swed. moln, Dan. mulm; Sansk. mégla, Gr. ὀμίχλη, ὀμίχλη, Slav. megla; OIHG. wolchan, AS. wolcen, which is to Slav. oblako as miluk, milk, to Slav. mleko; ON. þoka nebula, Dan. taage; M.Dut. swerk nubes, OS. gisuere, caligo, nimbus; AS. hoðma nubes, Beow. 4911. And so it is with the other twelve objects whose names are discussed in the Alvismal. Where simple words, like sol and sunna, mani and skîn, or iord 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 Hler and Oegir (p. 240), Ymir and Oergelmir, which last Sn. 6 attributes to the Hrîmþurses; Iðunn would seem by Sæm. 89^a to be an Elvish word, but we do not hear of any other name for the goddess. In the same way Xanthus and Skamander, Batiëia 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 κύμινδης (conf. Plin. 10, 10), and the αἰετός and περκνός. Χαλκίς is supposed to signify some bird of prey, a hawk or owl, which does not answer to the description ὄρνις λιγυρά (piping), and the myth requires a bird that in sweet and silvery tones sings one to sleep, like the nightingale. Περκνός 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,¹ and where he finds a twofold nomenclature, he ascribes the older, nobler, more euphonious (το κρειπτον, ευφωνον, προγενέστερον ὄνομα) to the gods, the later and meaner (τὸ ἔλαττον, 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 *Alvismal*, 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. (*devanagarī*, *deva-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 *επεα πτεροεντα* (winged words) belong to heroes and other men as well as to gods, else we might interpret them strictly of the ease 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 (*ἀγορη*, *Il.* 8, 2. 20, 4), just as the *Ases*

¹ ὡς μουστροφῆς καὶ τὰς παρὰ θεοῖς ἐπίσταται λέξεις, οἶδε τὴν τῶν θεῶν διάλεκτον, οἶδε τὰ τῶν θεῶν (ὀνόματα), ὡς ὑπὸ μουσῶν καταπνεόμενος. θέλων ὁ ποιητῆς δεῖξαι ὅτι μουσόληπτός ἐστιν, οὐ μόνον τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀνόματα ἐπαγγέλλεται εἶδέναι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ λέγουσι.

attend at the þing (Sæm. 93^a), on the rökstôla, and by the Yggdrasill (Sæm. 1^b 2^a 44^a), 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. 67^a); Skîrnir 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 (Il. 15, 193). These three tower above all the rest, like Har, Iafnhar and Thriði 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 Oðinn 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 ræðr 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

¹ Aesch. Prom. 439 θεοῖσι τοῖς νέοις, 955 νέον νέοι κρατεῖτε, 960 τοὺς νέους θεούς. Eumen. 156. 748. 799 οἱ νεώτεροι θεοί. Conf. Otr. Müller, p. 181.

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 Grímnismál; mountains especially were consecrated to the Teutonic, as to the Greek deities: Sigtýsberg, Himinbiorg, &c. Olympus was peculiarly the house of Zeus (*Διος δῶμα*), to which the other gods assembled (Il. 1, 494); on the highest peak of the range he would sit apart (*απερ αλλων* 1, 498. 5, 753), loving to take counsel alone (*απάνευθε θεῶν* 8, 10). He had another seat on Ida (Il. 183. 336), whence he looked down to survey the doings of men, as Oðinn did from Hliðscialf. Poseidon sat on a height in the wooded range of Samos (13, 12). Valholl and Bilskirnir, the dwellings of Oðinn and Thorr, are renowned for their enormous size; the one is said to have 540 doors, through any one of which 800 einheriar can go out at once, and Bilskirnir has likewise 540 'golfe' [ON. golfr, 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: *avatâra*, *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. 21^a.

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 Oðinn appeared on earth, or Heimdall to found the three orders, and Thorr visited at weddings; Oðinn, Hœnir 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:

ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον, ἣ πρὶν ἐπήην,
ὄφρ' εὖ γιγνώσκῃς ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ 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 stepped into the host, disguised as Kalchas, 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.*, Oðinn 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 avatara; 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 avatara, 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 Tyr, Freyr, Baldr, Bragi, Zeus, grew up the common nouns tyr, frauja, baldor, bragi, deus, 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. ἥρωος ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου τι καὶ θεοῦ σύνθετον, ὃ μήτε ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστὶ, μήτε θεὸς, καὶ συναμφότερόν 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*: ἡμιθεῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν, Il. 12, 23; ἀνδρῶν ἥρωων θεῶν γένος, οὐ καλέονται ἡμίθεοι, Hes. ἐργ. 159. Jornandes applies *semidei* to the anses (supra p. 25), as Saxo Gram. pronounces Balder a *semideum*, arcano superûm semine procreatum. Otherwise in ON. writings we meet with neither halfgod nor halfas;¹ but N. Cap. 141 renders hemitheo heroesque by '*halbkota unde erdkota* (earthgods)'

Heroes are distinct from dæmonic 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 Hålftröll, hálfrisi are similar, and the OHG. halpdurinc, halpwalah, halpteni (ON. halfdan) as opposed to altdurinc, altwalah.

gods themselves;¹ the Judeo-Christian angel is a *dæmon*. 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. *vair* ON. *ver*,² 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*. *Heros*, *ἦρως*, which originally means a mere fighter, has been identified with rather too many things: *herus*, "*Ἡρη*, "*Ἡρακλῆς*, even "*Ἀρης* and *ἀρετή* = *virtus*, so that the Goth. *áirus*, ON. *ár*, *ári*=*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 prolongation³ of the simple ON. *halr*, AS. *hæle* *vir*: the name *Halidegastes* (like *Leudogastes*) is found so early as in *Vopiscus*; and a Goth. *halips*, OHG. *halid*, *helid* may be safely inferred from the proper names *Helidperaht*, *Helidcrim*, *Helidgund*, *Helidniu*, *Helidberga*,⁴ 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. *hæleð* I remark that it makes its pl. both *hæleðas* and *hæleð* (e.g., *Beow.* 103), the latter archaic like the Goth. *menôþs*, whence we may infer that the Gothic also had a pl. *halips*, and OHG. a pl. *helid* as well as *helida*, and this is confirmed by a MHG. pl. *held*, *Wh.* 44, 20. In OS. I find only the pl. *helidos*, *helithos*; in the *Heliand*, *helithcunni*, *helithocunni* mean simply *genus humanum*. M.Dut. has *helet* pl. *helde*. The ON. *höldr* pl. *höldar* (*Sæm.* 114^b 115^a. *Sn.* 171) implies an older *höluðr* (like *mânuðr* = Goth. *mênôþs*); it appears to mean nothing but *miles*, *vir*, and *holdborit* (*hold-born*) in the first passage to be something lower than *hersborit*, the *holdar* being free peasants, *buendr*. The Dan. *helt*, Swed. *hjelte* (OSwed. *halad*) 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 *viörr*.

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 *Helidiberga*, MB. 28^a 33.

German rather than the ON. form. If we prefer to see both in halr and in haliþs the verb haljan occulere, defendere, tueri, the transition from tutor to vir and miles is easily made; even the Lat. celer is not far from celo 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 chît, *hertinga* alde *chucniga*'. This *hertinga* suggests the AS. *hardingas*, 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 *h* in the course of transmission, and the forms *hazdiggs*, *haddingr*, *harding*, *hartinc* 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. *degan* (miles, minister); *wîgant* (pugil); *chamfio*, *chempho* (pugil), AS. *cempa*, ON. *kappi*; the ON. *hetja* (bellator), perhaps conn. with *hatr odium, bellum*; and *skati*, better *skaði*, AS. *sceaða*, *scaða*, properly *nocivus*, then *prædator, latro*, and passing from this meaning, honourable in ancient times, into that of heros; even in the Mid. Ages, *Landscado*, 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 *Ardingus* standing for *Hardingus*.

² Graff 4, 447 places *chuoni*, as well as *chuninc* and *chuuni*, under the all-devouring root *chan*; but as *kruoni*, AS. *grene viridis*, comes from *kruoan*, AS. *growan*, so may *chuoni*, AS. *cene*, from a lost *chuoan*, AS. *cowan pollere*? *vigere*?

glosses, Graff 4, 983, and by names of individual men compounded with *heri*; conf. ch. XXV, *einheri*. The OHG. *wrecchio*, *hrecchio*, *reccho*, 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. *reckr* is simply a hero in general.¹ 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. *halr*, the OHG. *gomo* (*homo*), ON. *gumi* served to express the idea of heros. In Diut. 2, 314^b, *heros* is glossed by *gomo*, and *gunnar* 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 fra goðom komo*, Sæm. 114^a.

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 Danae, 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, Autolyceus and Cephalus of Hermes, while Theseus was a son of Aegeus, and Nestor of Neleus, but both Aegeus and Neleus

¹ Some Slavic expressions for hero are worthy of notice: Russ. *vítiaz*, Serv. *vitez*; Russ. *boghatyr*, Pol. *bohater*, Boh. *bohátýr*, not conn. either with *bogh deus*, or *boghat dives*, but the same as the Pers. *behâdir*, Turk. *bahadyr*, Mongol. *baghâtor*, Hung. *bátor*, Manju *batura*, and derivable from *vâdra* lively, merry; Schott in Erman's *zeitschr.* 4, 531 [Mongol. *baghâ* is force, *βία*, and *-tor*, *-tur* an adj. suffix].

were Poseidon's children by Aethra and Tyro. Achilles was the son of Peleus and Thetis, Aeneas of Anchises and Venus.¹ 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 '*deum 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 Tiwesdæg]. 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 (*ουρεα μακρά*, Hes. theog. 129 = Goth. *fairgunja mikila*), and Donar himself was called mountain and *fairguneis* (pp. 169. 172), so that *ουρανός* sky stands connected with *ουρος ὄρος* mountain, the idea of *deus* with that of *ans* (pp. 25. 188). Gaia, Tellus, Terra come round again in our goddesses Fiorgyn, Iorð 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. *Tyski*?). 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

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* (Ettm. p. 112), the same in which the mythical king *Wippo* is spoken of (see p. 300), we read:

<i>Mennor</i> der êrste was genant,	<i>Mennor</i> the first man was named
dem diutische rede got tet	to whom Dutch language God
bekant.	made known.

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*¹ 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 OIIG. spell *Inc*, in AS. *Ing*, and an echo of his legend seems still to ring in the *Lay of Runes*:

Ing wæs ærest mid Eástdenum
 gesewen secgum, oð he siððan eást
 ofer wæg gewat. 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,² his wain ran after. The wain

¹ Proximi oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones vocantur, Tac. Germ. 2.

² *Cædm.* 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 *Islendingabok* (Isl. sog. 1, 19). Here at the head of all stands 'Yngvi Tyrkja konungr,' immediately succeeded by divine beings, Niorðr, 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 Niorðr, 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 *Inglingar* or *Ingvíngar* 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: Inguiomerus (Ingimarus, Ingumar, or with asp. Hincmarus), Inguram, Ingimund, Ingibure, 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 *yngringr juvenis*, OHG. *jungilinc*, AS. *geongling*, from the root *ung, junc, geong*, which has no business here at all (?).—The main point is, that the first genealogy puts Ingvi before Niorðr, 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. 'frea Ingwina' (p. 211). This Ingwina appears to be the gen. pl. of Ingwine, OHG. *Inguwini*, and 'dominus Ingwinorum' 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, Niorðr, Freyr, the Old Swedish tables in Geijer (hafder 118. 121. 475) give *Inge, Neorch, Fro*; some have *Neoroch* for Neorch, both being corruptions of Neorth. Now, was it by running Ingvi and Freyr into one, that the combination *Ingvifreyr* (transposed into AS. *frea Ingwina*) arose, or was he cut in two to make an additional link? The *Skaldskaparmal* in Sn. 211^a calls *Yngvifreyr* Oðin's son, and from the enumeration of the twelve or thirteen Ases in Sn. 211^b it cannot be doubted that *Yngvifreyr* was regarded as equivalent to the simple *Freyr*.

bears the name of *Ingvîngar* = 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 Fráuja 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 Niorðr, now after; and those Vanir, who have been moved away to the east, and to whom Niorðr 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 *Hardings*, had received it from them. This *Hardingas* 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 (Rûs, Russians), the same probably as 'Hartnît' or 'Hertnît von Reussen'; in the Alphart he is one of the Wolfing heroes.¹ *Hartunc* and his father Immunc (Rudlieb 17, 8) remain dark to us. The *Hardingas* 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 Hartunc, Harding, would correspond the ON. form *Haddîngr*. Now, whereas the Danish line of heroes beginning with Oðinn arrives at Froði in no more than three generations, Oðinn being followed by Skioldr, Friðleifr, Froði; the series given in Saxo Gram. stands thus: Humbl, Dan, Lothar, Skiold, 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 Hemit = 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 *Niorðr* and *Skaði* (Sn. 27-8).¹ We may accordingly take Hadding to be identical with *Niorðr*, *i.e.*, a second birth of that god, which is further confirmed by *Friðleifr* (= *Frealaf*, whom we have already identified with the simple *Frea*, p. 219) appearing in the same line, exactly as *Freyr* is a son of *Niorðr*, and Saxo says expressly, p. 16, that Hadding offered a *Froblot*, a sacrifice in honour of *Freyr*. Whether in *Froði* (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 *Formali* of the Edda, p. 15, calls *Oðinn* father of *Yngvi*, and puts him at the head of the *Ynglingar*: once again we see ourselves entitled to identify *Oðinn* with *Mannus* or *Tvisco*. Nay, with all this interlacing and interchange of members, we could almost bear to see *Oðinn* made the same as *Niorðr*, which is done in one manuscript. But the narrative 'fra Fornioti ok hans ættmonnum' in *Fornald. sog.* 2, 12 carries us farther: at the top stands *Burri*, like the king of *Tyrkland*, followed by *Burr*, *Oðinn*, *Freyr*, *Niörðr*, *Freyr*, *Fiölnir*; here then is a double *Freyr*, the first one taking *Yngvi*'s place, *i.e.*, the *Yngvifreyr* we had before; but also a manifold *Oðinn*, *Fiölnir* being one of his names (*Sæm.* 10^a 46^b 184^a. Sn. 3). *Burri* and *Burr*, names closely related to

¹ So 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 mariti libertas curiosiore corporum attractione,' but here to find a ring that the flesh has healed over. *Skaði* and *Ragnhild* necessarily fall into one.

each other like Folkvaldi and Folkvaldr, and given in another list as *Burri* and *Bors*, seem clearly to be the *Buri* and *Borr* 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 *eristporo* (erst-born), an OHG. *Poro*, Goth. *Baura*; *Borr* might be OHG. *Paru*, Goth. *Barus* or whatever form we choose to adopt, anyhow it comes from *baíran*, a root evidently well chosen in a genealogical tale, to denote the first-born, first-created men.¹ Yet we may think of *Byr* too, the wish-wind (see *Oskabyrr*, p. 144). Must not *Buri*, *Borr*, *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 *Tyski* and *Maðr*² are absent from the *Edda*, because *Buri* and *Borr* 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 Cherusans, preeminently worshippers of *Wodan*, 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 *sc*; *Iscaevo* was perhaps liable to be corrupted by the Romans themselves into *Istaevo*, as *Vistula* crept in by the side of the truer *Viscula* (*Weichsel*). But what seem irrefragable proofs are the *Escio* and *Hiscion*³ of

¹ So in the *Rigsmál* 105^a, *Burr* is called the first, *Barn* the second, and *Ioð* (conf. AS. eaden) the third child of *Faðir* and *Mooir*.

² ON. for man: sing. *maðr*, *mammis*, *manni*, *mann*; pl. *menn*, *manna*, *mönnum*, *menn*.

³ In *Nennius* § 17, *Stevenson* and *Sanmarte* (pp. 39. 40) have adopted the very worst reading *Hsitio*.

Nennius, in a tradition of the Mid. Ages not adopted from Tacitus, and the *Isiocon*¹ 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 Inguio it has preserved in Ingvi; ought not his brother Iscio to be discoverable too? I fancy I am on his track in the Eddic *Askr*, 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 *Esksja*, Sn. 220^b. And even the vowel-change in the two forms of name, Iscio and Askr, 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 *Ascriburg*, a sacred seat of the Iscaevones who dwelt 'proximi Rheno,' stood on the Rhine.² Of *Askr*, 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 *Oescingas*.

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. Hearingas, OHG. Hertinga. The hypothesis of *Istaevones* = *Izdaevones* would require that the Goth. *zd* = AS. *rd*, OHG. *rt*, should in the time of

¹ Pointed out by Leo in the zeitschr. f. d. alt. 2, 534.

² Conf. Askitun (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. Artinga, Ertinga, 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. *erta*. *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 = Askinga' and 'Istaevones = Artinga'.

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*,¹ *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. *Iormunrekr*, where the *u* agrees with that in the national name *Hermundur*; OHG. *Irmandegan*, *Irmandeo*, *Irmanperaht*, *Irmanfrit*, *Irminolt*, *Irmandrut*, *Irmangart*, *Irmansuint*, &c. Attention is claimed by the names of certain animals and plants: the ON. *Iormungandr* is a snake, and *Iormunrekr* 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 *Iarmin* is met with in deeds.

find written *geormenwyr̥t*, *geormenleḁ́f*. Authorities for *irmangot*, *irmandiot*, OS. *irminthiod*, *irminman*, *irmansul*, &c., &c., have been given above, p. 118. A villa *Irmenlo*, *i.e.*, a wood (in *illa silva scaras sexaginta*) is named in a deed of 855, Bondam's charterbook, p. 32. *silva Irminlo*, *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, *Eormenleaf* would be *Eormenes leaf*, like *Forneotes folme*, *Wuotanes wec*. *Irmandeo* then is much the same as *Gotadeo*, *Irmanr̥ih* as *Diotr̥ih*; and as *irmangot* means the great god, *irmandiot* the great people, *iormungrund* the great wide earth, so *irmansul* cannot mean more than the great pillar, the very sense caught by *Rudolf* in his translation *universalis columna* (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 *ty-*, *tír-* (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), *Eormenleaf* to *Eormenes leaf*, *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 hus* is more literal, the Goth. *gubhus* more abstract, yet both are used, as the OS. *regano giscapu* and *regangiscapu*, *metodo giscapu* and *metodgiscapu* 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 'canitur adhuc 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, Wodan, 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 apparet, aestimationem illorum utcumque probabilem, qui Saxones originem duxisse putant de Graecis, quia *Hirmin* vel *Hermes* graece *Mars* dicitur, quo vocabulo ad laudem vel ad vituperationem usque hodie etiam ignorantes utimur'. 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.¹ 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 *irminsul* (pp. 115—118), and the true form of this name must have been *Irmnes*, *Irmanes* or *Hirmines sâl*. 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 Wodan 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 *Irminsul* 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'.

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, Ermun, Iormun, this is far from probable, the word being derivative indeed, yet simple, not compound; we never find, in place of Ertag, dies Martis, any such form as Ermintac, Irminestac. On behalf of Mercury there would speak the accidental,¹ yet striking similarity of the name Irmansul or Hirmensul to 'Ερμης and ερμα = prop, stake, pole, pillar (p. 118), and that it was precisely Hermes's image or head that used to be set up on such ερματα, and further, that the Mid. Ages referred the irmen-pillars to Mercury (p. 116). In Hirmin the Saxons appear to have worshipped a *Wodan imaged as a warrior*.

If this view be well grounded, we have Wodan wedging himself into the ancient line of heroes; but the question is, whether *Irmin* is not to be regarded as a second birth or son of the god, whether even an ancestral hero *Irmino* is not to be distinguished from this god *Irmin*, 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*, *Isa* 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 *Ingaevones*, *Iscaevones*, *Herminones*, *Oescingas*, *Scilfingas*, *Ynglîngar* (for *Ingîngar*), *Volsungar*, *Skioldungar*, *Niflungar*,— as there were *Heracleidae* and *Pelopidae*, but no *Wodeningas* or *Thunoringas*, though *a Wôdening* and *a Kronides*. The Anglo-Saxons, with *Woden* always appearing at their head, would surely have borne the name of *Wodeningas*, 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

¹ To the Greek aspirate corresponds a Teutonic S, not H: *ὁ, ἡ sa, só*; *ἐπτά sibun*; *ἄλς salt*. [There are exceptions: *q, η, οι he, her, hig*; *ὅλος whole, hela*; *ἔλω haul, hollen*].

- A patronymic suffix is not necessary: the *Gautos*, *Gevissi*, *Suapa* take name from *Gauts*, *Gevis*, *Suap*, divine heroes.

entirely extinct in that part of Germany. Strodtmann has noted down the following phrases in Osnabrück: 'he ment, 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 wal to-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, Ravensberg and Munster, 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), *Ermeneswerethe* (Vita Meinwerci an. 1022. Leibn. 1, 551), = *Irmneswerid*, insula Irmini, as other gods have their isles or eas. This interpretation seems placed beyond a doubt by other such names of places.

Leibn. scr. 1, 9 and Eccard, Fr. or. 1, 883, De orig. Germ. 397

¹ Rommel's Hessen 1. p. 66 note. Westphalia (Minden 1820) i. 4, 52. The tune is given in Schumann's Musical. zeitung for 1836.

² Variants: mit stangen und prangen (which also means staves); mit hamer un tangen (tongs).

³ 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: 'un *Hermen* slaug dermen, slaug pipen, slaug trummen, de fürsten sind kummen met all eren mannen, hebt *Varus* uphangen'.

⁴ 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 *Irmneswagen* 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.² 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 Ælfred and Guthrun (Thorpe, p. 66), and 'andlang *Wætlinga* stræt' in Kemble 2, 250 (an. 944). Lye has *Irmingstræt* together with *Irmingsul*, both without references. The conjectural *Eormenstræt* would lead to an OHG. *Irmanstrâza*, and *Eormenesstræt* to *Irmanesstrâza*, 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:

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 *Watlingestrete*,
that onis was brente with the hete,
whan that the sunnis sonne the rede,
which hite Phaeton, wolde lede
algate his fathirs carte and gie.

In the Complaint of Scotland, p. 90, it is said of the comet: 'it aperis oft in the quhyt circle callit *circulus lacteus*, the quhilk the marynalis callis *Vatlanstreit*'. In Douglas's Virgil, p. 85:

² IIII cheminii *Watlingestrete*, Fosse, Hickenildestrete, *Ermingestrete* (Thorpe's Anc. laws, p. 192); conf. Henry of Hunt. (Erningestreet), Rob. of Glouc., Oxf. 1742, p. 299 (also Erning., after the preceding). Ranulph Highden's Polychr., ed. Oxon. p. 196. Leland's Itinerary, Oxf. 1744. 6, 108—140. Gibson in App. chron. Sax. p. 47. Camden's Britannia, ed. Gibson, Lond. 1753, p. lxxix. In the map to Lappenberg's Hist. of Engl., the direction of the four roads is indicated.

Of every sterne the twynkling notis he
 that in the still hevin move cours we se,
 Arthury's house, and Hyades betaikning rane,
Watlingestrete, the Horne and the Charlewane,
 the feirs Orion with his goldin glave.

Wætlinga is plainly a gen. pl.; who the Wætlings 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. Phaethon, 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 *netibut theben* (semita paleae); Pers. *rah kah keshan* (via stramen trahentis); Copt. *pimoit ende pitoh* (via straminis); Ethiop. *hasure zamanegade* (stipula viae); Arab. again *derb ettubenin* (path of the chopped-straw carriers); Turk. *saman ughrisi* (paleam rapiens, paleae fur); Armen. *hartacol* or *hartacogh* (paleae fur); all these names run upon scattered chaff, which a thief dropt in his flight. More simple is the Arabic *majerra* (tractus), *nahr al majerra* (lumen tractus), and the Roman conception of *path of the gods* or *to the gods*; also Iroq. *path of souls*, Turk. *hadjiler 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 Genoa's Catholicon (13th cent.); *camino di Santiago*, *chemin de saint Juques*, *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 *Jacobswech* together with the *via regia*. ON. *vetrarb, aut* (winterway). Welsh *caer Gwydion* (p. 100), and *Arianrod* (silver street? which comes near Argentoratum). Finn. *linnunrata* (birdway), Lith. *paukszczia kielés*, perhaps because souls and spirits flit in the shape of birds; Hung. *Hada-kuttya* (via belli), because the Hungarians in migrating from Asia followed this constellation (see Suppl.). *Vroneldenstraet* (p. 285) and *Pharaildis* fit intelligibly enough with *fruu Holda* and Herodias, whose airy voyages easily account for their giving a name to the milky way, the more so, as Wuotan, 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,¹ 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 possumus' 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 *Iringesstrâza* usque in praesens sit vocatus' (sit notatus in Pertz 8, 178).

In confirmation, AS. glosses collected by Junius (Symb. 372) give 'via secta: *Iringes uucc*,' from which Somner and Lye borrow their '*Iringes weg*, via secta'. Conf. via sexta *iringesuucc*, Haupts zeitschr. 5, 195. Unpubl. glosses of the Amplonian libr. at Erfurt (10-11th cent. bl. 14^a) have 'via secta: *Iuuaringes uueg*'; which Iuwaring agrees very remarkably with the later form Euring in *Euringsstrass*, Aventin 102^b 103^a.

¹ Conf. the differing but likewise old version, from a H. German district, in Goldast's Script. rer. Suev. pp. 1-3, where Swabians take the place of the Saxons. The Auersberg chron. (ed. Argent. 1609, pp. 146-8) copies Widukind. Ekehard, in Pertz 8, 176-8.

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 *Irnvrit* of Düringen and *Irine* of Tenemarke, 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 Hagene and Volker.

Add to all this, that the Vilk. saga cap. 360, though silent on Irnfried, tells of *Irungr's* last combat with Hogni, and makes him sink against a stone wall, which is still called *Irungrs veggr* in memory of the hero. The Norse redactor confounded *vegr* (via) with *veggr* (murus); his German source must have had *Iringes wec*, 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 wec 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 *wains*, we know, are pagan, and indicate god-myths. The Thuringian *Irnvrit*, 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 wec*, all would come right.

It does tell, however, in three or four places, of an *Iringes wec*. The names *Irine* and *Irmin*, apart from the alliteration which doubtless operated in the ancient lay, have nothing in common; the first has a long *î*,² and of themselves they cannot have represented

¹ As already quoted, Deutsch. heldens. p. 117.

² Or *iu*, as some roots shift from the fourth to the fifth vowel-series (like *hirat* and *hiurat*, now both *heirat* and *heurat*; or *tir* and *tyr*, p. 196), so *Iurine* (expanded into *Iuwarine*, as the OHG. poss. pron. *iur* into *iuwar*); so in the 16-17th cent. *Eiring* 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 *hevenring*, as the rainbow is called the ring of heaven. An old AS. name for Orion, *Eburðrung*, *Ebirðring*, seems somehow connected, especially with the *Iuuring* 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 *Irmansul* sufficiently shows. As the name of a place I find *Iringes pure* (burg), MB. 7, 47. 157. 138. 231. *Iringisperc* (berg) 29, 58.

Up to this point I have refrained from mentioning some Norse traditions, which have a manifest reference to the earthly heropath. 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.¹ 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 Olef about 860, a man of heathen sentiments alleged, '*Se in conventu deorum, qui ipsam terram possidere credebantur, et ab eis missum, ut haec regi et populis nunciaret: Vos, inquam,*² *nos vobis propitios diu habuistis, 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,*³ *et, quod magis nobis displicet, alienum deum 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*

¹ The venerable custom still prevailed in the 15-16th cent.: '*statuta provincialium generose confirmavit et sigillavit in equitatu qui dicitur Eriksgata,*' Diarium Vazstenense ad an. 1441 (ed. Benzell, Ups. 1721) p. 86. '*Rex Christoferus Sueciae et Daciae equitatum fecit qui dicitur Eriksgata secundum leges patriae,*' *ibid.* ad an. 1442. Even Gustavus Vasa rode his Eriksgata.

² For inquit, as elsewhere inquit for inquit.

³ Votum, what an individual offers, as opposed to the sacrificium presented publicly and jointly; *conf.* supra, p. 57.

habere desideratis, et nos vobis non suffieimus, *Ericum*, quondam regem vestrum, nos unanimes *in collegium nostrum asciseimus*,¹ 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.² This seems to exclude all later Erics from any claim to the Eriksgata; probably there were mixed up even then, at least in Rimbert’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 Irinc, Eiríkr, are enough to warn us off. Instead of Eriksgata we also meet with *Riksgata*, and this points decidedly to *Rígr*, the earthly name of the god Heimdallr, who in the Edda walks the *green roads* (grœnar brautir) of earth, to beget the three races of men. In the green earthly roads are mirrored the white and shining paths of heaven.³ Then the problem started on p. 234, whether the ON. form *Rígr* arose out of *Iríng* by aphæresis and syncope, now finds a solution approaching to certainty. Heimdallr dwells in Himinbiorg 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 Rígr = Iring, walking the earth and translated to the skies; now we comprehend, why there lived among the nations many a various tale of *Eriksgata*, *Iringesvecc*, *Iringesstráza*, and was shifted now to one and now to the other celestial phenomenon. Iring, through *Iuvaring*, borders on *Eburðrung* 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 Irminsûl 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 Hakon með heiðin goð’ (Hakonarmal).

² Dahlmann guesses it may be the Upsal Erik (d. 804).

³ Altd. blatter 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.

2. MARSO. GAMBARO. SUAPO.

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. 158^a 163^b, 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* varu,' MS. 1, 25^a, 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. *Iofur*, i.e. aper, boar, and *Ajo*: all the three names appear to be corrupt in Saxo Gram.

Ought we to assume for the Suevi, OIIG. Suâpâ, an eponymous hero *Suevo*, Suapo, and perhaps connect with him an old legend of a mountain? Pliny 4, 13 places in the land of the 'gens Ingaevonum, quae est prima Germaniae,' a certain '*Sevo* mons immensus' reaching to the Sinus Codanus; and Solinus, following him, says 22, 1: 'Mons *Sevo* ipse ingens . . . initium Germaniae facit, hunc Ingaevones tenent;' but Isidor (Orig. 10, 2) makes out of it: 'dicti autem Suevi putantur a monte *Suevo*, qui ab ortu initium Germaniae facit'. From this evidently is taken the account of the immigrating Swaben in the Lay of Anno 284: 'si sluogen iui gecelte (pitched their tents) ane dem berge *Suebo* (so several read for *Suedo*), dannin wurdin si geheizin Suabo'.¹ In the Low German psalms 57, 17 mons coagulatus is rendered 'berg *sucuo*t' 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 *Sefa* fioll (fells, mountains, of the Sevs) are mentioned in those very Helga-songs, one of which sings of *Svafaland*, king *Svafnir* and the valkyr *Scrava*. A *v* after *s* is frequently dropped, and the readings *Sevo*, *Suevo* can thus be reconciled. Suâpo then would be a counterpart to Etzel and Faîrguns (pp. 169, 172)? The AS. Sweppa, or rather Swæfdæg, can hardly be brought in here.

Tacitus's Vandilii 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 Vandilii, 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.

3. (HERCULES). (ULYSSES). ALCIS.

Clear and definite on the other hand are the historian's notices of another famous hero: Fuisse apud eos et *Herculem* memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt, Germ.

¹ Kaiserchr. 285: sin gecelt hiez er slahen dô ûf einiu bere der heizit *Swero*, von dem berge *Swero* sint sie alle geheizen Swäbo. For *Swero* read *Suevo* (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 adiiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem ejus referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico, sed obstitit oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo tentavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.* The Annals 2, 12 name a 'silva *Herculi* sacra,' between the Weser and Elbe in the land of the Cherusians; while the Pentinger 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-suli* (p. 115) more exact than *irmansul*, 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 *Cherusei* 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 Thôrr, 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 Sahsnót, Seaxneat, whom the formula of renunciation exalts by the side of Thunar and Wodan; 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 Sahsnót 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 Wodan'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 Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque; aram quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adjecto Laertae patris nomine, eodem loco olim repertam; Tac. Germ. 3.* In Odysseus people have seen Oðinn, in Asciburg Asburg; but if Woden stood for the god Mercury, it cannot here mean the hero, still less can Askiburg be traced to the ases, a purely Norse form, which in these regions would have been anses. When Tacitus makes Ulixes the founder of *Asciburg*, nothing is simpler than to suppose him to have been *Isco*, *Escio*, *Asko* (p. 350); and if it was *Isco* that set the Romans thinking of Ulixes, how it helps to establish the *sc* in *Iscaevones*! *Mannus* the father of *Isco* may have suggested *Laertes*, inasmuch as *λαός* people, and *λαος* 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 *δρῦς* and *πέτρη* stand together in the mythus,

not without meaning. As *liut* from *liotan*, *λαός* seems to come from the same root as *λαος*, *λαας*.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 *Alci*, if this plural of *Alcus* is the true form. It occurs to me, that one of *Oðin's* names is *Iállkr* (*Sæm.* 46^b 47^b), and *jolk* in the *Vermland* dialect means a boy.² This comes more home to us than the Samogitic *Algir* (*angelus est summorum deorum*, *Lasicz*, p. 47), towards which the dictionaries offer nothing but *alga*, reward. Utterly untrustworthy is any comparison with the Slav deities *Lel* 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

¹ "Ulixes = *Loki*, *Sn.* 78. For *Laertes*, whose name *Pott* 1, 222 explains as protector of the people, conf. *Ptolemy's* *Λακιβούργιον*." Extr. from *Suppl.*, vol. iii.

² *Almqvist*, *Svensk spraklara*, *Stockh.* 1840, p. 385^v.

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 *Woden*, 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 *Bældæg*, who were themselves accounted divine; but several other names can claim a place among the earliest heroes, e.g., *Sigegeát* and *Wodelgeát*¹ (both akin to the Gothic *Gáuts*), *Freáwine*, *Wusefreá*, *Sæfugcl*, *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 *Volsungasaga* sets out with Oðin's being the father of *Sigi*, but all particulars of the relationship are withheld; *Rerir* 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 Oðinn under the name of *Bolverkr* (OHG. *Palwurcho*?) became servant to the giant *Baugi*, in order to get at the divine drink, which the giant's brother *Suttungr* kept, guarded by his daughter *Gunnloo*; between her and the god took place sundry passages of love, dimly hinted at by *Sæmund* also 12^b 23^{a,b} 24^a, but we are nowhere told what heroes were begotten in the three nights that Oðinn passed with the giant's daughter. *Gunnloð* 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 *asynjor*. The Greeks also held that from the union of gods with titans' daughters might spring a hero, or even a god (like *Tyr*, 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. *Wuotilgôz* (*Zeitschr. f. d. alt.* 1, 577), conf. wüeteln above, p. 132, and *Wodel-beer*, p. 156 (see *Suppl.*).

² In *Boeth.* 38, 1 *Agamemnon* is styled *casere*, and *Ulysses* *cyning* [in the *Pref.*, *Riedgot*, *Falleric*, *Theodric* are *cyningas*, the emperor always *casere*]; in a doc. in *Kemble* 2, 304 *Eadred* is '*cyning and casere*'.

under his feet,¹ which the Danish king Frotho by fraud contrived to do. Can this *Froger* be the AS. Freoðegâr, Freðegar in the Wessex genealogy, who had Brond for father, Bældæg for grandfather, Woden for great-grandfather? The ON. table of lineage seems to mix up Friðegar with Froði, his adversary.² According to the Formali of the Edda, p. 15, and the Yngl. saga c. 9, Norway traced her eldest line of kings to *Sæmîngr*, the son of Oðinn by Skaði, previously the wife of Niorðr; some write *Semîngr*, which means pacificator, and would lead to Friðgeir again. Skaði was daughter to the iotunn Thiassi, and the Sigurðardrapa (-killing) calls Sigurðr Laðaiarl 'afspringr Thiassa,' (Th. progenies).—The Her-rauðssaga cap. 1 makes Hringr spring from *Gauti*, and him from Oðinn: this *Gautr* or *Gauti* (conf. Ing and Ingo, Irmin and Irmino), Goth. Gauts, OHG. Koz, AS. Geat, whether surname, son or ancestor of Oðinn, cannot belie his divinity (conf. p. 367); and his son Godwulf too, confounded by some with Folewalda (p. 165, last table), looks mythical. It is from *Gauts* that the Gautos (Koza, Γαυτοί) professed to be descended, these being other than the Guþans (Tac. Gothones, Γότθοι), but related to them nevertheless, for the Gothic genealogy starts with the same Gauts at the head of it.—Again, *Sigrlami* is called Oðin's son, Fornald. sog. 1, 413. But who can 'Bous (gen. Boi), Othini ex Rinda filius' be in Saxo Gram. 46? Possibly *Biar*, Biaf, Beav = Beowulf, to whom we are coming (see Suppl.).³

Another Oðinsson, *Skioldr*, is the famed ancestral hero of the Danes, from whom are derived all the Skioldungar (Sn. 146); he may have been most nearly related to the people of Schonen, as in the Fornm. sog. 5, 239 he is expressly called Skanunga goð (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 Lothar; *Skiold* 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 Froðheri stands yet farther away (Beda 2, 9 § 113).

³ Saxo 122 mentions one hero begotten by Thorr: *Haldanus Biarggrammus* 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 Rígsmaal *Danr*, and placed together with *Danpr*, Sæm. 106^b.

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 *Secáf*, and singularly makes them both ancestors of Oðinn. From *Secáf* descends *Sceldwa*, from him consecutively *Beaw*, *Taitva*, *Geát*, and after several more generations comes *Wóden* last. The ON. version of the lineage is in harmony with this; and even in the Gothic pedigree, which only begins with *Gáuts*, we may suppose a *Skáufs*, *Skildva*, *Taitva* to have preceded, to whom the OHG. names *Seoup*, *Scilto*, *Zeizo* would correspond.—None however is so interesting as *Sceldwa*'s son, the Anglo-Saxon *Beaw*, called by the Scandinavians *Biar*, *Biaf*, 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 *Skioldr*) a *Scefing*, *i.e.*, son of *Secáf*. *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. *Piawolf?*), 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.¹ Strange to say, the classical mythus (above, pp. 206, 249) makes this *Picus* 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 *Picus* (*Picumnus*) interwoven into the race of *Kronos*, *Zeus*, *Hermes* and *Ares*, the old Bohemian *Stracee* = *picus* into that of *Sitivrat*, *Kirt* and *Radigost*, as *Beowulf* is into that of *Geát* and *Woden*. 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 *Stracee* 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. *Secáf* (*i.e.*, *manipulus frumenti*) takes his name

¹ Can the name in Upper Germany for the *turdus* or *oriolus galbula*, *Birolf*, *Pirolf*, brother *Pirolf* (Frisch 1, 161), possibly stand for *Biewolf* (or *Biterolf*)? The Serbs call it *Urosh*, 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 *Scóf* 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 *Sceáf*. 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 *Skioldr* belongs obviously the name *Schiltunc* in the Tirol and Parzival,³ as the name *Schilbunc*, Nib. 88, 3, points to a race of *Scilpungá*, corresponding to the AS. *Scilfingas*, ON. *Scilfingar*, of whom Skelfir, Scilfe, Scilpi is to be regarded as the ancestor. This *Skelfir* the Fornald. sog. 2, 9 makes the father of *Skioldr*, so that the *Skilfinga* and *Skioldinga* ætt fall into one. Either Scelf is here confounded with Scef, or Scef must be altered to Scelf, but the frequent occurrence of the form Scaef, and its interpretation (from sheaf), seem alike to forbid this (see Suppl.).

As the *Skioldungar* descend from *Skioldr*, so do the *Giukungar* from *Giuki* = *Gibika*, *Kipicho*, 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

¹ Umborwesende? Beow. 92.

² The ship that brought Sceáf 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 Brunehildestein, lectulus Brunihilde, Kriemhiltenstein, Criemildespil (Heldensage p. 155); Krimhilte graben (Weisth. 1, 48); in loco Grimhiltaperg nominato (Juvavia p. 137); de Crimhilteperc, 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 *Gîselhere* *Gunthere's* younger brother, and the *Edda* never names him at all. The Law makes no mention of any brothers, and *Gîselher* the young has merely the name of his elder kinsman. *Gernot* (from *ger* = *gais*) and *Gîselher* 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, *c.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 *hagan* (*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 *Volsunga-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 *Oðinn* 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 *Fafnir* reminds us of $\Pi\upsilon\theta\omega\nu$ ⁵

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*, *Sæm.* 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 inscriptt. in *Gruter* lviii. 5: *Marti Segomoni sacrum* . . . in civitate *Sequanorum*; and ii. 2: *Diis 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 $\theta\eta\rho$, $\phi\eta\rho$); of our a standing for Greek υ there are more examples: *fnasu*, *blasu* = $\pi\nu\epsilon\nu\omega$, $\phi\lambda\nu\omega$.

whom Apollo overcame, and as Python guarded the Delphic oracle, the dying Fafnir prophesies.¹ We must take into account *Loðfáfnir* Sæm. 24, 30. Sinfiotli, 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 *Cnivida* in Jornandes cap. 22, perhaps the same as *Offa* and *Cnebba* 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* (Gauts), 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 *Geát*, Wodelgeat, Sigegeat (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 *Thcodericus*. 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 *wulf*, 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, Vuldulf, and Hermenrich. Of the last we have just spoken, and Ansila means the divine ; our present concern is with *Ediulf* and *Vuldulf*. I find that Jornandes, cap. 54, ascribes to the Scyrians also two heroes *Edica* and *Vulf* ; the Rugian *Odoacer* has a father *Eticho* and a brother *Aonulf* ; and

¹ 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 *Sivard snaresvend* (fortis puer) of the Danish folk-song, who, riding on Grani, accompanies to Askereia (see ch. XXXI), and by *Svend Felling* or *Fälling* of the Danish folk-tale (Thiele 2, 64-7. Muller'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 Färling* or *Fotling* ; Arvidsson 1, 129. 415.

the legend on the origin of the Welfs has the proper names *Isenbart*, *Irmentrud*, *Welf* 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*, *Odacar*, 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 *Ermenrich*, in later sagas *Bicki* is counsellor to *Iormunrekr*; 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 hero-hood comes out in more than one feature, e.g., his fiery breath, and his taking the place of *Wuotan* or *Fro* (p. 213-4) at the head of the wild host, as *Dieterichbern* 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 *Hrungnir's* *hein* (stone wedge) remain in *Thor's* head, and as *Groa's* magic could not loosen 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

¹ *Simon Keza*, *chron. Hungaror.* 1, 11. 12. *Heinr. von Müglein* (in *Kovachich* p. 8); *conf. Deutsche heldensage* p. 164.

² Hence the proverb: *seint losnar hein i hofoi Thors.*

³ *Wedekind's Hermann duke of Saxony*, *Luneb.* 1817, p. 60. *Conf. the miles Billinc*, comes *Billingus* in docs. of 961-8 in *Höfers zeitschr.* 2, 239. 344, and the OHG. form *Billungus* in *Zeuss, Trad. wizenb.* pp. 274. 287. 305.

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 *Billunc* (Ried nos. 14. 21-3, A.D. 808. 821-2). If we take into account, that a dwarf *Billigr* occurs in the Edda, Sæm. 2^a 23^a, a hero *Pillunc* in Rol. 175, 1, and *Billunc* and Nidunc coupled together in the Renner 14126-647, the name acquires a respectable degree of importance (see Suppl.). The derivative *Billine* implies a simple bil or bili (lenitas, placiditas), from which directly [and not from our adj. billig, fair] are formed the OHG. names *Pilidrut*, *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 *ll* in *Billung* could be explained through *Biliung*. Just as *Oðinn* in Sæm. 46^b is called both *Bileygr* (mild-eyed) and *Baleygr* (of baleful eye), so in Saxo Gram. 130 a *Bilvisus* (æquus) stands opposed to *Bólvisus* (iniquus).

5. ORENTIL. WIELANT. MIMI. TELL, &c.

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 *Orendel* 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; *Orentil*, Trad. fuld. 2, 24. 2, 109 (Schannat 308); *Orendil* a Bavarian count (an. 843 in Eccard'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 Thor's head. Groa is busy conning her magic spell, when Thorr, to requite her for the approaching cure, imparts the welcome news, that in coming from Iotunheim in the North he has carried her husband the bold *Örvandill* in a basket on his back, and he is sure to be home soon; he adds by way of token, that as *Örvandil'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 *Örvandils-tâ*. But Groa in her joy at the tidings forgot her spell, so the stone in the god's head never got loose, Sn. 110-1. Groa, the growing, the grass-green, is equivalent to Breide, *i.e.*, Berhta (p. 272) the bright, it is only another part of his history that is related here: *Örvandill* must have set out on his travels again, and on this second adventure forfeited the toe which Thorr 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 *earendel*, 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 sôðfæsta sunnan leoma .
torht ofer tunglas, þu tîda gehwanc
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. *orentil* implies AS. *earendel*, and the two would demand ON. *aurvendill*, *eyrvendill*; but if we start with ON. *orvendill*, then AS. *earendel*, OHG. *erentil* 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^a) 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 *ôra*, *eáre* (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 Kerwentil (Schm. 2, 334) and Gerentil (Trad. fuld. 2, 106), and as *geir* (hasta) agrees better with or 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: *Eigil* 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* þorp; but I shall come back to *Eigil* 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 *Eigil* 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. *Vidigoia* (Vidugauja) of whom the Goths already sang, OHG. *Witugouwo* 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 Grœnasund where it is nine yards

¹ And so Uhland (On Thor, p. 47 seq.) expounds it: in Grôa he sees the growth of the crop, in Orvandill 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*, *Wedege* and *Mimvinc*.

deep (between Zealand, Falster and Moen); the Danish hero *Wate* in Gudrun is identical with him; the AS. *Waula* is placed toward Helsingen. 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*; *Wætlingestret* 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. *Volundr*, but in the Vilks. saga *Velint*, master of all smiths, and wedded to a swan-maiden *Hervor alvitr*. The rightful owner of the boat, which English tradition ascribes to *Wada*, seems to have been *Wieland*; the Vilks. 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, Vilks. saga cap. 24. *Witeche*, 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*,¹ and perhaps his likeness was set up or painted outside them; the ON. 'Volundar hus' 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: *Welantes gruoba* (pit), MB. 13, 59; *Wielantes heim*, MB. 28^a, 93 (an. 889); *Wielantis dorf*, MB. 29, 54 (an. 1246); *Wielantes tanna* (firs), MB. 28^b, 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. *Velandsurt* (-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^a, 'böckur ofnar *volundom*' are stragula artificiose contexta, and any artist might be called a *volundr* or *wielant*. A gorgeous coat of mail (*hrægel*, OHG. *hregil*) is in Beow. 904 *Wielandes geweorc*. Ælfred in Boeth. 2, 7 translates *fidelis*

¹ Juxta domum *Welandi* fabri, Ch. ad ann. 1262 in Lang's reg. 3, 181: conf. Haupts zeitschr. 2, 248. I find also *Witigo* faber, MB. 7, 122.

ossa Fabricii ‘ þæs wisan goldsmiðes bân *Welondes*’ (metrically: *Welandes* bân); evidently the idea of faber which lay in Fabricius brought to his mind the similar meaning of the Teutonic name, *Weland* being a cunning smith in general. For the name itself appears to contain the ON. vél = viel (ars, τέχνη, OHG. list), Gramm. 1, 462, and smiðvelar meant artes fabriles; the AS. form is wíl, or better wil, Engl. wile, Fr. guile; the OHG. wiol, wiel (with broken vowel) is no longer to be found. But further, we must presuppose a verb wielan, AS. welan (fabrefacere), whose pres. part. wielant, weland, exactly forms our proper name, on a par with wígant, 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 heilant (healer, saviour). The OFr. *Galans* (Heldens. 42) seems to favour the ON. form *Volundr* [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 Hephæstus, Erichthonius and Dædalus. As *Weland* offers violence to *Beadohild* (*Völundr* to *Böðvildr*), so Hephæstus lays a snare for *Athene*, when she comes to order weapons of him; both Hephæstus and *Volundr* are punished with lameness, Erichthonius too is lame, and therefore invents the four-horse chariot, as *Volundr* does the boat and wings. One with Erichthonius are the later *Erechtheus* 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 *Δαιδαλος*¹ is *δαίδαλος*, *δαίδαλος*, cunningly wrought, *δαίδαλμα* (like *ἄγαλμα*) a work of art, and *δαιδάλλειν* the same as our lost *wielan*. As our *list* [like the Engl. cunning and craft] has degenerated from its original sense of scientia to that of calliditas and fraus, and *vel* 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

¹ A reduplication like *παίπαλος*, *παιπαλόεις* tortus, arduus, *παιπάλλειν* torquere; conf. *λαίλαψ*, *μαίμαξ*, &c.

whom not only is Velint instructed in his art, but Sigfrit 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 *Mîma*, *Mîmidrût*, *Mîmihilt* are women's names (Trad. fuld. 489. Cod. lauresh. 211); the old name of Münster in Westphalia was *Mîmigardiford*, *Mîmigerneford* (Indices to Pertz 1. 2), conf. *Mîmigerdeford* in Riechthofen 335; the Westphalian Minden was originally *Mîmidun* (Pertz 1, 368), and Memleben on the Unstrut *Mîmleba*. 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 *Mimingus*, 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 vidugauja (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 Oðinn 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. 4^a. Sn. 17); this accounts for Oðinn 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 Oðinn spake his spells over the head, that it decayed not, nor ceased to utter speech; and Oðinn holds conversation with it, whenever he needs advice, conf. Yngl. saga cap. 7, and Sæm. 8^a 195^b. I do not exactly know whom the Voluspa means by *Mîmis synir* (sons), Sæm. 8^a; *Mîmameidr* 109^a 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 *Mimring tand*.

on them. Swedish folk-song has not yet forgotten *Mimes* å (Arvidsson 2, 316-7), and in Konga härad and Tingas socken in Smaland there lies a *Mimes* sjo, 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 *memor* and Gr. *μυμεομαι* allows us to bring in the giant and centaur *Mímas*, *i.e.*, the wood-sprite again (see Suppl.).

According to the Edda (Sæm. 133), Völundr had two brothers Slagfiðr and Egill, all three 'synir Finnakonungs,' 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 Folwaldansunu on p. 219? Slagfiðr might seem = Slagfinnr, but is better explained as Slagfiðr (flap-wing, see ch. XVI, Walachuriun). All three brothers married valkyrs, and *Egill*, the one that chiefly concerns us here, took Orlun (Alioruna). The Vilks. saga, cap. 27, likewise calls Velint's younger brother *Egill*: 'ok þenna kalla menn *Olrunar Egil*,¹ but the bride is not otherwise alluded to; this form *Egill* agrees with the OHG. *Egil* on p. 376, not with the ON. *Egill*, dat. *Agli*, for the dat. of *Egill* would have been *Eigli*. Well, this *Egill* 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 *Egill* 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 *Egill*, that *Toko*

¹ Peringskiöld translates 'Egillus sagittarius,' and Rafn 'Egil den träf-fende,' but this was merely guessed from the incidents of the story. Arrow is not öl, but or; Orentil on the contrary, *Egill*'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 *Iomsvíkinga* saga, relate the deeds of this *Pálnatóki*, 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 (†1050), 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. sog.* 2, 272). Just so king Haraldr Sigurðarson (*Harðraða*, † 1066) measured himself against an archer Hemíngr, and bade him shoot a hazelnut off his Biorn's head, and Hemíngr accomplished the feat (*Müller's sagabibl.* 3, 359. *Thattr 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 Toko; 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.¹ 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

¹ Schleswigholst. prov. berichte 1798, vol. 2, p. 39 seq. Müllenhof, Schleswigholst sagen no. 66.

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 Malleus 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 experientiam capere voluisset, eidem *proprium filium parvulum ad metam posuit, et pro signo super birretum pueri denarium, sibi mandavit, ut denarium sine birreto per sagittam amoveret.* Cum autem maleficus id se facturum sed cum difficultate assereret, libentius 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 nocumento excussit.* Quo viso, dum ille maleficum interrogasset, ‘cur sagittam collari imposuisset?’ respondit, ‘si deceptus per diabolum puerum occidisset, cum me mori necesse fuisset, subito *cum sagitta altera vos transfixissem, ut vel sic mortem meam vindicasset.*’ 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 jussu, saeve tyranne, 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 († 1499) 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.).¹

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 *avaro* 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 avatars, as in these

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 hero-hood 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 (Taunasem 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.¹ This *capitis deminutio* of the gods brought

¹ In the AS. Ethelwerd p. 833 we read: ‘Hengest et Horsa, hi nepotes fuere *Woddan* 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 Malmesbury’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 Oðinn, then Niorðr and Freyr interweave themselves: Niorðr and Hadding seem identical, as do Heimdall and Rîgr, but in Niorðr and Heimdall the god is made prominent, in Hadding and Rîgr the hero. Irmin appears connected with Wuotan and Zio, just as Ares and Herakles approach each other, and Odysseus resembles Hermes. Baldr is conceived of as divine, Bældæg 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 incarnatione Domini regnasse invenitur *quidam Mercurius* in Gottlandia insula, quae est inter Daciam et Russiam 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 Oðinn 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 tempestate cum *Othinus quidam*, Europa tota, *falso 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 wilful 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 Oðinn (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 *πειθότες βίηφι* (Il. 12, 256), were yet far from setting themselves up for gods. Similar to the stories of *Nebucadnezar* (er wolte selbe sin ein got, would himself be god, Parz. 102, 7. Barl. 60, 35), of *Kosroes* (Massmann on Eracl. p. 502), of the Greek *Salmoneus* (conf. N. Cap. 146), and the Byzantine *Eraclius*, was our Mid. Age story of *Imelot* aus wüester Babilonie, 'der wolde selve wesen got' (Kother 2568) = *Nibelot* ze Barise 'der machet himele guldin, selber wolt er got sin' (Lit. 299), just as Salmoneus imitated the lightning and thunder of Zeus. Imelot and Nibelot here seem to mean the same thing, as do elsewhere Imelunge and Nibelunge (Heldens. 162); I do not know what allusion there might be in it to a Nibelunc or Amelunc (see Suppl.).

an echo of Baldr and Freyr, perhaps of Oðinn, in Dietrich of Thôrr 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 Geat, Sceaf, Sceldwa, 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 'mehercle' 'mecastor! ecastor! 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 Valholl feast on the boiled flesh of the boar Sæhrímnir, and drink with the Ases; it is never said that the Ases shared in the food, Sæm. 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 Sigurðr strode through the full-grown field of corn, the dew-shoe¹ of his seven-span sword was even with the upright ears (Vols. saga cap. 22. Vilks. 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 Hama, 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,² did he adopt its name (Vilks. 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. lxxiv); 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). Starkaðr, 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: *átta handa*, Fornald. sog. 1, 412. 3, 37. In the Swedish folk-song of Alf, originally heathen, there is a hero Torgnejer (roaring like thunder?), 'han hade *otta* hander (Arvidss. 1, 12).³ 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); Pegam too in the Carniolan lay has three heads (*tri glave*).—*Deficiency of members* is to be found in heroes as well as gods: Oðinn is one-eyed, Týr one-handed, Loki (=Hephæstus?) lame, Hoðr blind, and Viðar dumb;⁴

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, toudregil. 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. cciv). 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 scho over de vote dragen und 2 hode up den kop hebben!' Heinreichs chron., Tondern 1819; 2, 341. It may however refer merely to costume.

⁴ Goth. háihis, hanfs, halts, blinds, dumbis.

so is Hagano one-eyed, Walthari one-handed, Gunthari and Wielant 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.* 142^a, *Hiorvarðr* and *Sigurlinn* have a tall handsome son, but ‘*hann var þogull, 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. *Starkaðr* too was þogull in his youth (*Fornald. sog.* 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 *Iliya* in the Russian tales. Our nursery-tales take up the character as *äscherling*, *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 *Dobrunä Nikititch*, and the Scotch *Macduff*. But *Volsungr* 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 (*Volsungas.* cap. 2. 5). An obscure

¹ These remarkable vitæ *Offae primi et secundi* are printed after *Watts's Matth.* Paris, pp. 8, 9.

passage in Fâfnismâl (Sæm. 187^a) seems to designate Sigurðr also an *oborinn*; and in one as difficult (Beow. 92), may not the 'umborwesende' which I took in a different sense on p. 370, stand for *unbor-wesende*, to intimate that Sceaf passed for an unborn? The Landnamabok 4, 4 has an Uni hinn *oborni* (m.), and 1, 10 an Ulfrun in *oborna* (f.); for wise-women, prophetesses, also come into the world the same way.¹ 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 cæsarian operation, brought to maturity in the stomachs of newly slaughtered swine.² As early as the tenth century, Eckhart of St. Gall informs us: *Infans excisus et arvine 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 defunctae 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 'Hloðr 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. Schroter'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 fornsanger 2, 254-6). Here

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. *Froði's* reign in Denmark was a period of bliss ; in the year of *Hakon'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.* 149^a.

Sigurð's walk and manner of appearing was impetuous, like that of a god ; when he first approached the burg of Brynhildr, 'iorð dusaði ok opphimin,' earth shook and heaven, *Sæm.* 241^b ; and of Brynhild's laughing, as of that of the gods (p. 324), we are told : 'hlo, bæer allr dundi,' she laughed and all the castle dinned, *Sæm.* 208^a. 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 sîn atem 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 *Dieterich* (like *Romulus* and *Remus*) together with her four blind whelps, hence his name of *Wolfdieterich*. 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 *mare* (*kobila*), *Vuk* 2, 101 ; does that throw light on the *OHG.* term of abuse *merihunsun, zagunsun* (*RA.* 643) ? A like offensive meaning lurked in the Latin *lupa*.¹ 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 *krilát* (winged), being in possession of *kriilo* 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 í auga*. 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.¹ Theophanes expressly declares, that the Merovings were called *κριστάται* and *τριχοραχάται*, because all the kings of that house had bristles down the backbone (*ραχίς*), like swine. We still find in Rol. 273, 29, where it is true they are enumerated among heathens,

di helde von *Meres* ;
 vil gewis sit ir des,
 daz niht kuoners mac sîn :
an dem rucke tragent si borsten sam swîn.

The derivation of the name is altogether unknown. Can it possibly have some connexion with the boar-worship of Fro, which may

¹ Fredegar's epitome (Bouquet 2, 396), and Conradus Ursperg., Arg. 1609, p. 92. Per contra, Müllenhoff in Haupt's zeitschr. 6, 432.

have been especially prevalent among the Franks? Lampr. Alex. 5368 also has: *sin hut was ime bevangen al mit swînes 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* (Il. 19, 400—421) finds a complete parallel in the beautiful Karling legend of *Bayard*; compare also Wilhelm's dialogue with *Puzzât* (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 Skîrnir talking with his horse (Sæm. 82^b); and Goðrun, after Sigurð's murder, with *Grani* (231^b):

hnipnaði Grani þâ, drap î gras höfði.

Well might Grani mourn, for the hero had bestridden him ever since he led him out of Hialprek's stable (180), had ridden him through the flames (202^a), 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 naïvely 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 (Rhesa p. 224). The Persian Rustem's fairy steed is well-known (see Suppl.).¹

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

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 Starkaðr is measured out a life that runs through several generations; the divinely honoured Goðmundr is said to have numbered near five hundred years, Fornald. sog. 1, 411. 412. 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 hinn gamli*, sprung from Kari and Jokull, is said to have attained 300 years, and *Hálfðan gamli* as many, Fornald. sög. 2, 8. The MHG. poem of Dietrich's ancestors (1869—2506) gives *Dietwart* and *Sigehar* 400 years of life each, *Wolfdieterich* 503, *Hugdieterich* 450, and *Dietmar* 340; Dietrich of Bern is the first that reaches only the ordinary limit, Otnit the son of Sigehar 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 (*αμνηνός*) among men:

ἐπεὶ οὐ βιοθάλμιος ἀνήρ
γίγνεται, ὅσπε θεαῖς εὐνάζεται ἀθανάτησι.

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 *dwelling*s are assigned them. Such abodes seem by preference to bear the name of *stone*, as Gibichenstein, Bruhildenstein, 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. *Sigehar* (OHG. Siguhari) is plainly the ON. *Sigarr*, from whom the Siglingar or Siklingar take their name; Sigehar's daughter is called *Sigelint*, Sigar's daughter *Signy*, but the two are identical. *Hugdieterich*, who in woman's clothing woos *Hildeburg*, is one with *Hagbarðr* (Sw. Habor, Dan. Haffbur), 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. *Sigeminne* too, the wife of Wolfdieterich, who in the Heldenbuch is the son of Hugdieterich, comes near to Signy. 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 (Iringes burc, Orendelsal), a few times *ca* 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 Irmansuli, 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 vanquisher of giants. *Æthelstân-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 Ostergotland, there stood erected in the marketplace, just where Roland-pillars do stand, the figure of a giant or hero, which the people called *Thore lang* (Thuro longus), and at which idolatry was practised in former times.¹ 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 Eticho the Welf, accompanied by twelve nobles, retires into a mountain in the Scherenzerwald, where no one could find him again (Deutsche

¹ Olaus Magnus 14, 15. Stjernhöök, De jure Sveon. vet., p. 326. Broocmans beskrifn. öfver Ostergotland, Norrköping 1760. 1, 190.

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 Har, Iafnhar 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.

CHAPTER XVI.

WISE WOMEN.

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: '*Fatidicæ, augescente superstitione deæ*' p. 95 (see Suppl.).

This Germanic *reverence for woman*, already emphasized by Tacitus, is markedly expressed in our old systems of law, especially the Alamannian 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 ere*,' by all women's honour, Wolfdiet. 104. Morolt 855. 888. 2834. Morolf 1542. Ecke 105. 117. 174. Roseng. 2037. MsH. 3, 200^a; 'durch *reiner (pure) frouwen ere*,' 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 schœner wibe*,' Ecke 61; 'durch *ander maget (other maids) ére*,' Gudr. 4863; 'durch *elliu wîp*,' in the name of all women, Parz. 13, 16; '*ére an mir elliu wîp*,' respect in me all women, Erec 957; '*eret an mir elliu wîp!*' says a woman in Parz. 88, 27, to ensure attention to her prayer; '*allen mciden tuot ez ze eren (do it in honour of)*,' Gudr. 1214, 3; '*ere und minne elliu wîp!*' is the injunction on giving a sword, Trist. 5032; '*tuon allez daz frouwen wille sî*,' do all that may be woman's will, Bit. 7132; '*als lieb iu alle frouwen sîn*,' as all women are dear to you, Laurin 984. Their worship was placed on a par with that of God: '*eret Got und diu wîp*,' Iw. 6054; 'durch *Got und durch der wibe lôn (guerdon)*' Wh. 381, 21; '*wart sô mit ritterschaft getân, dês Got sol danken und diu wîp*,' may God and the ladies requite it, Wh. 370, 5; '*dienen Got und alle frouwen éren*,' Ms. 2, 99^b; of Parzival it is even said: '*er getruwete wîben baz (better) dan Gotc*,' Parz. 370, 18. These modes of speech, this faith, can be traced up to a much earlier age, as in O. i. 5, 13: '*do sprah er erlîcho ubaral, so man zi frowun skal*'; and v. 8, 58: '*ni sît irbolgan wibe*' ye shall not bully a woman, Etzels hofhalt. 92-3; '*sprich wîben übel mit nihte*' says the poem 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. trûtin, trûtinna, 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 sach* (on-saw, looked at)
 die schœnen frowen Eniten,
 daz half (holp) im vaste strîten (fight hard). Er. 933.
 swenne mich *der muot iwer ermant* (the thought of you mans),

sô ist sigesælic (victorious) mîn hant :
 wand (for) iwer guote minne
 die sterkent mine sinne (nerve my senses),
 daz mir den vil langen tac (all the long day)
 niht wider gewesen mac (nought can vex). Er. 8867.
 diu da *gegenwurtic saz* (who there present sat),
 diu gehalf ir manne baz (she help her man better).
 ob im dehein zwivel (if ever a doubt) geschach,
 swenn (whenever) er si danne wider (again) *an sach*,
 ir schœne gap im niwe kraft (strength),
 so daz er unzagehaft (undismayed)
 sîne sterke wider gewan (his strength regained)
 und vaht (fought) als ein geruowet (rested) man. Er. 9171.
 der *gedane* (thinking) *an sîn schœne wîp*
 der kreftigete im den lîp (life, body). Er. 9229.
 swenne im diu muoze (opportunity) geschach
 daz er die maget (maid) reht *ersach*,
 daz gap ir gesellen (to her fellow, lover)
 Gawane manlich ellen (elan). Parz. 409, 13. 410, 5.
 nu *sach* er daz si umb in was in sorgen (in fear for him),
 alrest er niuwe kraft enpfant (felt). Lohengr. p. 54-5.
 den Heiden *minne* nie verdroz (never wearied),
 des (therefore) was sîn herze in strîte groz. Parz. 740, 7.
 ern welle (if he do not) *an minne denken*,
 sone mag er niht entwenken (cannot escape). Parz. 740, 15.
 wes sumest (wherefore delayest) du dich, Parzival,
 daz du *an die kînschen* lichtgemal (pure-one so bright)
 niht *denkest*, ich mein dîn wîp,
 wiltu behalten (save) hie den lîp? Parz. 742, 27.
 der getoufte nam (the christian gained) an kreften zuo,
 er *dâht* (thought), des was im niht ze fruo (none too soon),
an sîn wîp die küniginne
 unt an ir werden (worthy) minne. Parz. 743, 23.
 swa ich sider (after) kom in not (difficulty),
 ze hant so ich (the moment I) *an si dâhte*,
 ir minne helfe brahte. Parz. 768, 27.
 müede was ir beder lîp (weary were both their lodies),
 niuwan daz sie (had they not) *dâhten an diu wîp*
 sie wæren bedesant gelegen (both together fallen). Alt.bl. 1,340.

In the *Carmen de Phyllide et Flora* it is said 31, 4: ‘*Ille me commemorat 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: ‘*sva var oc um hans menn, hvar sem þeir urðu í nauðum staddir, a sia eða a landi, þa kölluðu þeir a nafn hans, oc þóttiz iafnan fa af því fro,*’ so 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 Hrungnir became intolerable to the Ases, ‘*þa nefna þeir Thor, því næst kom Thorr í hollina,*’ Sn. 108. Kraka, a semi-divine being, admonished Erich: *si suprema necessitatis violentia postularet, nominis sui nuncupatione remedium celerius esse quaerendum, affirmans se divina partim virtute subnixam et quasi consortem coelitus insitam numinis 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 complications 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. *spakr*, OHG. *spahi*, prudens), Scot. *spae wife*, MHG. *wîsiu wîp*, Nib. 1473. 3. 1483, 4 (see Suppl.).

1. ITIS, IDES (Dîs).

But I will first take an older word, which appears to me to yield

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’.

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 Cherusians *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 *idisi* before us in full action:

sumâ hapt heptidun, sumâ heri lezidun,
 suma clubodun umbi cuniowidi;

Some put a check (on the fighting), as we read in Renner 20132:

dez muoz (therefore must) ich *heften* einen *haft*
 an dirre materie an mînen danc (against my will),
 wan ich fürhte (for I fear) sie werde ze lanc.

Others letted the host (hinder, make late, Goth. *hari latidedun*); 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, *Hlock* = OHG. *Hlancha*, *i.e.*, *catena*, and *Herfiötr* = OHG. *Herifezzara*, *exercitum vinciens*. But it must have been as much in their power to set free and help on, as to shackle and hamper. Compounded with *itis* we have the female names *Itisपुरuc* (Meichelb. no. 162), *Itisburg* (Trad. fuld. Schannat 181), *Idisburg* (Lacombl. no. 87), and *Itislant* (Graff 1, 159); which, like *Hiltipure*, *Sigipure*, *Sigilant* (MB. 14, 362), are proper to such women of our olden time (see Suppl.).²

¹ Freolicu meowle = *ides*, Cod. exon. 479, 2. 'Weras and *idesa*,' or 'eorlas 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. *dís* pl. *dísir*; similar instances of aphæresis are the Rigr for Iring on p. 234, and Sangrim, Singrim for Isangrim, Isingrim (Reinh. ccviii). Any remaining doubt disappears on comparing the Eddic '*dís* Skioldunga,' Sæm. 169^a 209^a with the AS. '*ides* Scildinga,' Beow. 2337. The Norse *dísir* likewise are sometimes kind protecting beings, sometimes hostile and hindering, Sæm. 185^a 195^a 254^b 273^a. An instance of the latter sort is found in the story of Thiðrandi, whom *dísir* destroyed, 'thann er sagt at *dísir* vaegi,' quem deas interfecisse dicunt (Nialss. cap. 97), though the full narrative (Formn. sog. 2, 195) calls them simply *konur*, women; so *Spádísir*, nymphae vaticinantes, Vols. saga cap. 19, means just the same as *spákonur*; and the phrase 'ecki eru allar *dísir* dauðar enn' in Alfs saga cap. 15, means in the most general sense, all good spirits are not dead yet; 'yðr munu dauðar *dísir* allar,' to you all spirits are dead, Fornald. sog. 2, 47. But the Norse people worshipped them, and offered them sacrifice: the mention of *dísablót* is very frequent, Egilss. cap. 44 p. 205; Vigagl. saga cap. 6 p. 30; 'blota kumla *dísir*,' deabus tumulatis sacrificare, Egilss. p. 207. This passage implies a connexion between *dísir* and ghosts, departed spirits, whose reappearance portends something: '*konor* hugðak *dauðar* koma í nott,' dead women, *i.e.*, *dísir*, come at night, Sæm. 254^a. Herjans *dís* (Sæm. 213^b) is nympha Odini, a maiden dwelling at Valholl in the service of Oðinn; *dís* Skioldunga (Sæm. 169^a 209^a), divine maid sprung from the Skioldung stock, is an epithet both of Sigrun and of Brynhild, conf. AS. *ides* Scyldinga, *ides* Helminga, Beow. 1234. But Freyja herself is called *Vanadís*, nympha Vanorum, Sn. 37; and another goddess, Skaði *ondurdís* (walking in wooden shoes), Sn. 28, which is equivalent to *ondurguð*. Several proper names of women are compounded with *dís*: Thordís, Hiordís, Asdís, Vigdís, Halldís, Freydís (to which might have corresponded an OHG. *Donaritis*, &c.): they prove the pretty high antiquity of the monosyllabic form *dís*, which even in the Edda invariably alliterates with D. With the original form *idis* the

compare Magadaburg with Idisaburg, Idisoburg, and Islant with Itisland, Itisolant. The Frankish Dispargum 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.).

2. VELEDA. GANNA. ALARÛN.

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*.¹ She lives on a *tower*, like *Jetha* (p. 96) and *Brynhildr* (Vols. 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. 4^b 5^a the *Vala*, after whom the famous lay *Voluspa* is named, is also called *Heiðr* and *Gullveig*; and as our female names *Adalheid*, *Alpheid*, &c., are formed with *-heid*, Finn Magnusen p. 416^b 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 á vett sem völr*,' *pulsare aedes sicut fatidicae*, Sæm. 63^a, 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. 21^a we are warned not to trust the wheedling words of *valas*, '*volo vilnæli trui 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 *Wolfdieterich* 514 '*die wilde waldin*' and 735 '*diu übel walledein*'; but this seems a corruption of *valandinne*, she-devil.

there met him in the land of the Cheruscaus a superhuman female, *γυνή τις μείζων ἢ 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).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 *aliorumnas* (al. alyrumnas, aliorunas, aliuruncas) 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 vidissent, et earum se complexibus in coitu miscuissent, genus hoc ferocissimum edidere.' Many names of women are formed with *-rûn*, *-runa* (Gramm. 2, 517), and OHG. documents even offer, though sparingly, *Alarun Alerûna*, 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 *Ölrûn*, Sæm. 133-4, belongs precisely to a *wise-woman*; and *alrûna* (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: *Mulier Druidas* eunti exclamavit Gallico sermone, 'vadas, nec victoriam speres, nec te militi 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, Hartung) *obvia femina* hac voce compellat:

Seu pede rura teras, seu ponto carbasa tendas,
infestos patiere deos, totumque per orbem
propositis inimica tuis elementa videbis.

² It throws some light on the meaning of *-run*, that in AS. also *burgrûna* or *burgrunan* stands for *parcae* and *furia* (Lye sub v., and Gl. epinal. 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^a. 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 *verða* (*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 *Vaurþs*, *Vairðandei*, *Skulds*, an OHG. *Wurt*, *Werdandi*, *Scult*, and so on, must have been known once as personal beings; in the OS.

¹ Nürnberg (*mons Noricus*) has nothing to do with it, it is no very old town either (in Bohmers regest. first in 1050, no. 1607; conf. MB. 29, 102). In the fields at Dauernheim near Nidda is a well called *Nornborn*, *Nornborn*, 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*; 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 *hniosa* stands opposed.

- '*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, *praesens*, 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,' 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* *ordiat*, *alteram* quae *contexat*, *tertiam* quae *rumpat*'.

and AS. poetry we are able to lay our finger on the personality of the first norn: 'thiu *Wurdh* is at handun' says the *Heliand* 146, 2, just as 'dod is at hendi,' 92, 2: the Fate, or death, stands so near, that she can grasp with her hand¹ the man who is fallen due to her; we should say just as concretely 'is at hand, is at the door'. Again: 'thiu *Wurth* nâhida 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, '*wewurt* skihit,' or perhaps separately 'we! *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*² gewaf,' *parca hoc mihi texuit*, *Cod. exon.* 355; '*Wyrd* oft nereð unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen deah,' *parca saepe servat virum, donec virtus ejus viget* (*ellan taoc, Hildeb.*), *Beow.* 1139; 'him wæs *Wyrd* ungemete neah, se þone gomelan gretan sceolde, secean sawlehord, sundur gedælan lif wið lice,' 4836 (so, 'deað ungemete neah' 5453); 'swa him *Wyrd* ne gescraf,' *ita ei fatum non ordinavit, decrevit*, *Beow.* 5145. *El.* 1047. *conf. Boeth. ed. Rawl.* p. 151; 'ealle *Wyrd* forsweop,'³ swept all away, *Beow.* 5624; 'hie seo *Wyrd* beswâc, forlêole and forlærde,' *eos parca decepit, allexit, seduxit*, *Andr.* 613; 'us seo *Wyrd* sceðeð,' *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: *gretan* (*excitare*, OHG. *cruczan*), *scrîfan* (*ordinare*, OHG. *scrîpan*),⁴ *wefan* (*texere*, OHG. *wepan*), *beswîcan* (*decipere*, OHG. *pisuîchan*), *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

¹ MHG. 'er hât den tût an der hant,' *Reinh.* 1480. 1806. *Nib.* 1480, 4. *Morolt.* 29^b. *Diétr.* 29^a. *Pf. Chvonrat* 3860. *Karl* 52^a.

² With D, not Th, because the pret. of *weorðan* is *wearð*, pl. *wurdon*, which supports the derivation I proposed; so the OHG. *Wurt*, because *werdan* has pret. pl. *wurtum*.

³ So I read for the 'forsweof' of the editions, *conf. forswapen*, *Cædm.* 25, 9.

⁴ *Conf. note to Elene* p. 161, on a similar use of the MHG. *scriben*, and *Klausen* in *Zeitschr. für alterth.* 1840 p. 226 on the Roman notion of the *Parcae* keeping a *written record*. *N. Cap.* 50. 55 renders *parca* by *brievura*, 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 verhangnis schreiberinnen'.

third, *Skuld*, OIIG. *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, verhangnis (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 Hollinshed; they are also in Douglas's Virgil 80, 48, and the Complaynt of Scotland (written 1548) mentions, among other fabulous stories, that 'of the *thre weïrdystirs*' (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 *weïrd 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 norms issue; it is also '*Urðar orð*,' word (Sæm. 112^a) that is chiefly spoken of, and once '*grimmar urðir*' dira fata, is used impersonally, Sæm. 216^b.—These three virgins allot to every man his term of life, '*skapu monnum aldr; skop i ardaga* (year-days),' Sn. 18. Sæm. 181^a. I have elsewhere (RA. 750) shown the technical pertinence of the term *skapu* to the judicial office of the norms,⁴ to whom for the same reason are ascribed *domr* and

¹ Fornald. sög. 1, 32 *Skuld*, daughter of an álfkona; also in Saxo Gram. p. 31, *Sculda*, n. prop.

² Conf. Jamieson sub v. *weird* (weerd, weard). Chaucer already substitutes *fatal sustrin* for weirdsystems (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 *waywarden*, in which the warden suggests the Dan. vorren, vorn (Gramm. 2, 675). What AS. form can there be at the bottom of it? [wá = woe is the usual etym.]

³ This *brunnr* deserves attention, for the wayfaring wives and fays of the Mid. Ages also appear habitually at fountains, as the muses and goddesses of song haunted 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. *wyrda gesceaft*, Cædm. 224, 6. *wyrda gesceapu*, Cod. exon. 420, 25. OS. *wurðhgiscapu* (decreta fati), Hel. 113, 7; and the OIIG. term *scep-hentá*, MIIG. *schepefe* (Ottoc. 119^b) and *scheper*; the poet, also a vates, was in

quidr, Sæm. 273^b; ‘*liotar nornir skôpo oss lînga þrâ,*’ dirae parcae creaverunt nobis longum moerorem 217^a; ‘*nornir heita þær er nauð skapa,*’ Skaldskaparmal p. 212.^a In the same sense ‘*nornir vîsa,*’ Sæm. 88^b, they give us to *wit* judgment, and are *wise*. Hence to them, as to judges, a *seat* is given: ‘*â norna stóli sat ek niu daga*’ 127^a. They approach every new born child, and utter his doom; at Helgi’s birth, it is said in Sæm. 149:

nôtt var í bæ, *nornir* qvâmo,
þær er oðlîngi *aldr* um *skopo* :
þann baðo fylki frægstan verða,
ok Buðlunga beztan þyckja.
snero þær af affli *örlögbátto*,
þâ er borgir braut í Brâlundi :
þær um *greiddo gullinsámo*,
ok und mânasal miðjan *festo*.
þær austr ok vestr enda falo,
þar atti lofðungr land a milli :
bra *nípt Nera* a norðrvega
einni *festi*. ey bað 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* (*þáttir* = *daht*, *docht*, = *simi*) 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. *scôp*, from the same root. The AS. word *metten* I connect with *metod* (creator, see p. 22). In Boëth. p. 101 (Rawlinson) a varia lectio has ‘þâ gramann *mettena*,’ the unkind fates; the ‘*metodo giscapu*’ in Hel. 66, 19. 67, 11 answer to those ‘*wyrða gesceapu*,’ and the gen. plurals ‘*metodo*, *wyrða*’ imply that not one creator, but several are spoken of. Vinfler calls them ‘*diernen*, die dem menschen *erteilen*,’ maids that dole out to man.

¹ Conf. *nípt Nera*, Egilssaga p. 440.

land ‘*rölvur*,’ who are called ‘*spákonur*,’ who foretold to men their fate, ‘*spaðu monnum aldr*’ or ‘*orlög*’. 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 burnin^g 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 nornin*,’ 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 *volva* 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 *volva*, *spákona* and *norn* are perfectly synonymous; as we saw before (p. 403) that the *volur* 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 norms, an evil one to the third. This third, consequently *Skuld*, is called ‘the youngest,’ they were of different ages therefore, *Urðr* 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 Aventure 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 invecunda dea,
vestibus elatis retro nimiumque rejectis,
poplite deflexo crure resedit humi,
una manus fenum, 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:

Haec, mea multotiens genitrix narrare solebat,
cujus me certe non meminisse pudet.

The Edda expressly teaches that there are *good* and *bad* norns (goðar 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. 273^a.

We see, throughout this Eddic description, things and persons are kept clearly apart. Destiny itself is called *orlog*, 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. *orlag*, 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*, *wurð*, *wyrd* to pale into a mere impersonal *urlac*.

In the same relation as *norn* to *orlog*, stands *parca* to *fatum* (from *fari*, like *qviðr* from *qveða qvað*, quoth), and also *αἴσα*, *μοῖρα* to *αναγκη* (*nauðr*) or *εἰμαρμενη*. 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 *fatum* 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 *volor*.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 *urlac*, fundamental law. The forms *urlouc*, *urliuge* have significantly been twisted round to the root *liugan*, *louc* (*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 OFr. poems call them, in addition to *fees*, *divesses* (Marie de Fr. 2, 385), *duesses* (Méon 4, 158. 165), *duesse* and *fée* (Wolf, *lais* 51); *puceles bien eurées* (Méon 3, 418), *franches puceles senées* (3, 419); *sapaudes* (wise-women, from *sapere*?), Marie de Fr. 2, 385. 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 Venus-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 *τα τρία φάτα* (supra p. 405, note) with the remark: *οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς μοῖρας νενομικασί καλεῖν.*¹ At that time therefore still neuter; but everywhere the number *three*, in norms, 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 serors*
 en aquella ora qu'ieu sui natz,
 que totz temps fos enamoratz.

Guilhdei. Poitou :

Assi fuy de nueitz *fadatz* sobr'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 kindermarchen (Dornroschen) it is *twelve wise women*, the *thirteenth* had been overlooked. So in the famed forest of

¹ Accordingly I do not derive *fata* from *φάρις* (speech), or *φάρις* spoken, though the Latin verb is of course the same word as *φημί*. Conf. Ducange sub v. *Fadus*, and Lobeck's *Aglaoph.* 816. *Fatuus* and *fatua* are also connected.

- Lersch in the *Bonner jrb.* 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 *norms*, and works of art fall into the background before the fulness of literature.

Brezeliande, 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 falls asleep in a meadow beside a fountain and a lime-tree, *three wayfaring wives* approach, and foretell the future. The OFr. romance of Guillaume 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 *parcae*, for whom the people of the house spread the table with three plates and three knives; conf. the 'praeparare mensas cum lapidibus vel epulis in domo'. In the watches of the night the fatuae 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 parcae*; 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 futa* in Gnerino meschino p. m. 223. 234—8; *Morganda fatata, fata Morgana, Morghe la fee* (Nouv. Renart 4810); 'diu frouwe de la rosche bise (black rock), die gesach nieman, er schiede dan vrô, riche unde wise,' whom none saw but he went away glad, rich and wise, Ben. 144. MsH. 1, 118^a. Monnier's Culte des esprits dans la Sequanie tells of a fee *Arie* in Franche-comte, 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 Berhta. 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 jeu composed in the latter half of the 13th century by Adam de la Halle of Arras (publ. in Theatre franç. au moyen age, Paris 1839, p. 55 seq.) gives a pretty full account of *dame Morgue et sa compaignie*. They are beautiful women (beles dames parees), 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: 'Suije li pire? peu me prisra qui estavli, ni avisa que toute seule a coutel faille'. *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 naront il nient;
bien doivent falir a don bel,
puisque jai fali a coutel
honne soit qui riens 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 vogues, 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^b:

zwô schepfer flâhten mir ein seil,
dâ bi 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 a 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 norms. The French editor wrongly understands coutel of a cloth spread for the fay; the passage in Burehard 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 Alrune, Ohun. 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 'norm,' as the ON. morni stands for morgni; but the norm 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.

(creating) 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 *Αἴσα*¹ that spins the thread for the newborn:

ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα

γεινομένῳ ἐπένησε λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ. Il. 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:

ἄσσα οἱ Αἴσα Κατακλώθές τε βαρείαι

γεινομένῳ νήσαντο λίνῳ, ὅτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.

'what Aisa and the Kataklothes unkind span'. Hesiod (*ἄσπ.* 258) makes three goddesses stand beside the combatants, *Κλωθώ*, *Λάχεσις*, "*Ἄτροπος*, the last small of stature, but eldest and most exalted of all. But in Theog. 218 he names them as

Κλωθῷ τε Λάχεσίν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον, αἵτε βροτοῖσιν

γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν 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 '*Ἀνάγκη* (necessity), on whose knees the spindle (*ἄτρακτος*) turns; they sit clothed in white and garlanded, singing the destiny, *Λαχέσις τα γεγονότα*, *Κλωθώ τα οντα*, *Ἄτροπος τὰ μέλλοντα*: just the same relation to past, present and future as the norms have, though the Greek proper names do not themselves express it. *Κλωθῷ* (formed like *Ἀυξώ*, *Θαλλώ*, *Λητώ*, *Μορμώ*, *Γοργώ*) spins (from *κλώδω* spin, twine), *Λαχέσις* allots (from *λαχεῖν*), "*Ἄτροπος*, the unturnable, cuts the thread. It must not be overlooked, that Hesiod sets up the last, *Ἄτροπος*, 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 praesentis temporis habet curam, quia quod torquetur in digitis, momenti*

¹ I think *αἴσα* is the OHG. *êra*, our *ehre*, for which we should expect a Gothic *aiza*, *aisa* (as *aistan* is *aestimare*): *era* = honor, decus, dignitas, what is fair and fitting, what is any one's due; *κατ' αἴσαν*, ex dignitate, to each his meed. If this etymology holds, we understand why *frau Ere* 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 Nornagestssaga bears a striking resemblance to that of Meleager, at whose birth three moirai 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 norms 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 *wearing*, 'Wyrð gewâf' (p. 406) ; and when it is said in Beow. 1386 : 'ac him Dryhten forgeaf wîgspeda gewiofu' (ei Dominus largitus est successuum bellicorum texturas), this is quite heathen phraseology, only putting God in the place of Wyrð. Gottfried (Trist. 4698), in describing Blicher of Steinach's purity of mind, expresses himself thus :

ich wæne, daz in *feinen*
ze wunder haben *gespunnen*
und haben in 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 norms : 'Mos erat antiquis, super

¹ The Hymn to Mercury 550-561 names individually some other *μοίραι*, still three in number, winged maidens dwelling on Parnassus, their heads besprinkled with white meal, who prophesy when they have eaten fresh divine food (*ἡδεΐαν ἐδώδην*) of honey. Otherwise they are called *θραιά*.

² Apollodorus i. 8, 2.

³ Altd. wb. 1, 107-8-9-10. Norske eventyr no. 13. Rob. Chambers p. 54-5. Müllenhoff's Schleswigh. s. p. 410. Pentamer. 4, 4.

⁴ Jul. Schmidt, Reichenfels p. 140.

futuris liberorum eventibus *parcarum* oracula consultare. Quo ritu Fridlevus Olavi filii fortunam exploraturus, nuncupatis solenniter votis, deorum aedes precabundus accedit, ubi introspecto *sacello*¹ *ternas* sedes totidem *nymphis* occupari cognoscit. Quarum *prima* indulgentioris animi liberalem puero formam, uberemque humani 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 cupiens, futuris pueri moribus parsimoniae crimen affixit.² Here they are called sisters, which I have found nowhere else in ON. authorities; and the third nymph is again the ill-natured 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 babes 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 *lemti* (ordinare, disponere). She runs barefooted over the hills (see ch. XVII, Watersprites). There is also mentioned a *Dehkla* (nursing-mother, from *deht* to suckle). A trinity of *parcae*, and their spinning a thread, are unknown to the Lettons; conf. Stender's Gramm. p. 264. Rhesas *dainos* pp. 272. 309. 310.—The Lithuanians do know a *Werpeya* (spinner). The *Ansland* for 1839, no. 278 has a pretty Lithuanian legend: The *dieves valditoyes* 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 woof, 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, rite rosli,
ze Bade stot e schlossli,
ze Bade stot e güldi hus,
es lüeged *drei Mareie* drus.
die eint spinnt side,

ride, ride a-cock horse,
at Baden stands a little castle,
at Baden stands a golden house,
there look three Marys out of it:
the one spins silk,

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 *urlac*, *urlouc* 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 eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus* declararent, utrum proelium 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. *wæl*, 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

die ander schnätzelt chride,
die drit schnit haberstrau.
bhüet mer Gott mis chindli au!

the other cards . . . ?
the third cuts oaten straw.
God keep my childie too!

Schnätzeln is, I suppose, to wind? [*snast* = wick? snood? In the *märchen* of the Goose-maid, *schmatzen* is apparently to comb]. The seventh line sometimes runs: *di dritte schneidit den faden* (cuts the thread). Conf. Vonbun p. 66. *Firnenich* 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, Sæm. 141^a. Conf. Gramm. 4, 608, and AS. *wig curon*, Crædm. 193, 9; MHG. *sige kieser*, Iw. 7069, *sig erkiesen*, Wh. 355, 15. So, *den tût kieser*.

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. 164^b; *vildi þik kiosa*, Sæm. 254^a.

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 *wælcyrrie* (*wælcyrge*, *wælcyrre*) 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 '*wælcyrigean eagan, gorgoneus*': this is translating the Greek idea into an AS. one; did the eyes of the *wælcyrigean* instil horror like the Gorgons' heads? I am quite safe in assuming an OHG. *walachuriâ* (*walachurra*); *valakusjo* 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. *valdoger*, which Hallager 140^b says is guardian-spirit. Again, they are called *skialdmeyjar*, *hialmmeyjar*, because they go forth armed, under shield and helmet (*vera und hialmi*, Sæm. 151^a 192^b); *nonnor Herjans*, nuns of Oðinn 4^b. The Edda bestows on the *valkyrja* the epithets: *hvít* 168^b, *hvit und hialmi* (*alba sub galea*) 145^b, *biört* 174^b, *sólbiört*, sunbright 167^b, *biartlituð* 142^a, *hialmvitr* 157^a, *gullvarið* 167^b, *margullin mær* 145^a, *alvitr* 164^a, 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. 250^b, 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. 167^b is named *suðræn* (*australis*), apparently in the sense of *biort*, *solbiort*? Again at 151^b, *ðisir suðrœnar* (see Suppl.).²

¹ Of *valr*, *wal* itself we might seek the root in *velja*, *valjan* (*eligere*), 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: '*Sigun diu sigehaft uf dem wal, da man welt imagede kiusche und ir sūeze*'. It is only in Dietr. 91^b and Rab. 536. 635. 811. 850. 923 that *welrecke* occurs; can it have any relationship to *walküre*?

² Oðinn has Frigg, the *valkyrjur* and the ravens in the waggon with him, Sn. 66. For *valkyrja* I also find the name *skörüngr*, derivable either from *skar superbia*, or *skari agmen*. *Brynhildr* is called in Vols. saga cap. 24 '*mestr skörüngr*' (see Suppl.).

One name is particularly attractive: *ôskmeyjar*, wish-maidens (Sæm. 212. Vols. saga cap. 2), given them, I think, because they are in Oðin's service, and Oðinn is called *Oski*, *Wunsc*. But there is something more: I find a confirmation of my opinion that Wuotan bore the name of *Wunsc* in his identity with *Mercury*, for Mercury carries the magic wand (caduceus), which is like our *wishing-rod*, OHG. *wunsciligerta* (-yerde, yard). The likeness will come out more distinctly from a closer inspection of the two rods, which is yet to come; but if Wuotan and *Wunsc*, Oðinn and *Oski* are one, we may suppose that the thorn, the sleeping-thorn, which Oðinn put into the dress of the valkyrja Brynhildr (Sæm. 192^a), 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* a la bonne dame; ¹ Dornroschen (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 walküre is a *wunsch-kint*, *Wunsch's kint*, pp. 139, 142 (see Suppl.).

The name *wunschelweib*, which lasted down to a late time, shall be produced hereafter; here I call up from the poem of the Staufenberg 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 hvít and biort above), sitting on a stone (line 224); she has *watched over him in danger and war from his youth up, she was about him unscen* (332—364); now she becomes his love, and is with him *whenever he wishes for her* (swenne du einest wunchest nach mir, so bin ich endelichen bi dir 474). By super-human power she moves swiftly whither she lists (war ich wil, da bin ich, den *wunsch* hat mir Got gegeben 497). Staufenberg, after being united to her in love, may do anything except take a wedded wife, else he will die in three days.

‘er *wünschte* nâch der frouwen sîn,
bi im so war diu schœne fin.’

¹ H. Schreiber pp. 20. 21.

² I like also Schreiber's derivation, pp. 65—67, of the name *Nehaea*, *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),¹ and pours out at the banquet of the Ases (at gildi Asa), Sn. 108. Exactly in the same way did *Gondul*, sitting on a stol í rioðrinu (in the niuriute, clearing), offer the comers *drink out of a horn* (Fornald. sog. 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 uttering predictions (Deutsche sagen, no. 541). Svend Falling 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 Falling 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 mountain-maids 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, 49.55. 3,44 (see Suppl.).

Still more to the purpose is the office of the valkyrs in war. Not only 'kiosa val, kiosa feigð,'² but 'raða vígum' or 'sigri,' therefore the deciding of battle and victory, is placed in their hands, Sn. 39. They are said to be 'gorvar (alert) at ríða grund,' 'gorvar

¹ So, in a Faröese song, *Valvrygv* (Finn Magn. lex. p. 805).

² The *taking possession of souls* at the moment of death by Oðinn 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 1235-44. 60.2—86, and Meon 1, 239. 4, 114-5; and a striking passage in the Morolt 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 ríða til goðþjóðar,' Sæm. 4^b. Rooted in their being is an irresistible *longing* for this warlike occupation; hence the Edda expresses their most characteristic passion by the verb 'þra' (desiderant), Sæm. 88^b, 'þraðo' (desiderabant) or 'fystoz' (eupiebant), 134^a: 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 151^a. This *nineness* is also found in the story of Thiðrandi (see p. 402), to whom nine dísir appear first in white raiment, then nine others in black. Sæm. 44-5, and after him Sn. 39, enumerate *thirteen* of them: *Hrist, Mist, Skeggöld, Skögul, Hildir, Thráðr, Hlöck, Herfiötr, Göll, Geirahöð* (al. Geirölu), *Randgríð, Rádgríð, Reginleif*; but Sæm. 4^b only *six*: *Skuld, Skögul, Gunnr, Hildir, Göndul, Geirskögul*.¹ The prose of Sn. 39 distinguishes *three* as strictly val-choosers and mistresses of victory: *Guðr, Rota* and *Skuld* 'norn en ýngzta'. The celebrated battle-weaving song of the Nialssaga names the following: *Hildir, Hiörprimul, Sangríðr* (l. Rangríðr), *Svipul, Gunnr, Gondul*; the Hakonarmal: *Gondol, Skogol, Geirskögol*; the Krákumâl (ed. Rafn, p. 121) only *Hlöck* and *Hildir*. 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 dís 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: skalf Mistar *marr* (tremuit Mistae equus), Sæm. 156^a; *margullin mær* (aureo equo vecta virgo), 145^a; when the steeds of the valkyrs shake themselves, dew drips from their manes into the valleys, and fertilizing hail falls on trees 145^{a,b}, with which compare the 'distillationes 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 *Verðandi* 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, *Hlock* and *Herfiotr*, have been claimed above (p. 401) as *idisi*, and interpreted as restrainers of the fight. In the *Kormakssaga* there also occurs *Hlokk* gen. *Hlakkar*, for *bellona*.

Hildir, *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, *Hildir* and *Gunnr* (= *Guðr*) got generalized into *hildir* and *gunnr* (*pugna*, *proelium*); of *bellona* was made *bellum*: '*hildir* hefir þu oss verit,' *bellona nobis fuisti*, *Sæm.* 164^b. 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 deað nimeð,' *Beow.* 889, *wig ealle fornam* 2154, *guðdeað fornam* 4494, *Wyrd fornam* 2411 (conf. OS. *Wurd farnimid*, *Hel.* 111, 11), *swyft fornam* 2872, *Wyrd for-sweop* (supra p. 406); conf. '*Hilde grap*' 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.* 160^a 246^a; elsewhere merely *vig vekja* (*bellum excitare*) 105^a. The valkyrs, like *Oðinn* (p. 147), are accompanied by *eagles* and *ravens*, who alight on the battlefield,¹ and the waging of war is poetically expressed as *ala gogl gunna systra* (*aves alere sororum belli*), *Sæm.* 160^a. The forms in OHG. were *Hiltia* and *Gundia* (*Gudea*), both found in the *Hild.* lied 6. 60, though already as mere common nouns; composite proper names have -*hilt*, -*gunt*.² The legend of *Hildir*, 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 *Gudrun*, where she is called *Hilde*.³—Lastly, *Thrúðr*, which likewise sinks into a mere appella-

¹ Andr. and El. p. xxvi. xxvii. Conf. Luke 17, 37: ὄπον τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται καὶ οἱ ἄετοί.

² The Trad. fuld., in Schannat no. 443, have preserved the name, well suited to a valkyr, of *Themarhilt* (from *dëmar*, *crepusculum*).

³ Deutsche heldensage p. 327 seq. Conf. supra p. 285, on *Hilde* and *Hildburg*.

tive *brúðr* virgo, and in OIIG. occurs in a great many female names (e.g. Alpdrud [Ælfþryð, Elfrida], Wolchandrud, Himildrud, Plíddrut, Plihdrut = Plectrud, Kerdrud = Gertrude, Mímidrud, Sigidrud, which naturally suggest ghostly beings), has assumed the general meaning of witch, sorceress, hobgoblin.¹ Hans Sachs several times uses 'alte *trute*' for old witch, and noisy children are quieted with the words: 'hush, the *drut* will come!' ² so that here she exactly fills the place of frau Holla or Berhta, and can the more appropriately be the ancient valkyr. An AS. wood-maiden, named *Dhryð*, comes up in the *Vita Offæ 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 9^a Drida, 9^b Petronilla, 15^b Qvendrida (i.e., *cwen Thryð*; conf. Kemble's preface to *Beow.* pp. xxxv. xxxvi, and Bäckstrom 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 *Svava*, *Sigrinn*, *Kara*, *Sigrún*, *Sigrdrífa*, who are expressly called valkyrjur, *Sæm.* 142^b 145^b 157, 169. 194. It also comes out, that they were of human origin, being daughters of kings, Svava of Eylimi, Sigrinn of Svafnir, Sigrun of Hogni, Kara of Halfdan, Sigrdrífa of Buðli; Svava was the lover of Helgi Hiorvarðsson, Sigrinn of Hiorvarðr, Sigrun of Helgi Hundingsbani, Kara of Helgi Haddingskaði, and Sigrdrífa, who is no other than Brynhildr, of Sigurðr. *Grímhildr* (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 Valeda and Jetha (pp. 95-6); it was a *schildburg* (skialdborg), where she herself, bound by the spell, slept under her shield, till Sigurðr released her. Then she prophesied to him, *Sæm.* 194^b, and before her death she prophesies again, 224. 226^b. Her hall was encircled with *flickering flame*, 'oc var um sal hennar vafrogi,' *Sn.* 139 (see Suppl.), as was also that of *Menglöð* (OHG. *Maniklata*, i.e., *monili laetabunda*), another valkyr: *salr er slunginn er vísom vafroga* (*Sæm.* 110^a, conf.

¹ Some people think Gerdrut, Gerdraut, an unchristian name. Frau *Trude* (*Kinderm.* 43).

² Flogel, *gesch. des groteskekom.* p. 23.

107^{a,b}). Before this Menglöd, nine virgins kneel, sit, and sing; sacrifice is offered to them all (111^a); conf. ch. XXXVI. Then *Vebiörg skialdmær* appears in Fornald. sög. 1, 384. And *vró 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 (Sigrun hlífði honom opt síðan í orrostom, Sæm. 142^b); this relation is technically expressed by *verja* (tueri 134^a); they hide their heroes' ships (Svava 145^{a,b}, Sigrun 153^b). The above-mentioned Hildir too, the daughter of king Hogni (Hagene), was Heðin's betrothed. The memory of these shield-maidens has filtered down even into modern folk-songs: in Arvidsson 1, 189, *Kerstin skoldmo* 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.).

Oðinn 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 Kara and her Helgi were looked upon as a *second birth* of Svava and the elder Helgi, Sæm. 148^b 169. In the Volundarqviða *three* other valkyrs make their appearance together: *Hlaðguðr svanhvít*, *Hervor alvitr*, and *Olrún*, the first two being daughters of king Loðver, the third of Kiar; they unite themselves to Slagfiðr, Volundr and Egill, live with them seven years, and then escape, 'at vitja víga,' 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 'Sigrun varð skammlíf,' she grew scant of life, Sæm. 169^a. Perhaps we should be right in assuming that promotion to the valkyrs office took place under an

obligation of *virginity*,¹ which again reminds one of the Amazons. At all events, when Óðinn was angry with Sigrdrífa for letting his favourite fall in battle,² he decreed that now she should be given in marriage, 'qvað hana giptaz scyldo,' Sæm. 194^a. Hlaðguðr, Hervör and Olrun had been carried off by the men forcibly and against their will (see Suppl.).³ All these female names are descriptive. *Ölrun* was discussed on p. 404. *Hlaðguðr* is literally bellona stravis; *Hervör*, like the kindred Gunnvör, alludes to hosts and battles, the adj. *alvitr* to the gift of prophecy, and *svanhvít* to the swan-shape. Saxo Gram. 22-3 names another *Svanhvita*, 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 Slagfinnr, though he is called a son of the Finnakonungr, but as *Slagfiðr* = alatus, pennatus, which goes better with Svanhvít his lover, and is supported by the OHG. word slagifedara, 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 norn 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 *únga*, as Skuld is in other places), that she was about to 'orlog drygja,' to dree a weird, Sæm. 133^a 134^a.

¹ Pompon. Mela 3, 8: 'Oraculi numinis Galliei antistites, *perpetua virginitate sanctae, numero novem esse traduntur. Gallicenas vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus praeditas maria ac ventos concitare, seque in quae velint animalia vertere, sanare quae apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et praedicare, sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent profectas [i. profectis ?]'. 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 Óðinn'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 Brynhild: 'hun sat i einni skemmu við meyrjar sínar, hun kunnir meira hagleik enn aðrar konur, hun lagði sinn borða með gulli, ok saumaði a þau stormerki, er Sigurðr hafði giort'. And in this chamber Sigurðr comes to her. I place beside this the opening lines of a Swedish song:

Sven Färling 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 *μοιραι* 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 *keres*, the wings of the *thriai*, point to their possession of a *bird's shape*. The later view [Hesiod's] brings into prominence the sinister side of the *keres*.

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*, ‘*rīða lopt ok log*,’ Sæm. 142^b 159^b; 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 Sturlungasaga contains a very similar narrative.

² Il. 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 hvílaz a sævarstrond'; one of them has even the surname of *svanhvit* (swanwhite), and wears swan's feathers (*svanfiaðrar dro*). In the *Hromundarsaga* (Fornald. sog. 2, 375-6), the same *Kara*, who the *Edda* says was a second birth of Svava, appears as an enchantress in *swan-shift*, (*fiolkyngiskona í alftarham*), 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, *Fridlevus* 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. sog. 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 hurtling 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 schwansfedern*' (so already in *Zesen's Simson*). Conf. the *Eddic* 'svanfiaðrar dro (wore)'.

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.¹ 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* ûf der fluot.

It is true, our epic names only two of them (the Danish story only one), the *wîsiu wîp*, *Hadbure* and *Sigelint*,² but one of them begins to prophesy, and their garments are described as 'wunderlich,' 1478, 3. The myth of Volundr 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*.³ 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.⁴ Especially impor-

¹ Musæus, 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.

³ Kinderm. no. 49. Deutsche sagen 2, 292-5. Adalb. Kuhn p. 164, the swan-chain.

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 *Swaneftügel*, decretorum doctor, decanus ecclesie 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 walküren, is a statement about them in Altd. bl. 1 128: 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 sulche 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*, *ælfet*, *alpt* (cygnus) is akin to the name of the ghostly alp, *ælf* (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,
wannehr 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-footed*² 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 Thruð is next door to a swan-maiden, and Staufenberger's lover likewise had such a foot.

³ The beautiful story of the Good Woman, publ. in Haupts 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 flourie, 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 senées,
qui de biaute sembloient féés :
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 Desire the knight espies in the forest a swan-maiden without her wimple (sans guimpe). The wimple of the white-robed fay answers to the swan-shift.

6. WOOD-WIVES.

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 Volundarqviða opens with the words:

meyjar flugo sunnan *Myrkvið* igögnom,

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 *diu guote frouwe* (162. 1130), *diu guote* (1575), *la bone dame* (3022), conf. *bonadea*, *bonasocia*, p. 283; her husband, who steps into the place of the childless last king (Merovingian), is *Kareلمان* (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 merre* (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 homcsiek :

meyjar fystoz a *myrkvan við*,

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 *Sigrún*, *Sigrdrífa*, *Sigrlinn* are names of valkyrs, and our epic still calls one of the wise-women *Sigelint*, I believe that the OHG. *siguwîp*, AS. *sigewîf*, ON. *sigrvîf*, was a general designation of all wise-women, for which I can produce an AS. spell communicated to me by Kemble :

sitte ge *sigewîf*, sigað tō eorðan !
 næfre ge wilde (l. wille) *to wuda fleogan* !
 beo ge swa gemyndige mînes godes,
 swa bið manna-gehwyle metes and eðeles.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 virginum conclave* incidit, a quibus proprio nomine salutatus, 'quaenam essent' perquirat. Illae *suis ductibus auspiciisque maxime bellorum fortunam gubernari* testantur : saepe enim se *nemini conspicuas procliis interesse, clandestinisque subsidiis 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 specum* : easdem esse constabat, quae cum insecabili veste quondam donaverant. They now give him more counsel, and are called *nymphae*.³

¹ In the Wallachian märchen 201, three wood-wives bathing have their crowns taken from them.

- Sedete bellonae, descendite ad terram, nolite in silvam volare ! Tam memores estote fortunae meae, quam est hominum quilibet cibi atque patriae.

³ Three *other* nymphs 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 Oðin'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 wîp*, and the Trad. fuld., p. 544, speak of a place 'ad domum *wildero wîbo*'. Burcard of Worms, p. 198^d, 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 evanescent*'. This 'quando voluerint' seems to express the notion of wish-life. Meister Alexander, a poet of the 13th century, sings (str. 139, p. 143^b): 'nu gent si vür in (go they before him) über gras in *wilder wîbe wæte* (weeds)'. So: 'von einem *wilden wîbe* ist Wate arzet,' is (*i.e.* has learnt to be) physician, Gudr. 2117; 'das *wilde fröuwelîn*,' Ecke 189. In the Gl. monst. 335, *wildaz wîp* stands for lamia, and 333 *wildiu wîp* for ululae, funereal birds, death-boding wives, still called in later times *klagefrauen*, *klagemutter*, and resembling the prophetic Berhta (p. 280). In groves, on trees, there appeared *dominae*, *matronae*, *puellae* 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 Twelfthday: 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 Wuotan and frau Gaue, so to this day in the Frankenwald they leave *three handfuls of flax lying on the field* for the *holzweibel* (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 welle 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 warn,' 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 anos 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, *rauhe Els* comes up, the *shaggy woman*, and carries off the hero to her own country,¹ 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. 219^b) meaning the same, but suggestive of that Gothic *aliorumna*, AS. *burgrune*, and the ON. *Sigrún* (see Suppl.).³

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. 225^a mons. 333. In the 13th century poets, *merminne* is equivalent to *merwîp*, *merfrouwe*, yet also to *wildez wîp*: 'diu wise *merminne*,' Diut. 1, 38. 'gottinne oder *merminne*, die sterben niht enmohten (could not die),' Eneit. 8860. In the *Wigamur* 112. 200. 227 seq.,

¹ Called *Troje*, conf. Ecke 81; and *Elsentroje*, *Deutsche heldensage* 198. 211 (see Suppl.).

² In the *Wolfdietr.* (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 *Χαριτες* (*Graces*) and fays *spin* and *weave*, so do the wild women also: 'mit *wilder wibe* henden geworht,' Ulr. Lanz. 4826; *πέπλος ον χαριτες κάμον αὐταί*, Il. 5, 338 (see Suppl.).

there appears a *wildez wîp*, who dwells in a hollow rock of the sea, and is indifferently termed *merwîp* 168. 338, *merfrouwe* 134, and *merminne* 350. AS. *merewîf*, Beow. 3037. M. Dutch *maerminne*. Those three *wîsin wîp* of the Nibelungen are also called *merwîp* 1475, 1. 1479, 1; they foretell and forewarn; their having individual names would of itself put them on a par with the Norse valkyrs: *Hadbure*, *Sigelint*. The third, whose name the poem omits (p. 428), is addressed by Hagne as 'aller wîseste wîp!' 1483, 4. Wittich's ancestress (p. 376) is named *frouwe Wâchilt*, 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 Madelger, and she likewise gives wise advice to Morolt; Mor. 40^b 41^a. The *merminne* in Ulrich's Lanzelet (lines 196 seq.) is said to be *wîs* (5751. 6182), she has under her 10,000 *unmarried* women (*derm keiniu bekande man noch mannes gezoc*), 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; Halfssaga c. 7 (Fornald. sög. 2, 31—33), and Isl. sög. 1, 33 (Landn. 2, 5).¹ From him coral is named *marmennils smîði*, 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 Rauchs, 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 *merfein*, MS. 2, 63^a.

³ Deutsche heldensage pp. 185. 200-1.

regarded as a *waltminne* or *merminne*.¹ In the Vilk. saga cap. 17 I find *sækona* 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 wîp* 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 *νυμφαι* and *idisî*, the *μοῖραι* and *nornir*, the *κηρες* and *valkyrior*. But several isolated names might be compared in the same way, as for instance, *Νίκη* or *Victoria* with some *Sigrun* or *Sigrdrífa*, *Ἐρις* and *Ἐννώ* or *Bellona* with a *Hildir* and *Gunnr*. *Eris*, like *Iris*, is sent forth on an errand by *Zeus* (Il. 11, 3), as *Skogul* or *Gondul* by *Oðinn*. I often find these Grecian figures in attendance on individual gods: in Il. 5, 333 *πτολίπορθος Ἐννώ* goes with *Athene*; in 5, 592 *πότνι' Ἐννώ* with

¹ A Leyden parchm. MS. of the 13th century contains the following legend of Charles the Great: *Aquisgrani dicitur Ays (Aix), et dicitur eo quod Karolus tenebat ibi quandam mulierem fatatam, sive quandam fatam, que alio nomine nimpha vel dea vel adriades (l. dryas) appellatur, et ad hanc consuetudinem habebat et eam cognoscebat, et ita erat, quod ipso accedente ad eam vivebat ipsa, ipso Karolo recedente moriebatur. Contigit, dum quadam vice ad ipsam accessisset et cum ea delectaretur, radius solis intravit os ejus, et tunc Karolus vidit granum auri linguae ejus affixum, quod fecit abscindi, 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. Aretin'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 Berhta, 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 Berhta was Charlemagne's mother or his great-grandmother.]

Ares; in 4, 440 and 5, 518 "Ἐρις ἄμοτον μεμανῖα with Ares, who is also followed by Δεῖμος 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 λιμνάδας νυμφὰς, or those called νυμφαὶ ἀκοίμητοι, δειναὶ θεαὶ ἀγροιώταις 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: 'ustrielila 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 'klikati'. The vila has a right to the child whom his mother in heedless language (diavo ye odniyo!) 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 *lichoplexi* in Hanka's Glosses 21^a, 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 Pomak 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 samodívy 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. Stoyan finds three samodívy bathing, removes their clothes, restores those of the two eldest, but takes the youngest (Mariyka) home, and marries her. St. John christens her first child, and asks her to dance as do the samodívy. But she cannot without her 'samodívski drekhi,' Stoyan produces them, she flies away, bathes in the mominski fountain, and recovers her mominstvo (virginity).—TRANS.

END OF VOL. I.

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TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY.

JACOB GRIMM.

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BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION.

WITH

NOTES AND APPENDIX

BY

JAMES STEVEN STALLYBRASS.

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CHAPTER XVII.

WIGHTS AND ELVES.

Apart from deified and semi-divine natures there stands a whole order of other beings distinguished mainly by the fact that, while those have issued from men or seek human fellowship, these form a separate community, one might say a kingdom of their own, and are only induced by accident or stress of circumstances to have dealings with men. They have in them some admixture of the superhuman, which approximates them to gods; they have power to hurt man and to help him, at the same time they stand in awe of him, being no match for him in bodily strength. Their figure is much below the stature of man, or else mis-shapen. They almost all have the faculty of making themselves invisible.¹ And here again the females are of a broader and nobler cast, with attributes resembling those of goddesses and wise-women; the male spirits are more distinctly marked off, both from gods and from heroes.²

The two most general designations for them form the title of this chapter; they are what we should call *spirits* nowadays. But the word *spirit* (geist, ghost),³ like the Greek *δαίμων*, is too comprehensive; it would include, for instance, the half-goddesses discussed in the preceding chapter. The Lat. *genius* would more nearly hit the mark (see Suppl.).

The term *wiht* seems remarkable in more than one respect, for its variable gender and for the abstract meanings developed from

¹ But so have the gods (p. 325), goddesses (p. 268) and wise-women (p. 419).

² Celtic tradition, which runs particularly rich on this subject, I draw from the following works: Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland, by Crofton Croker, Lond. 1825; 2nd ed., parts 1, 2, 3, Lond. 1828. The Fairy Mythology, by Th. Keightley, vols. 1, 2, Lond. 1828. Barzas-Breiz, chants populaires de la Bretagne, par Th. de la Villemarqué, 2e éd., 2 vol., Paris 1840.

³ OHG. *keist*, AS. *gást*, OS. *gêst* (see root in Gramm. 2, 46); Goth. *ahma*, OHG. *âtum* for *ahadum*, conn. with Goth. *aha* (mens), *ahjan* (meminisse, cogitare), as *man* (homo), *manniska*, and *manni*, *minni* belong to *munan*, *minnen* (pp. 59. 344. 433).

it. The Gothic *vaihts*, gen. *vaihtáis*, is feminine, and Ulphilas hardly ever uses it in a concrete sense; in Luke 1, 1 he translates by it *πρῶγμα*, and much oftener, when combined with a negative, *οὐδέν* (Gramm. 3, 8. 734). This, however, does not exclude the possibility of *vaihts* having at other times denoted to the Goths a spirit regarded as female; and in 1 Thess. 5, 22 the sentence *ἀπὸ παντὸς εἶδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε* is rendered: af allamma vaihtê ubiláizô afhabáip izvis, where the Vulg. has: ab omni specie mala abstinete vos; the use of the pl. 'vaihteis ubilôs' of itself suggests the notion of spirits. The other Teutonic tongues equally use the word to intensify and make a substantive of the negative, and even let it swallow up at last the proper particle of negation;¹ but in all of them it retains its personal meaning too. The OHG. writers waver between the neut. and masc.; the Gothic fem. is unknown to them. Otfried has a neut. *wiht*, with the collective pl. *wihtir*,² and likewise a neut. pl. *wihtī*, which implies a sing. *wihtī*; thus, *armu wihtir*, iv. 6, 23; *armu wihtī*, ii. 16, 117; *krumbu wihtī*, iii. 9, 5; meaning 'poor, crooked creatures,' so that *wiht* (derivable from *wihan* facere, creare) seems altogether synonymous with being, creature, person, and can be used of men or spirits: 'in demo mere sint wunderlīchiu *wihtir*, diu heizent sirenae,' Hoffm. Fundgr. 19, 17. In MHG. sometimes neut.: *unreinez wiht*, Diut. 1, 13; *Athis H.* 28; *trügehaftez wiht*, Barl. 367, 11; *vil tumbez wiht*, 11, 21; sometimes masc.: *böeser wiht*, Barl. 220, 15; *unrehter böesewiht*, MS. 2, 147^a, Geo. 3508; *kleiner wiht*, Altd. bl. 1, 254; *der wiht*, Geo. 3513-36; *der tumbe wiht*, Fragm. 42^a; and often of indeterminate gender: *böese wiht*, Trist. 8417; *helle wiht*, Geo. 3531; but either way as much applicable to men as to spirits. Ghostly wights are the 'minuti dii' of the Romans (Plaut. Casina, ii. 5, 24). In Mod. Germ. we make *wicht* masc., and use it slightly of a pitiful hapless being, fellow, often with a qualifying epithet: 'elender wicht, bösewicht (villain).' If the diminutive form be added, which intensifies the notion of littleness, it can only be used of spirits: *wichtlein, wichtelmann*;³

¹ Aught = â-wiht, any wight or whit; naught = n'â-wiht, no wight, no whit.—TRANS.

² So: *thiu diuflir*, iii. 14, 53, by the side of *ther diufal*, iii. 14, 108.

³ In Hesse *wichtelmänner* is the expression in vogue, except on the Diemel in Saxon Hesse, where they say 'gute holden.'

MHG. *diu wihtel*,¹ MS. 1, 157^a; *bæsez wihtel*, Elfenm. cxviii.; *kleinez wihtelin*, Ls. 1, 378, 380, Wolfdietr. 783, 799; OHG. *wihtelin* penates; *wihtelen* vel *helbe* (*i.e.* elbe), lemures, dæmones, Gl. Florian. The *dernea wihti*, *occulti genii*, in Hel. 31, 20. 92, 2 are deceitful demonic beings, as 'thie derno' 164, 19 means the devil himself; *lêtha wihti*, 76, 15; *wrêda wihti* 76, 1. In Lower Saxony *wicht* is said, quite in a good sense, of little children: in the Münster country 'dat *wicht*' holds especially of girls, about Osnabrück the sing. *wicht* only of girls, the pl. *wichter* of girls and boys; 'innocent *wichte*' are spoken of in Sastrow, 1, 351. The Mid. Nethl. has a neut. *wicht* like the H. German: *quade wicht*, *clene wicht* (child). Hayd. op St. 3, 6. 370; *arem wiht*, Reinh. 1027; so the Mod. Dutch *wicht*, pl. *wichteren*: arm *wicht*, aardig *wicht*, in a kindly sense. The AS. language agrees with the Gothic as to the fem. gender: *wiht*, gen. *wihte*, nom. pl. *wilhta*; later *wuht*, *wuhte*, *wuhta*; *seo wiht*, Cod. Exon. 418, 8. 419, 3. 5. 420, 4. 10. The meaning can be either concrete: *yfel wiht* (phantasma), *leás wiht* (diabolus), Cædm. 310, 16; *sæwiht* (animal marinum), Beda, 1, 1; or entirely abstract=thing, affair. The Engl. *wight* has the sense of our *wicht*. The ON. *vætt* and *vættir*, which are likewise fem., have preserved in its integrity the notion of a demonic spiritual being (Sæm. 145^a): *allar vættir*, *genii quicunque*, Sæm. 93^b; *hollar vættir*, *genii benigni*, Sæm. 240^b; *ragvættir* or *meinvættir*, *genii noxii*,² *landvættir*, *genii tutelares*, Fornm. sög. 3, 105. Isl. sög. 1, 198, etc. In the Färöes they say: 'feâr tû têar til *mainvittis* (go to the devil)!' Lyngbye, p. 548. The Danish *vette* is a female spirit, a wood-nymph, *meinvette* an evil spirit,

<p>¹ Swer weiz und doch niht wizen wil, der slæt sich mit sin selbes hant; des wisheit aht ich zeime <i>spil</i>, daz man <i>diu wihtel</i> hât genannt: er lát uns schouwen wunders vil, der ir dâ waltet.</p>	<p>Whoso knows, yet will not know, Smites himself with his own hand; His wisdom I value no more than a play That they call 'the little wights': He lets us witness much of wonder, Who governs them.</p>
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The passage shows that in the 13th cent. there was a kind of *puppet-show* in which ghostly beings were set before the eyes of spectators. 'Der ir waltet,' he that wields them, means the showman who puts the figures in motion. A full confirmation in the Wachtelmäre, line 40: 'rihtet zu mit den *snüeren* (strings) die *tutermanne*!' Another passage on the *wihtel-spil* in Haupt's *Zeitschr.* 2, 60: 'spilt mit dem *wihtelin* ûf dem tisch umb guoten wîn.'

² Björn supposes a masc. (fem.?) *meinvættir* and a neut. *meinvætti*; no doubt *mein* is *noxa*, *malum*; nevertheless I call attention to the Zendic *mainyus*, *dæmon*, and *agramainyus*, *dæmon malus*.

Thiele 3, 98. The Swedish tongue, in addition to *vätt* (genius) and a synonymous neut. *vättr*, has a *wikt* formed after the German, Ihre, p. 1075. Neither is the abstract sense wanting in any of these dialects.

This transition of the meaning of *wight* into that of thing on the one hand, and of devil on the other, agrees with some other phenomena of language. We also address little children as 'thing,' and the child in the *märchen* (No. 105) cries to the lizard: '*ding*, eat the crumbs too!' *Wicht*, *ding*, *wint*, *teufel*, *vâlant* (Gramm. 3, 734. 736) all help to clinch a denial. O. French *males choses*, *mali geni*, Ren. 30085. Mid. Latin *bonæ res* = *boni geni*, Vinc. Bellov. iii. 3, 27 (see Suppl.).

We at once perceive a more decided colouring in the OHG. and MHG. *alp* (genius), AS. *ælf*, ON. *álfr*; a Goth. *albs* may safely be conjectured. Together with this masc., the OHG. may also have had a neut. *alp*, pl. *elpir*, as we know the MHG. had a pl. *elber*; and from the MHG. dat. fem. *elbe* (MS. 1, 50^b) we must certainly infer a nom. diu *elbe*, OHG. *alpia*, *elpia*, Goth. *albi*, gen. *albjôs*, for otherwise such a derivative could not occur. Formed by a still commoner suffix, there was no doubt an OHG. *elpinna*, MHG. *elbinne*, the form selected by Albrecht of Halberstadt, and still appearing in his poem as remodelled by Wikram;¹ AS. *elfen*, gen. *elfenne*. Of the nom. pl. masc. I can only feel sure in the ON., where it is *álfar*, and would imply a Goth. *albôs*, OHG. *alpâ*, MHG. *albe*, AS. *ælfas*; on the other hand an OHG. *elpî* (Goth. *albeis*) is suggested by the MHG. pl. *elbe* (Amgb. 2^b, unless this comes from the fem. *elbe* above) and by the AS. pl. *ylfe*, gen. pl. *ylfa* (Beow. 223).² The Engl. forms

¹ Wikram 1, 9. 6, 9 (ed. 1631, p. 11^a 199^b). The first passage, in all the editions I have compared (ed. 1545, p. 3^a), has a faulty reading: '*auch viel ewinnen und freyen*,' rhyming with '*zweyen*.' Albrecht surely wrote '*vil elbinnen und feien*.' I can make nothing of '*freien*' but at best a very daring allusion to Frigg and Frea (p. 301); and '*froie*' = *fräulein*, as the weasel is called in Reinh. clxxii., can have nothing to say here.

² Taking AS. *y* [as a modified *a*, *æ*, *ea*,] as in *yldra*, *ylfet*, *yrfe*, OHG. *eldiro*, *elpiz*, *erpi*. At the same time, as *y* can also be a modified *o* (orf, *yrfe* = *pecus*), or a modified *u* (*wulf*, *wylfen*), I will not pass over a MHG. *ulf*, pl. *ülve*, which seems to mean much the same as *alp*, and may be akin to an AS. *ylf*: '*von den ülven entbunden werden*,' MS. 1, 81^a; '*ülfeit ein suht ob allen sühten*,' MS. 2, 135^a; '*der sich ülfet in der jugent*,' Helbl. 2, 426; and conf. the *ölp* quoted from H. Sachs. Shakspeare occasionally couples elves and goblins with similar beings called *ouphes* (Nares sub *v*). It speaks for the identity of the two forms, that one Swedish folk-song (Arwidsson 2, 278) has *Ulfver* where another (2, 276) has *Elfver*.

elf, *elves*, the Swed. *elf*, pl. masc. *elfvar* (fem. *elfvor*), the Dan. *elv*, pl. *elve*, are quite in rule; the Dan. compounds *ellefolk*, *ellekoner*, *elleskuddt*, *ellevild* have undergone assimilation. With us the word *alp* still survives in the sense of night-hag, night-mare, in addition to which our writers of the last century introduced the Engl. *elf*, a form untrue to our dialect; before that, we find everywhere the correct pl. *elbe* or *elben*.¹ H. Sachs uses *ölp*: ‘*du ölp! du dölp!*’ (i. 5, 525^b), and *ölperisch* (iv. 3, 95^c); conf. *ölpem* and *ölpetrütsch*, *alberdrütsch*, *drelpetrütsch* (Schm. I, 48); *elpentrütsch* and *tölpentrütsch*, *trilpentrisch* (Schmid’s Swab. dict. 162); and in Hersfeld, *hilpentrisch*. The words mean an awkward silly fellow, one whom the elves have been at, and the same thing is expressed by the simple *elbisch*, Fundgr. 365. In Gloss. Jun. 340 we read *elvesce wehte*, elvish wights.

On the nature of Elves I resort for advice to the ON. authorities, before all others. It has been remarked already (p. 25), that the Elder Edda several times couples *æsir* and *álfar* together, as though they were a compendium of all higher beings, and that the AS. *ês* and *ylfe* stand together in exactly the same way. This apparently concedes more of divinity to elves than to men. Sometimes there come in, as a third member, the *vanir* (Sæm. 83^b), a race distinct from the *æsir*, but admitted to certain relations with them by marriage and by covenants. The Hrafnagaldr opens with the words: *Alföðr orkar* (works), *álfar* skilja, *vanir* vita,” Sæm. 88^a; Allfather, *i.e.* the *âs*, has power, *álfar* have skill (understanding), and *vanir* knowledge. The *Alvismâl* enumerates the dissimilar names given to heavenly bodies, elements and plants by various languages (supra, p. 332); in doing so, it mentions *æsir*, *álfar*, *vanir*, and in addition also *goð*, *menn*, *ginregin*, *iöttnar*, *dvergar* and denizens of *hel* (hades). Here the most remarkable point for us is, that *álfar* and *dvergar* (dwarfs) are two different things. The same distinction is made between *álfar* and *dvergar*, Sæm. 8^b; between *dvergar* and *döckálfar*, Sæm. 92^b; between three kinds of norms, the *âs-kungar*, *âlf-kungar* and *dætr Dvalins*, Sæm. 188^a, namely, those descended from *âses*, from elves and from dwarfs; and our M.H.G. poets, as we see by Wikram’s Albrecht, 6, 9, continued to separate *elbe*

¹ Besold. sub v. *elbe*; Ettner’s Hebamme, p. 910, *alpen* or *elben*.

from *getwere*.¹ Some kinship however seems to exist between them, if only because among proper names of dwarfs we find an *Álfr* and a *Vindálf*, Sæm. 2. 3. Loki, elsewhere called an *ás*, and reckoned among *áses*, but really of *iötun* origin, is nevertheless addressed as *álfr*, Sæm. 110^b; nay, *Völundr*, a godlike hero, is called ‘*álfa lioði*,’ *alforum socius*, and ‘*vâsi álfa*,’ *alforum princeps*, Sæm. 135^{a, b}. I explain this not historically (by a Finnish descent), but mythically: German legend likewise makes Wielant king Elberich’s companion and fellow smith in Mount Gloggensachsen (otherwise Gögelsahs, Caucasus?). Thus we see the word *álfr* shrink and stretch by turns.

Now what is the true meaning of the word *albs*, *alp* = genius? One is tempted indeed to compare the Lat. *albus*, which according to Festus the Sabines called *alpus*; *ἀλφός* (*vitaligo*, leprosy) agrees still better with the law of consonant-change. Probably then *albs* meant first of all a light-coloured, white, good spirit,² so that, when *álfar* and *dvergar* are contrasted, the one signifies the white spirits, the other the black. This exactly agrees with the great beauty and brightness of *álfar*. But the two classes of creatures getting, as we shall see, a good deal mixed up and confounded, recourse was had to composition, and the elves proper were named *liosálfar*.³

The above-named *döckálfar* (*genii obscuri*) require a counterpart, which is not found in the Eddic songs, but it is in Snorri’s prose. He says, p. 21: ‘In Alfheim dwells the nation of the *liosálfar* (light elves), down in the earth dwell the *döckálfar* (dark elves), the two unlike one another in their look and their powers, *liosálfar* brighter than the sun, *döckálfar* blacker than pitch.’ The *liosálfar* occupy the third space of heaven, Sn. 22. Another name which never occurs in the lays, and which at first sight seems synonymous with *döckálfar*, is *svartálfar* (black

¹ In Norway popular belief keeps *alfer* and *dverge* apart, Faye p. 49.

² The word appears in the name of the snow-clad mountains (*alpes*, see Suppl.), and that of the clear river (*Albis*, Elbe), while the ON. *elf* *elva*, Swed. *elf*, Dan. *elv* = fluvius, is still merely appellative; the ghostly elvish swan (OHG. *alpiz*, MHG. *elbez*, AS. *ælfet*, ON. *alpt*, p. 429) can be explained both by its colour and its watery abode; likewise the Slav. *labud*, *lebed*, from *Labe*.

³ *Vanir* also may contain the notion of white, bright; consider the ON. *vann* (pulcher), the Ir. *ban* (*albus*), *ben*, *bean* (*femina*), Lat. *Venus*, Goth. *qinô*, AS. *cwen*. To this add, that the Ir. *banshi*, *ban-sighe* denotes an elvish being usually regarded as female, a fay. The same is expressed by *sia*, *sighe* alone, which is said to mean properly the twilight, the hour of spirits (see Suppl.).

elves);¹ and these Snorri evidently takes to be the same as *dvergar*, for his *dvergar* dwell in Svartálfaheim, (Sn. 34. 130. 136). This is, for one thing, at variance with the separation of *álfar* and *dvergar* in the lays, and more particularly with the difference implied between *döckálfar* and *dvergar* in Sæm. 92^b 183^a. That language of poetry, which everywhere else imparts such precise information about the old faith, I am not inclined to set aside here as vague and general. Nor, in connexion with this, ought we to overlook the *nâir*, the deadly pale or dead ghosts named by the side of the *dvergar*, Sæm. 92^b, though again among the *dvergar* themselves occur the proper names *Nâr* and *Nâinn*.

Some have seen, in this antithesis of light and black elves, the same Dualism that other mythologies set up between spirits good and bad, friendly and hostile, heavenly and hellish, between angels of light and of darkness. But ought we not rather to assume three kinds of Norse genii, *liosálfar*, *döckálfar*, *svartálfar*? No doubt I am thereby pronouncing Snorri's statement fallacious: 'döckálfar eru svartari en bik (pitch)'. *Döckr*² seems to me not so much downright black, as dim, dingy; not niger, but obscurus, fuscus, aquilus. In ON. the adj. *iarpr*, AS. *corp*, fuscus, seems to be used of dwarfs, Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 152; and the female name *Irpa* (p. 98) is akin to it. In that case the identity of dwarfs and *black* elves would hold good, and at the same time the Old Eddic distinction between dwarfs and *dark* elves be justified.

Such a Trilogy still wants decisive proof; but some facts can be brought in support of it. Pomeranian legend, to begin with, seems positively to divide subterraneans into *white*, *brown*, and *black*; ³ elsewhere popular belief contents itself with picturing dwarfs in *gray* clothing, in *gray* or *brown* cap-of-darkness; Scotch tradition in particular has its *brownies*, spirits of brown hue, *i.e.* *döckálfar* rather than *svartálfar* (see Suppl.). But here I have yet another name to bring in, which, as applied to such spirits, is not in extensive use. I have not met with it outside

¹ Thorlac. spec. 7, p. 169, gives the *liosálfar* another name *hvítálfar* (white elves); I have not found the word in the old writings.

² Conf. OHG. *tunchal*, MHG. *tunkel* (our *dunkel*), Nethl. *donker*.

³ E. M. Arndt's *Märchen und Jugenderinnerungen*, Berl. 1818, p. 159. In Phil. von Steinar's *Volkssagen*, Zeitz 1838, pp. 291-3, the same traditions are given, but only white and black (not brown) dwarfs are distinguished.

of the Vogtland and a part of East Thuringia. There the small elvish beings that travel especially in the train of Berchta, are called the *heimchen* (supra, p. 276); and the name is considered finer and nobler than *querx* or *erdmännchen* (Börner p. 52). It is hardly to be explained by any resemblance to chirping crickets, which are also called *heimchen*, OHG. *heimili* (Graff 4, 953); still less by *heim* (*domus*), for these wights are not home-sprites (*domestici*); besides, the correct spelling seems to be *heinchen* (Variscia 2, 101), so that one may connect it with 'Friend Hein,' the name for death, and the Low Sax. *heinenkleed* (winding-sheet, Strodtmann p. 84).¹ This notion of departed spirits, who appear in the 'furious host' in the retinue of former gods, and continue to lead a life of their own, may go to support those *nâir* of the Edda; the *pale* hue may belong to them, and the gray, brown, black to the coarser but otherwise similar dwarfs. Such is my conjecture. In a hero-lay founded on thoroughly German legend, that of Morolt, there appear precisely three troops of spirits, who take charge of the fallen in battle and of their souls: a *white*, a *pale*, and a *black* troop (p. 28^b), which is explained to mean 'angels, kinsmen of the combatants coming up from hades, and devils.' No such warlike part is ever played by the Norse *âlfar*, not they, but the *valkyrs* have to do with battles; but the traditions may long have become tangled together, and the offices confounded.² The *liosâlfar* and *svartâlfar* are in themselves sufficiently like the christian *angels* and *devils*; the *pale* troop '*uz der helle*' are the *döckâlfar* that dwell '*niðri í iörðu*,' nay, the very same that in the *Alvismâl* are not expressly named, but designated by the words '*í heljo*.' Or I can put it in this way: *liosâlfar* live in *heaven*, *döckâlfar* (and *nâir*?) in *hel*, the heathen hades, *svartâlfar* in *Svartâlfuheim*, which is never used in the same sense as *hel* (see *Suppl.*). The dusky elves are souls of dead men, as the younger poet supposed, or are we to separate *döckâlfar* and *nâir*? Both have their abode in the realms of hades, as the light ones have in those of heaven. Of no other elves has the Edda so much to tell as of the black,

¹ '*Heinenkleed* is not conn. with Friend Hein, but means a *hünenkleed* (ch. XVIII.); conf. also the *hünnerskes*, and perhaps the *haunken*, or *aunken* in the Westph. *sgönaunken*.—*Extr. from SUPPL.*

² The different races of elves contending for a corpse (*Ir. Elfenm.* 68).

who have more dealings with mankind; svartálfar are named in abundance, liosálfar and dökkálfar but fitfully.

One thing we must not let go: the identity of *svartálfar* and *dvergjar*.

Dvergr, Goth. *dvaírgs*? AS. *dweorg*, OHG. *tuerc*, MHG. *tvere*, our *zwerg*,¹ answer to the Lat. *nanus*, Gr. *νάννος* (dwarf, puppet), Ital. *nano*, Span. *enano*, Portug. *anão*, Prov. *nan*, *nant*, Fr. *nain*, Mid. Nethl. also *naen*, Ferg. 2243-46-53-82. 3146-50, and *nane*, 3086-97; or Gr. *πυγμαίος*. Beside the masc. forms just given, OHG. and MHG. frequently use the neut. form *gituere*, *getwerc*, Nib. 98, 1. 335, 3. MS. 2, 15^a. Wigal. 6080. 6591. Trist. 14242. 14515. *daz wilde getwerc*, Ecke 81. 82. Wh. 57, 25. *Getwerc* is used as a masc. in Eilhart 2881-7. Altd. bl. 1, 253-6-8; *der twerk* in Hoffm. fundgr. 237. Can *θεουργός* (performing miraculous deeds, what the MHG. would call *wunderære*) have anything to do with it? As to meaning, the dwarfs resemble the Idæan Dactyls of the ancients, the Cabeiri and *πάταικοι*: all or most of the *dvergjar* in the Edda are cunning *smiths* (Sn. 34. 48. 130. 354). This seems the simplest explanation of their *black sooty* appearance, like that of the cyclopes. Their forges are placed in caves and mountains: *Svartálfaheimr* must therefore lie in a mountainous region, not in the abyss of hell. And our German folk-tales everywhere speak of the dwarfs as *forging* in the mountains: 'von golde wirkent si diu *spæhen werc*' says the Wartburg War of the *getwerc* *Sinnels* in *Palakers*, whereas elves and elfins have rather the business of *weaving* attributed to them. Thus, while dwarfs border on the smith-heroes and smith-gods (Wielant, Vulcan), the functions of elves approach those of *fays* and *good-wives* (see *Suppl.*).²

If there be any truth in this view of the matter, one can easily conceive how it might get altered and confused in the popular belief of a later time, when the new christian notions of angel and devil had been introduced. At bottom all elves, even the light ones, have some devil-like qualities, *e.g.* their loving to

¹ In Lausitz and E. Thuringia *quers*, in Thüringerwald *querlich*. Jac. von Königshofen, p. 89, has *quersch*. In Lower Saxony sometimes *twärm*, for *twarg*.

² In Bretagne the *korr*, pl. *korred* answers to our elf, the *korrgan* to our elfin; and she too is described like a fay: she sits by the fountain, combing her hair, and whoever catches her doing so, must marry her at once, or die in three days (Villemarqué 1, 17). The Welsh *cawr* means a giant.

tease men; but they are not therefore devils, not even the black ones, but often good-natured beings. It appears even that to these black elves in particular, *i.e.* mountain spirits, who in various ways came into contact with man, a distinct *reverence* was paid, a species of *worship*, traces of which lasted down to recent times. The clearest evidence of this is found in the Kormaks-saga pp. 216–8. The hill of the elves, like the altar of a god, is to be reddened with the blood of a slaughtered bull, and of the animal's flesh a feast prepared for the elves: 'Hóll einn er heðan skamt í brott, er álfar búa í (cave that elves dwell in); gráðúng þann, er Kormakr drap (bull that K. slew), skaltú fá, ok riðða blóð gráðúngsins á hólunn áttan, en gera álfum veizlu (make the elves a feast) af slátrinu, ok mun þer batna.' An actual *álfablót*. With this I connect the superstitious custom of cooking *food for angels*, and *setting* it for them (Superst. no. 896). So there is a *table covered* and a *pot of food placed* for home-smiths and kobolds (Deut. sagen, no. 37. 38. 71); meat and drink for domina Abundia (supra, p. 286); *money* or *bread* deposited in the caves of subterraneans, in going past (Neocorus 1, 262. 560).¹ There are plants named after elves as well as after gods: *alpranke*, *alfranke*, *alfranke*, *alpkraut* (*lonicera periclymen.*, *solanum dulcam.*), otherwise called *geissblatt*, in Denmark *trolldär*, in Sweden *trullbär*; *dweorges dwostle*, *pulegium* (Lye), Mone's authorities spell *dwostle*, 322^a; *dvergeriis*, acc. to Molbeck's Dial. Lex. p. 86, the *spartium scoparium*. A *latrina* was called *álfrek*, lit. *genius fugans*, Eyrb. saga, cap. 4 (see Suppl.).

Whereas man grows but slowly, not attaining his full stature till after his fifteenth year, and then living seventy years, and a giant can be as old as the hills; the dwarf is already grown up in the third year of his life, and a greybeard in the seventh;² the Elf-king is commonly described as old and white-bearded.

¹ The Old Pruss. and Lith. *parstuk* (thumbkin) also has food placed for him, conf. Lasiey 54. The Lett. *behrstuhki* is said to mean a child's doll, Bergm. 145.

² Emp. Ludwig the Bavarian (1347) writes contemptuously to Markgraf Carl of Moravia: 'Recollige, quia nondum venit hora, ut pigmei de Judea (l. India) statura cubica evolantes fortitudine gnauica (l. gnanica, *i.e.* nanica) terras gygantium detrahare debeant in ruinas, et ut pigmei, id est homines bicubitales, qui in anno tercio crescunt ad perfectam quantitatem et in septimo anno senescunt et moriuntur, imperent gygantibus.' Pelzel's Carl IV. 1 urk. p. 40. Conf. Böhmer's Font. 1, 227. 2, 570. Yet this description does not look to me quite German; the more the dwarfs are regarded as elves, there is accorded to them, and especially to elfins (as to the Greek oroads), a *higher* and semi-divine age; conf. the stories of change-lings quoted further on. Laurin, acc. to the poems, was more than 400 years old.

Accounts of the creation of dwarfs will be presented in chap. XIX.; but they only seem to refer to the earthly form of the black elves, not of the light.

The leading features of elvish nature seem to be the following:—

Man's body holds a medium between those of the giant and the elf; an elf comes as much short of human size as a giant towers above it. All elves are imagined as small and tiny, but the *light* ones as well-formed and symmetrical, the *black* as ugly and misshapen. The former are radiant with exquisite beauty, and wear shining garments: the AS. *ælfsciene*, Cædm. 109, 23. 165, 11, shëen as an elf, bright as angels, the ON. 'fríð sem *álfkona*,' fair as elfin, express the height of female loveliness. In Rudlieb xvii. 27 a dwarf, on being caught, calls his wife out of the cave, she immediately appears, '*parva, nimis pulchra, sed et auro vesteque compta.*' Fornald. sög. 1, 387 has: 'þat er kunnigt í öllum fornum frásögnum um þat fólk, er *álfar* hëtu, at þat var miklu fríðara enn önnur mankind.' The Engl. *elves* are slender and puny: Falstaff (1 Henry IV. i. 4) calls Prince Henry 'you starveling, you *elfskin!*'¹ The dwarf adds to his repulsive hue an ill-shaped body, a humped back, and coarse clothing; when elves and dwarfs came to be mixed up together, the graceful figure of the one was transferred to the other, yet sometimes the dwarfs expressly retain the *black* or *grey* complexion: '*svart* i synen,' p. 457; 'a little *black* mannikin,' Kinderm. no. 92; '*grey* mannikin,' Büsching's Wöch. nachr. 1, 98. Their very height is occasionally specified: now they attain the stature of a four years' child,² now they appear a great deal smaller, to be measured by the span or thumb: '*kúme dríer spannen lanc, gar eislich getún*,' Elfenm. cxvi.; *two spans* high, Deut. sag. no. 42; a little wight, '*reht als ein dúmelle lanc*,' a thumb long, Altd. bl. 2, 151; '*ein kleinez weglin* (l. *wiltlín*)

¹ In Denmark popular belief pictures the *ellekone* as young and captivating to look at in front, but hollow at the back like a kneading-trough (Thiele 1, 118); which reminds one of Dame Werlt in MHG. poems.

² Whether the OHG. *pusilin* is said of a dwarf as Graff supposes (3, 352; conf. Swed. *pyssling*), or merely of a child, like the Lat. *pusus*, *pusio*, is a question. The Mid. Age gave to its *angels* these small dimensions of elves and dwarfs: 'Ein iegelich *engel* schinet alsô gestalter als ein kint in *jären vieren* (years 4) in der jugende,' Tit. 5895 (Hahn); '*juneliche* gemalet als ein kint *daz dá vüñf jâr* (5 year) alt ist,' Berth. 184. Laurin is taken for the *angel* Michael; Elberich (Otnit, Ettm. 24) and Antilois (Ulr. Alex.) are compared to a child of four.

dümeln lanc,' Ls. 1, 378. In one Danish lay, the smallest trolld is no bigger than an ant, D.V. 1, 176. Hence in fairy tales *düumling* (thumbing, petit poucet) indicates a dwarfish figure; the *δάκτυλος Ἰδαίος* is to be derived from *δάκτυλος* (finger); *πυγμαίος* pigmæus from *πυγμή* (fist); the O. Pruss. *parstuck*, *perstuck*, a dwarf, from Lith. *pirsztas*, Slav. *perst*, *prst* (finger); and a Bohem. name for a dwarf, *pjdimužjk* = span-mannikin, from *pjd'* (span).¹ In Sansk. *bālakhilya* = geniorum genus, pollicis magnitudinem aequans, sixty thousand of them sprang out of Brahma's hair, Bopp's Gloss. Skr. p. 122^a (ed. 2, p. 238^b); *bāla*, *bālaka* = puer, parvulus, the 'ilya' I do not understand. There are curious stories told about the deformity of dwarfs' feet, which are said to be like those of geese or ducks;² conf. queen Berhta,

¹ When we read in a passage quoted by Jungmann 4, 652: 'mezi pjdimužjky kraluge trpasljk' (among thumbings a dwarf is king), it is plain that a *trpasljk* is more than a *pjdimužjk*. Can this *trp-* (Slovak. *krpec*, *krpatec*) be conn. with our knirps, knips, krips, gribs (v. infra), which means one of small stature, not quite a dwarf? Finn. *peukalo*, a thumbing, Kew. 13, 67; *mies penti*, *pikku mies*, little man three fingers high 13, 63-8. 24, 144.—For dwarf the MHG. has also 'der kurze man,' Wigal. 6593. 6685. 6710; 'der wënige man,' Er. 7442. Ulf. Alex. (in Wackern.'s Bas. Ms., p. 29^b), in contrast with the 'michel man' or giant. One old name for a dwarf was *churzibolt*, Pertz 2, 104, which otherwise means a short coat, Hoff. Gl. 36, 13. Roth. 4576. Conf. *urkinde* (nanus), Gramm. 2, 789.

² Deutsche Sagen, no. 149; I here give a more faithful version, for which I am indebted to Hr. Hieron. Hagebuch of Aarau.—Vo de *härändlène* uf der Ramsflue. Hinder der Ärlsbacher egg, zwüschenem dörfle Hard und dem alte Lorenzkapällele, stohit in ene thäle so ganz eleigge e grütle verträite flue. se sägere d'Ramsflue. uf der hindere site isch se hohl, und dhöle het numme e chline igang. Do sind denn emol, me weiss nid äxact i wele johrgänge, so rarige *mündle* gsi, die sind i die höhle us und i gange, händ ganz e so es eiges läbe gefühert, und en apartige hushaltig, und sind ganz bsunderig derhär cho, so wärklich gestaltet, und mit eim wort, es isch halt kei mönsch usene cho, wer se denn au seige, wohär se cho seige, und was se tribe. ämel gekochet händ se nüt, und würzle und beeri ggässe. unde a der flue lauft es bächle, und i dem bächle händ die *mündle* im summer badet, *wie tüble*, aber eis vonene het immer wacht gha, und het püffe, wenn öpper derhär cho isch, uf dem fuesswäg: denn sind se ame gsprunge, was gisch was hesch, der bärg uf, dass ene kei haas noh cho wer, und wie der schwick *in ehre höhle gschloffte*. dernäbe händ se kem mönsch nüt zleid tho, im gägetheil, gfälligkäite, wenn se händ chönne. Einisch het der Hardpur es füederle riswälle glade, und wil er elei gsi isch, het ers au fast nid möge. E sones *mandle* gschts vo der flue obenabe, und chunt der durab zhöpperle über driese, und hilf dem pur, was es het möge. wo se do der bindbaum wänd ufe thue, so isch das *mandle* ufem wage gsi, und het grichtet, und der pur het überunde azoge a de bindehneble. do het das *mandle* sseil nid rächt ume gliret, und wo der pur azieht, schnellt der baum los und trift *smandle* ane finger und hets wüerst blessiert; do foht der pur a jommere und seit 'o heie, o heie, wens numenau mer begegnet wer!' do seit das *mandle* 'abba, das macht nüt, sälben tho, sälben gha.* mit dene worte springts vom wage nabe, het es chrütle abbroche, hets verschaflet und uf das bluetig fin-

* Swab. 'sell thaun, sell haun,' Schmid p. 628. More neatly in MHG., 'selbe tæte, selbe habe,' MS. 1, 10^b. 89^a.

p. 280, and the swan-maidens, p. 429. One is also reminded of the *blatevüeze*, Rother 1871. Ernst 3828; conf. Haupt's Zeitschr. 7, 289.

The Mid. Nethl. poem of Brandaen, but no other version of the same legend, contains a very remarkable feature.¹ Brandan met a man on the sea, who was *a thumb long*, and *floated on a leaf*, holding a little bowl in his right hand and a pointer in his left: the pointer he kept dipping into the sea and letting water drip from it into the bowl; when the bowl was full, he emptied it out, and began filling again: it was his doom to be measuring the sea until the Judgment-day (see Suppl.). This liliputian floating on the leaf reminds us of ancient, especially Indian myths.²

The *âlfar* are a *people*, as the Edda expressly says (Sn. 21), and

gerle gleit, und das het alles ewäg puzt. do springts wider ufe wage, und het zum pur gseit, er soll sseil nume wider ume ge. Mängisch, wenn rächtschafne lüt darn tag gheuet oder bunde händ und se sind nit fertig worde bis zobe, und shet öppe welle cho rägne, so sind die *härnmündle* cho, und händ geschaffet und gewärnet druf ine, bis alles im schärme gsi isch. oder wennis durt dnacht isch cho wättere, händ se sheu und schorn, wo dusse gläge isch, de lüte zum teun zue träit, und am morge het halt alles gross auge gmacht, und se händ nid gwisst, wers tho het. den händ erst no die *mündle* kei dank beghrt, numenan dass me se gern hät. Amenim winter, wenn alles stei und bei gfreore gsi isch, sind die *mündle* is oberst hus cho zÄrlispach: se händ shalt gar guet chönnen mit dene lüte, wo dert gwohnt händ, und sind ame durt dnacht ufem ofe gläge, und am morge vortag händ se se wieder drus gmacht. was aber gar gspässig gsi isch, *si händ ehre füessle nie vüre glo, händ es charlachroths mäntele trüit, vom hals bis ufe bode nabe.* jetzt hets im dorf so gwunderige meitle und buebe gha, die sind einisch znacht vor das hus go gen äsche streue, dass se gsäche, was die *härnmündle* für füessle hebe. und was händse gfunde? sisch frile wunderle: *änte und geissfüess* sind in der äsche abdrückt gsi. Aber vo sälber stund a isch keis *mandle* meh cho, und se sind au nümme uf der Ramsflue bliebe, i dkräche händ se se *verschloffe*, tief id geissflue hindere, und händ keis zeiche me von ene ge, und chömmen nümme, so lang dlüt eso boshaft sind (see Suppl.). — [Substance of the above. *Earth-mannikins* on the Ramsflue: lived in a cave with a narrow entrance; cooked nothing, ate roots and berries; bathed in a brook *like doves*, set one to watch, and if he whistled, were up the hills faster than hares, and *slipt into their cave*. Never hurt men, often helped: the farmer at Harb was alone loading, a dwarf came down, helped to finish, got on the waggon, did not properly run the rope over the bind-pole, it slipped off, the pole flew up and hurt him badly. Farmer: 'I wish it had happened to me.' Dwarf: 'Not so; self do, self have.' Got down, picked a herb, and cured the wound instantly. Often, when honest folk cut hay or tied corn, dwarfs helped them to finish and get it under shelter; or in the night, if rain came on, they brought in what was lying out, and didn't the people stare in the morning! One severe winter they came every night to a house at Arlisbach, slept on the oven, departed before dawn; *wore scarlet cloaks reaching to the ground, so that their feet were never seen*; but some prying people sprinkled ashes before the house, on which were seen the next morning marks of *duck's* and *goose's feet*. They never showed themselves again, and never will, while men are so spiteful.]

¹ Blommaert's Oudvlaemsche gedichten 1, 118^b. 2, 26^a.

² Brahma, sitting on a lotus, floats musing across the abysses of the sea. Vishnu, when after Brahma's death the waters have covered all the worlds, sits in the shape of a *tiny infant on a leaf* of the pipala (fig-tree), and floats on the sea of milk, sucking the toe of his right foot. (Asiat. Res. 1, 345.)

as the *Alvismál* implies by putting *álfar*, *dvergar*, and *helbúar* (if I may use the word), by the side of men, giants, gods, *áses* and *vanir*, each as a separate class of beings, with a language of its own. Hence too the expressions ‘*das stille volk*; the good people (p. 456); *huldu-fólk* ;’ in Lausitz *ludki*, little folk (Wend. volksl. 2, 268), from *lud*, *liud* (nation), OHG. *liut*, Boh. *lid*; and in Welsh *y teulu* (the family), *y tylwyth têtg* (the fair family, the pretty little folk, conf. Owen sub v. *tylwyth*, and Diefenbach’s *Celtica* ii. 102. Whether we are to understand by this a historical realm situate in a particular region, I leave undecided here. *Dvergmal* (sermo nanorum) is the ON. term for the echo: a very expressive one, as their calls and cries resound in the hills, and when man speaks loud, the dwarf replies, as it were, from the mountain. *Herrauðssaga*, cap. 11, p. 50: ‘*Sigurðr stilti svâ hátt hörpuna*, at *dvergmal* qvað í höllunni,’ he played so loud on the harp, that dwarf’s voice spoke in the hall. When heroes dealt loud blows, ‘*dvörgamal* sang uj qvörjun hamri,’ echo sang in every rock (Lyngbye, p. 464, 470); when hard they hewed, ‘*dvörgamal* sang uj fiödlun,’ echo sang in the mountains (ibid. 468). ON. ‘*qveðr við í klettunum*,’ reboant rupes. Can *græti álfa* (ploratus nanorum) in the obscure Introduction to the *Hamdismál* (Sæm. 269^a) mean something similar? Even our German heroic poetry seems to have retained the same image:

Dem fehten allez nâch erhal,	To the fighting everything
	resounded,

dô beide berg und ouch diu tal	then both hill and also dale
<i>gâben</i> ir slegen <i>stimme</i> .	gave voice to their blows.

(Ecke, ed. Hagen, 161.)

Daz dâ beide berg und tal
vor ir slegen wilde wider einander allez hal. (ibid. 171.)

The hills not only rang again with the sword-strokes of the heroes, but uttered voice and answer, *i.e.* the dwarfs residing in them did.¹

This nation of elves or dwarfs has over it a *king*. In Norse legend, it is true, I remember no instance of it among *álfar* or *dvergar*; yet *Huldra* is *queen* of the *huldrefólk* (p. 272), as

¹ The Irish for echo is similar, though less beautiful: *muc alla*, swine of the rock.

Berchta is of the heinchen (p. 276), and English tradition tells of an *elf-queen*, Chaucer's C. T. 6442 (the fairy queen, Percy 3, 207 seq.); I suppose, because Gallic tradition likewise made female fairies (*fées*) the more prominent. The OFr. fable of Huon of Bordeaux knows of a *roi* Oberon, *i.e.* Anberon for Alberon, an *alb* by his very name: the kingdom of the fays (royaume de la féerie) is his. Our poem of Orendel cites a dwarf *Alban* by name. In Otnit a leading part is played by *künee Alberich, Elberich*, to whom are subject "manec berg und tal;" the Nib. lied makes him not a king, but a vassal of the kings Schilbung and Nibelung; a nameless *king of dwarfs* appears in the poem of Ecke 80; and elsewhere *king Goldemâr* (Dent. heldensage p. 174. Haupt's Zeitschr. 6, 522-3), *king Sinnels* and *Laurin* (MS. 2, 15^a); 'der getwerge *künee Bîlé,*' Er. 2086. The German folk-tales also give the dwarf nation a king (no. 152); *king of erdmännchen* (Kinderm. 3, 167). *Gübich* (Gibika, p. 137) is in the Harz legends a dwarf-king. *Heiling* is *prince* of the dwarfs (no. 151).¹ These are all kings of black elves, except Oberon, whom I take to be a light alb. It appears that human heroes, by subduing the sovereign of the elves, at once obtain dominion over the spirits; it may be in this sense that Völundr is called *rîsi álfa* (p. 444), and Siegfried after conquering Elberich would have the like pretensions (see Suppl.).

The ON. writings have preserved plenty of dwarfs' names which are of importance to the study of mythology (loc. princ. Sæm. 2^b 3^a). I pick out the rhyming forms *Vitr* and *Litr*, *Fili* and *Kili*, *Fialarr* and *Galarr*, *Skirvir* and *Virvir*, *Anar* and *Onar*, *Finnr* and *Ginnr*, as well as the absonant *Bivor* and *Bavor*. *Nâr* and *Nâinn* are manifestly synonymous (mortuus), and so are *Thrâr* and *Thrâinn* (contumax, or rancidus?). With *Nâinn* agrees *Dâinn* (mortuus again); with *Oinn* (timidus) *Moinn*; *Dvalinn*, *Durinn*, *Thorinn*, *Fundinn*, shew at least the same

¹ A curious cry of grief keeps recurring in several dwarf-stories: 'the king is dead! *Urban* is dead! old mother *Pumpe* is dead!' (Büsching's Wöch. nachr. 1, 99. 101); the old *schumpe* is dead! (Legend of Bonikau, MHG. schumpfe, Pragm. 36^c; conf. Bange's Thür. chron. 49^a, where again they say 'king Knoblauch (garlic) is dead!') Taking into account the saying in Saxony, 'de *gauë fru* ist nu al dot!' with evident allusion to the motherly goddess (p. 253), and the similar phrase in Scandinavia, 'nu eru dauðar allar *disir*!' (p. 402); all these exclamations seem to give vent to a grief, dating from the oldest times, for the death of some superior being (see Suppl.).

participial ending. *Alfr*, *Gandálfr*, and *Vindálfr* place the connexion of elves and dwarfs beyond doubt. *Ai* occurs twice, and seems to mean avus, as in *Sæm.* 100^a; *Finnr* and *Billíngr* are like the heroes' names discussed on pp. 373, 380. *Nýr*, and *Niði*, *Nýr* and *Nýráðr* have reference to phases of the moon's light; a few other names will be touched upon later. In *Sæm.* 45^b and *Sn.* 48. 130 all dwarfs are said to be '*Ivalda synir*,' sons of *Iraldi*, and he seems identical with the elvish *Ivaldr*, father of *Iðunn*, *Sæm.* 89^a, just as *Folkvaldr* and *Folkvaldi* (AS. *Folcwealda*), *Dômvaldr* and *Dômvaldi* = *Domaldi*, are used indifferently. *Ivaldr* answers to the Dan. *Evald* and our *Ewald*, a rare name in the older documents: we know the two *St. Ewalds* (niger et albus) who were martyred in the elder Pipin's time (695) and buried at Cologne, but were of English origin. *Beda* 5, 10 spells it *Hewald*, and the AS. transl. *Heáwold* (see *Suppl.*).

Of the dwellings of light elves in heaven the folk-tales have no longer anything to tell; the more frequently do they describe those of dwarfs in the rifts and caves of the mountains. Hence the AS. names *bergelfen*, *duncelfen*, *muntelfen*. ON. 'bý ec for iörð neðan, á ec undr steini stað,' I dwell underneath the earth, I have under stone my stead, *Sæm.* 48^a. 'dvergr sat undir steininum,' *Yngl. saga*, cap. 15. 'dvergar búa í iörðu oc í steinum,' *Sn.* 15. *Elbenstein*, *Elphinstone*, are names of noble families, see *Elwenstein*, *Weisth.* 1, 4. In the Netherlands the hills containing sepulchral urns are vulgarly denominated *alfenbergen* (*Belg. mus.* 5, 64). Treasures lie hidden in graves as they do in the abodes of elves, and the dead are subterraneans as these are. And that is why dwarfs are called *erdmännlein*, *erdmanneken*, in Switzerland *hürdmändle*, sometimes even *unterirdische*, Dan. *underjordiske*.¹ They scamper over moss and fell, and are not exhausted by climbing steep precipices: 'den wilden

¹ I cannot yet make out the name *arweggers*, by which the earth-men are called up in *Kinderm.* 2, 163-4. [erd-wihte? v. ar- for erd-, p. 467, l. 3; and *weglin*, p. 449]. The ON. *árvakr* is hardly the same (see *Suppl.*). In Pruss. *Samogitia* 'de *underhürdschkes*'; the tales about them carefully collected by Reusch, no. 48-59. The Wends of Lüneburg called subterranean spirits *görzoni* (hill-mannikius, fr. gora, hill), and the hills they haunted are still shown. When they wished to borrow baking utensils of men, they gave a sign without being seen, and people placed them outside the door for them. In the evening they brought them back, knocking at the window and adding a loaf by way of thanks (*Jugler's Wörterb.*). The Esthonian mythology also has its subterraneans (*ma allused*, under ground). 10

getwergen wære ze stîgen dâ genuoc,' enough climbing for wild dwarfs, says Wh. 57, 25, speaking of a rocky region.¹ The popular beliefs in Denmark about the *bjergmand*, *bjergfolk*, *bjergtrold*, are collected in Molbech's Dial. lex. p. 35-6. The *bjergmand*'s wife is a *bjergkone*. These traditions about earth-men and mountain-sprites all agree together. Slipping² into cracks and crevices of the hills, they seem to vanish suddenly, 'like the schwick,' as the Swiss tale has it, and as suddenly they come up from the ground; in all the places they haunt, there are shown such *dwarf's holes*, *querlich's holes*. So the *ludki* in Lausitz make their appearance out of underground passages like mouseholes; a Breton folk-song speaks of the *korred's grotto* (Villemarqué 1, 36). In such caves they pursue their occupations, collecting treasures, forging weapons curiously wrought; their kings fashion for themselves magnificent chambers underground, Elberich, Laurîn dwell in these wonderful mountains, men and heroes at times are tempted down, loaded with gifts, and let go, or held fast (see Suppl.). Dietrich von Bern at the close of his life is fetched away by a dwarf, Deut. heldens. p. 300; of Etzel, says the Nibelungs' Lament 2167, one knows not 'ob er sich *versluffe in löcher der steinwende*,' whether he have slipped away into holes of the rocks³: meaning probably, that, like Tannhäuser and faithful Eckart, he has got into the mount wherein *Dame Venus* dwells. Of this *Dame Venus*'s mount we have no accounts before the 15-16th centuries; one would like to know what earlier notions lie at the bottom of it: has *Dame Venus* been put in the place of a subterranean elf-queen, or of a goddess, such as *Dame Holda* or *Frikka*? Heinrich von Morunge sings of his beloved, MS. 1, 55^a:

Und dunket mich, wie si gê zuo mir *dur ganze müren*,
 ir trôst und ir helfe lâzent mich niht trâren;
 swenne si wil, so *vüeret sie mich hinnen*
 mit ir wîzen hant *hôhe über die zinnen*.
 ich wæne sie ist ein *Vênus hêre*.

¹ Other instances are collected in Ir. Elfenm. lxxvi. 'den bere bûten *wildiu getwerc*,' wild dwarfs inhabited the hill, Sigenot 118.

² *Stiefen* is said of them as of the fox in Reinh. xxxi.; our subst. *schlucht* stands for *sluft* (beschwichtigen, lucht, kracht, for swiften, luft, kraft), hence a hole to slip into.

³ Conf. Deutsche sagen, no. 383, on Theoderic's soul, how it is conveyed into Vulcan's abyss.

(Methinks she comes to me through solid walls, Her help, her comfort lets me nothing fear; And when she will she waffeth me from here With her white hand high o'er the pinuacles. I ween she is a Venus high.) He compares her then to a Venus or Holda, with the elvish power to penetrate through walls and carry you away over roof and tower (see chap. XXXI., Tannhäuser; and Suppl.). Accordingly, when a Hessian nursery-tale (no. 13) makes three *haule-männerchen* appear, these are henchmen of Holle, elves in her retinue, and what seems especially worthy of notice is their being *three*, and *endowing with gifts*: it is a rare thing to see male beings occupy the place of the fortune-telling wives. Elsewhere it is rather the little earth-wives that appear; in Hebel (ed. 5, p. 268) Eveli says to the wood-wife: 'God bless you, and if you're the *earth-mannikin's wife*, I won't be afraid of you.'¹

There is another point of connexion with Holda: the expressions 'die guten holden' (p. 266), '*guedeholden*' penates (Teutonista), or *holdichen*, *koldeken*, *holderchen* seem perfectly synonymous with 'the good elves;' *holdo* is literally a kind, favourably disposed being, and in Iceland *liuflingar* (darlings) and *huldufólk*, *huldumenn* (p. 272) are used for álfar. The form of the Dan. *hyldemænd* is misleading, it suggests the extraneous notion of *hyld* (*sambucus*, elder-tree), and makes Dame Holda come out as a *hyldemoer* or *hyldequind*, viz., a dryad incorporated with that tree (Thiele I, 132); but its real connexion with the *huldre* is none the less evident. Thus far, then, the elves are good-natured helpful beings; they are called, as quoted on p. 452, the *stille volk* (Deut. sagen, No. 30-1), the *good people*, *good neighbours*, *peaceful folk* (Gael. *daoine shi*, Ir. *daoine maith*, Wel. *dynion mad*). When left undisturbed in their quiet goings on, they maintain peace with men, and do them services when they can, in the way of smith-work, weaving and baking. Many a time have they given to people of their *new-baked bread* or *cakes* (Mone's Anz. 7, 475). They too in their turn require man's advice and assistance in certain predicaments, among which are

¹ One winter Hadding was eating his supper, when suddenly an earth-wife pushed her *head up through the floor by the fireside*, and offered him green vegetables. Saxo, p. 16, calls her *cicutarum gerula*, and makes her take Hadding into the subterranean land, where are meadows covered with grass, as in our nursery-tales which describe Dame Holla's underground realm. This grass-wife resembles a little earth-wife.

to be reckoned three cases in particular. In the first place, they fetch goodwives, midwives, to assist *she-dwarfs in labour*;¹ next, men of understanding to *divide a treasure*, to settle a dispute;² thirdly, they borrow a hall to hold their weddings in;³ but they requite every favour by bestowing jewels which bring luck to the man's house and to his descendants. They themselves, however, have much knowledge of occult healing virtues in plants and stones.⁴ In Rudlieb xvii. 18, the captured dwarf retorts the taunt of treachery in the following speech:

¹ Ranzan, Alvensleben, Halm. (Deut. sag. no. 41, 68-9); Müllenh. Schlesw. holst. sag. no. 443-4. Asbiörn Norw. s. 1, 18. Irish legends and fairy tales 1, 245-250. Mone's Anz. 7, 475; conf. Thiele 1, 36.—Hülphers's Samlingen om Jämtland (Westeras 1775, p. 210) has the following Swedish story:—'år 1660, då jag tillika med min hustru var gången til fäboderne, som ligga $\frac{3}{4}$ mil ifrån Ragunda prästegård, och der sent om qvällen suttit och talt en stund, kom en *liten man* ingående genom dören, och bad min hustru, det ville hon hjälpa hans *hustru*, som då låg och *quälde med barn*. Karlen var eljest liten til växten, *svart i synen*, och med gamla grå kläder försedd. Jag och min hustru sutto en stund och undrade på denne mannen, emedan vi understodo, at han var et *troll*, och hört berättas, det sådane, af bondfolk *vettar* kallade, sig altid i fäbodarne uppehålla, sedan folket om hösten sig derifrån begifvit. Men som han 4 å 5 gånger sin begäran påyrkade, och man derhos betänkte, hvad skada bondfolket berätta sig ibland af *vettarne* lidit, då de antingen svurit på dem, eller eljest vist dem med vrånga ord til helvetet; ty fattade jag då til det rådet, at jag läste öfver min hustru någre böner, välsignade henne, och bad henne i Guds namn följa med honom. Hon tog så i hastighet någre gamla linkläder med sig, och följde honom åt, men jag blef kvar sittande. Sedan nar hon mig vid återkomsten berättat, at då hon gått med mannen utom porten, tykte hon sig liksom föras nudi vädret en stund, och kom så uti en stuga, hvarest bredevid var en liten mörk kammare, das hans hustru låg och vändades med barn i en säng, min hustru har så stigit til henne, och efter en liten stund hjälpt henne, då hon födde barnet, och det med lika åtbörder, som andra menniskor plåga hafva. Karlen har sedan tilbndit henne mat, men som hon dertil nekade, ty tackade han henne och följde henne åt, hvarefter hon åter likasom farit i vädret, och kom efter en stund til porten igen vid passklockan 10. Emedertid voro en hoper *gamla silfverskedar* lagde på en hylla i stugan, och fann min hustru dem, då hon andra dagen stökade i vråerne: kunnandes förstå, at de af *vettret* voro dit lagde. At så i sanning är skedt, vitnar jag med mitt namns undersättande. Ragunda, d. 12 april, 1671. Pet. Rahm.' [Substance of the foregoing:—I, the undersigned, and my wife were accosted by a *little man with black face*: and old gray clothes, who begged my wife to come and aid his wife then *in labour*. Seeing he was a *troll*, such as the peasantry call *vettar* (wights), I prayed over my wife, blessed her, and bade her go. She seemed for a time to be borne along by the wind, found his wife in a little dark room, and helped, etc. Refused food, was carried home in the same way; found next day a heap of *old silver vessels* brought by the *vettre*.]

In Finland the vulgar opinion holds, that under the altars of churches there live small mis-shapen beings called *kirkonväki* (church-folk); that when their women have difficult labour, they can be relieved by a Christian woman visiting them and laying her hand on them. Such service they reward liberally with gold and silver. Mnémosyne, Abo 1821, p. 313.

² Pref. p. xxx. Neocorus 1, 542. Kinderm. 2, 43. 3, 172. 225. Nib. 92, 3. Bit. 7819. Conf. Deutsche heldensagen, p. 78.

³ Hoia (Deut. sagen, no. 35). Bonikau (Elisabeth von Orleans, Strassb. 1789, p. 133; Leipzig 1820, p. 450-1). Büsching's Wöchentl. nachr. 1, 98; conf. 101.

⁴ The wounded härdmändle, p. 450-1. Here are two Swedish stories given in Ödman's Bahuslän pp. 191, 224:—Biörn Mårtensson, accompanied by an archer,

Absit ut inter nos unquam regnaverit haec fraus !
 non tam *longaevi* tunc essemus neque *sani*.
 Inter vos nemo loquitur nisi corde doloso,
 hinc neque ad aetatem maturam pervenietis :
 pro cujusque fide sunt ejus tempora vitae.
Non aliter loquimur nisi sicut corde tenemus,
neque cibos varios edimus morbos generantes,
longius incolumes hinc nos durabimus ac vos.

Thus already in the 10th century the dwarf complains of the faithlessness of mankind, and partly accounts thereby for the shortness of human life, while dwarfs, because they are honest and feed on simple viands, have long and healthy lives. More intimately acquainted with the secret powers of nature, they can with greater certainty avoid unwholesome food. This remarkable passage justifies the opinion of the longevity of dwarfs ; and their avoidance of human food, which hastens death, agrees with the distinction drawn out on p. 318 between men and gods (see Suppl.).

went hunting in the high woods of Örnekulla ; there they found a *bergsmed* (mountain-smith) asleep, and the huntsman ordered the archer to seize him, but he declined : 'Pray God shield you ! the bergsmith will fling you down the hill.' But the huntsman was so daring, he went up and laid hands on the sleeper ; the bergsmith cried out, and begged they would let him go, he had a wife and seven little ones, and he would forge them anything they liked, they had only to put the iron and steel on the cliff, and they'd presently find the work lying finished in the same place. Biörn asked him, whom he worked for ? 'For my fellows,' he replied. As Biörn would not release him, he said : 'Had I my cap-of-darkness (*uddehat*, p. 463), you should not carry me away ; but if you don't let me go, none of your posterity will attain the greatness you enjoy, but will go from bad to worse.' Which afterwards came true. Biörn secured the bergsmith, and had him put in prison at Bohus, but on the third day he had disappeared.

At Mykleby lived Swen, who went out hunting one Sunday morning, and on the hill near Tyfveholan he spied a fine buck with a ring about his neck ; at the same instant a cry came out of the hill : 'Look, the man is shooting our ring-buck !' 'Nay,' cried another voice, 'he had better not, he has not washed this morning' (*i.e.*, been sprinkled with holy water in church). When Swen heard that, he immediately — —, washed himself in haste, and shot the ring-buck. Then arose a great screaming and noise in the hill, and one said : 'See, the man has taken his belt-flask and washed himself, but I will pay him out.' Another answered : 'You had better let it be, the *white buck* will stand by him.' A tremendous uproar followed, and a host of trolls filled the wood all round. Swen threw himself on the ground, and crept under a mass of roots ; then came into his mind what the troll had said, that the white buck, as he contemptuously called the church, would stand by him. So he made a vow, that if God would help him out of the danger, he would hand over the buck's ring to Mykleby church, the horns to Torp, and the hide to Langeland. Having got home uninjured, he performed all this : the ring, down to the year 1732, has been the knocker on Mykleby church door, and is of some unknown metal, like iron ore ; the buck's horn was preserved in Torp church, and the skin in Langeland church.

Whilst in this and other ways the dwarfs do at times have dealings with mankind, yet on the whole they seem to shrink from man; they give the impression of a downtrodden afflicted race, which is on the point of abandoning its ancient home to new and more powerful invaders. There is stamped on their character something *shy* and something *heathenish*, which estranges them from intercourse with christians. They chafe at human faithlessness, which no doubt would primarily mean the apostacy from heathenism. In the poems of the Mid. Ages, Laurin is expressly set before us as a *heathen*. It goes sorely against the dwarfs to see churches built, *bell-ringing* (supra, p. 5) disturbs their ancient privacy; they also hate the clearing of forests, agriculture, new fangled pounding-machinery for ore.¹

¹ More fully treated of in Ir. Elfenm. xciv. xcv.; conf. Thiele 1, 42. 2, 2. Faye p. 17, 18. *Heinchen* driven away by grazing herds and *tinkling sheepbells*, Variscia 2, 101. Hessian tales of *wichtelmännchen*, Kinderm. no. 39, to which I add the following one:—On the Schwalm near Uttershausen stands the Dosenberg; close to the river's bank are two apertures, once the exit and entrance holes of the *wichtelmänner*. The grandfather of farmer Tobi of Singlis often had a little *wichtelmann* come to him in a friendly manner in his field. One day, when the farmer was cutting corn, the *wichtel* asked him if he would undertake a carting job across the river that night for a handsome price in gold. The farmer said yes, and in the evening the *wichtel* brought a sack of wheat to the farmhouse as earnest; so four horses were harnessed, and the farmer drove to the foot of the Dosenberg. Out of the holes the *wichtel* brought heavy invisible loads to the waggon, which the farmer took through the water to the other side. So he went backwards and forwards from ten in the evening till four in the morning, and his horses at last got tired. Then said the *wichtel*: 'That will do, now you shall see what you have been carrying.' He bid the farmer *look over his right shoulder*, who then saw *the whole wide field full of little wichtelmen*. Said the *wichtel*: 'For a thousand years we have dwelt in the Dosenberg, our time is up now, we must away to another country; but there is money enough left in the mountain to content the whole neighbourhood.' He then loaded Tobi's waggou full of money, and went his way. The farmer with much trouble got his treasure home, and was now a rich man; his descendants are still well-to-do people, but the *wichtelmen* have vanished from the land for ever. On the top of the Dosenberg is a bare place where nothing will grow, it was bewitched by the *wichtel* holding their *trysts upon it*. Every seven years, generally on a Friday, you may see a *high blue flame* over it, covering a larger space of ground than a big caldron. People call it the *geldfeuer*, they have brushed it away with their feet (for it holds no heat), in hopes of finding treasure, but in vain: the devil had always some new hocuspocus to make some little word pop out of their mouths.

Then, lastly, a Low Saxon story of the Aller country:—Tau Offensen bin Kloster Wienhusen was en groten buern, Hövermann nenne he sick, die harre ok en schip up der Aller. Eins dages komt 2 lüe tau jüm un segget, he schölle se over dat water schippen. Tweimal fäuert hei over de Aller, jedesmal na den groten rume, den se Allerô heiten dauet, dat is ne grote unminschliche wische lang un breit, dat man se kums afkiken kann. Ans de buer taun tweitenmale over effüert is, segt ein von den *twarmen* to öme: 'Wut du nu ne summe geldes hebben, oder wut du na koptal betalt sin?' 'Iek will leiver ne summe geld nemen' sä de buer. Do nimt de eine von den *lütjen lüen* sinen haut af, un settet den dem schipper up: 'Du herrst dik doch beter estan, wenn du na koptal efodert herrst' segt de *twarm*;

Breton legend informs us: A man had dug a treasure out of a dwarf's hole, and then cautiously covered his floor with ashes and glowing embers; so when the dwarfs came at midnight to get their property back, they burnt their feet so badly, that they set up a loud wail (*supra*, p. 413) and fled in haste, but they smashed all his crockery. Villemarqué 1, 42 (see *Suppl.*).

From this dependence of the elves on man in some things, and their mental superiority in others, there naturally follows a *hostile* relation between the two. Men disregard elves, elves *do mischief* to men and *tease* them. It was a very old belief, that dangerous *arrows* were shot down from the air by elves; this evidently means light elves, it is never mentioned in stories of dwarfs, and the AS. formula couples together 'êšagescot and *ylfagescot*,' these elves being apparently armed with weapons like those of the gods themselves; ¹ the divine thunderbolt is even called an *albschoss* (pp. 179, 187), and in Scotland the *elf-arrow*, *elf-flint*, *elf-bolt* is a hard pointed wedge believed to have been discharged by spirits; the turf cut out of the ground by lightning is supposed to be thrown up by them.² On p. 187 I have already inferred, that there must have been some closer connexion, now lost to us, between elves and the Thundergod: if it be that his bolts were *forged* for him by elves, that points rather to the black elves.

Their *touch*, their *breath* may bring sickness or death on man and beast; ³ one whom their *stroke* has fallen on, is lost or incapable (*Danske viser* 1, 328): lamed cattle, bewitched by them,

un de buer, de vorher nichts nich seien harre, un den et so lichte in schipp vorkomen was, ans of he nichts inne herre, süit de ganze *Allerô von luter lütjen minschen krummeln un weimmeln*. Dat sind de *twarme* west, dei wier trökken sind. Von der tit heft Hövermanns noch immer vull geld ehat, dat se nich kennen deen, averst nu sind se sau ein nan annern ut estorven, un de hof is verkoft. 'Wann ist denn das gewesen?' Vor olen tien, ans de *twarme* noch sau in der welt wesen sind, nu gift et er wol keine mehr, vor drüttig, virzig jaren. [Substance of the foregoing: —Hövermann, a large farmer at Offensen, had also a ship on the R. Aller. Two little men asked him to ferry them over. He did so twice, each time to a large open space called Allerô. Dwarf: 'Will you have a lump sum, or be paid so much a head?' Farmer: 'A lump sum.' Dwarf: 'You'd better have asked so much a head.' He put his own hat on the farmer's head, who then saw the whole *Allerô swarming with little men*, who had been ferried across. The Hövermanns grew rich, have now all died out, farm sold. 'When did that happen?' Ages ago, in the olden time, when dwarfs were in the world, 30 or 40 years ago.]

¹ *Arrows* of the Servian *vila*, p. 436. The Norw. *äll-skudt*, *elf-shotten*, is said of sick cattle, Sommerfelt Saltdalens prästegjeld, p. 119. Scot. *elfshot*.

² Irish Elf-stories xlv. xlvi. cii.

³ *Ibid.* ciii. .

are said in Norway to be *dverg-slagen* (Hallager p. 20); the term *elbentrötsch* for silly halfwitted men, whom their avenging hand has touched, was mentioned on p. 443. One who is seduced by elves is called in Danish *ellevild*, and this *ellevildelse* in reference to women is thus described: 'at elven legede med dem.' Blowing puffing beings language itself shews them to be from of old: as *spiritus* comes from spirare, so does *geist*, *ghost* from the old verb *gîsan* (flari, cum impetu ferri); the ON. *gustr*, Engl. *gust*, is flatus, and there is a dwarf named *Gustr* (Sæm. 181^b);¹ other dwarfs, *Austri*, *Vestri*, *Norðri*, *Suðri* (Sæm. 2^b. Sn. 9. 15. 16) betoken the four winds, while *Vindálfr*, still a dwarf's name, explains itself.² Beside the breathing, the mere *look* of an elf has magic power: this our ancient idiom denominates *intsehan* (torve intueri, Gramm. 2, 810), MHG. *entsehen*: 'ich hân in gesegent (blessed), er was *entsehen*,' Eracl. 3239; 'von der *elbe* wirt *entsehen* vil maneger man,' MS. 1, 50^b (see Suppl.).

The *knot-holes in wood* are popularly ascribed to elves. In Småland a tale is told about the ancestress of a family whose name is given, that she was an elfmaid, that she came into the house *through a knot-hole in the wall with the sunbeams*; she was married to the son, bore him four children, then *vanished* the same way as she had come. Afzelius 2, 145. Thiele 2, 18. And not only is it believed that they themselves can creep through, but that whoever looks through can see things otherwise hidden from him; the same thing happens if you look through the hole made in the skin of a beast by an elf's arrow. In Scotland a knot-hole is called *elfbore*, says Jamieson: 'a hole in a piece of wood, out of which a knot has dropped or been driven: viewed as the operation of the fairies.' They also say *auwisbore*, Jutish *ausbor* (Molbeck's Dial. lex. p. 22. 94). If on the hill inhabited by elves the following rhyme be uttered 15 times:

ällkuon, ällkuon, est du her iun,
saa ska du herud paa 15 iegepinn!

(elf-woman, art thou in here, so shalt thou come out through 15

¹ Norweg. *algust*, an illness caused by having been breathed upon by elves, Hallager 4^b.

² Old French legend has an elf called *Zephyr*; there is a German home-sprite *Blaserle*, Mone's Anzeiger 1834, p. 260.

oak knot-holes, egepind), the elfin is bound to make her appearance, Molb. Dial. 99 (see Suppl.).

In name, and still more in idea, the elf is connected with the ghostlike butterfly, the product of repeated changes of form. An OHG. gloss (Graff 1, 243) says: *brucus, locusta quae nondum volavit, quam vulgo albam vocant*. The *alp* is supposed often to assume the shape of a butterfly, and in the witch-trials the name of *elb* is given by turns to the caterpillar, to the chrysalis, and to the insect that issues from it. And these share even the names of *gute holden* and *böse dinger* (evil things) with the spirits themselves.

These light airy sprites have an advantage over slow unwieldy man in their godlike power (p. 325) of *vanishing* or making themselves *invisible*.¹ No sooner do they appear, than they are snatched away from our eyes. Only he that wears the ring can get a sight of Elberich, Ortn. 2, 68. 70. 86. 3, 27. With the light elves it is a matter of course, but neither have the black ones forfeited the privilege. The invisibility of dwarfs is usually lodged in a particular part of their dress, a *hat* or a *cloak*, and when that is accidentally dropt or cast aside, they suddenly become visible. The dwarf-tales tell of *nebelkappen* (Deut. sag. nos. 152-3-5), of *gray coats* and *red caps* (Thiele 1, 122. 135), of *scarlet cloaks* (supra, p. 451n.).² Earlier centuries used the words *helkappe*, *helkeplein*, *helkleit* (Altd. bl. 1, 256), *nebelkappe* (MS. 2, 156^a. 258^b; Morolt 2922. 3932) and *tarnkappe*. By Alberich's and afterwards Sigfrit's *tarnkappe* (Nib. 98, 3. 336, 1. 442, 2. 1060, 2) or simply *kappe* (335, 1) we must understand not a mere covering for the head, but an entire cloak; for in 337, 1 we have also *tarnhût*, the protecting skin, and the

¹ 'Hujus tempore principis (Heinrici ducis Karinthiae) in montanis suae ditionis *gens gnana* in cavernis montium habitavit, cum hominibus vescebantur, ludebant, bibebant, choreas ducebant, sed *invisibiliter*. Literas scribebant, republicam inter se gerebant, legem habentes et principem, fidem catholicam profitentes, domicilia hominum *latenter* intrantes, hominibus consedentes et aridentes. . . . Principe subducto, nihil de eis amplius est auditum. Dicitur quod *gemmas gestant*, quae eos reddunt *invisibiles*, quia *deformatem et parvitatem* corporum erubescunt.' Anon. Leobicens. ad ann. 1335 (Pez 1, 940^a).

² Ol. Wormius's pref. to Claussön's Dan. transl. of Snorre, Copenh. 1633: 'derfor sigis de (dverger) at hafve *hätte* paa, huormid kunde giöre sig usynlig.' Other proofs are collected in Ir. Elfenm. lxxiv. lxxv. A schretel wears a *rôtez keppel* on him (not on his head), *ibid.* cxvi. Rollenhagen's 'bergmännlein' wear little white shirts and *pointed caps*, Froschmeuseler xx. v^b. Mangis, the Carolingian sorcerer, is called 'lerres (latro) o le noir *chaperon*.'

schretel's 'rôtez *keppel*' becomes in H. Sachs 1, 280^b a '*mantel* scharlach rot des zwergeins.' Beside invisibility, this cloak imparts superior strength, and likewise control over the dwarf nation and their hoard. In other instances the cap alone is meant: a Norwegian folk-tale in Faye p. 30 calls it *uddehat* (pointed hat?), and a home-sprite at Hildesheim bears the name of *Hôdeken* from the felt hat he wore. Probably the OHG. *helot-helm* (latibulum), Gl. Hrab. 969^a, the OS. *helith-helm*, Hel. 164, 29, AS. *heolðhelm*, Cod. Exon. 362, 31, *hældðhelm*, Cædm. 29, 2, ON. *hialmr huliz* (an Eddic word for cloud), Sæm. 50^a,¹ and the AS. *grînhelm*, Cædm. 188, 27. 198, 20. Beow. 666, all have a similar meaning, though the simple helm and grîme (p. 238) already contain the notion of a covering and a mask; for *helm* is from *helan* (celare) as huot, hood, or hat, from huotan (tegere). No doubt other superior beings, beside elves and dwarfs, wore the invisible-making garment; I need only mention Oðin's *hat* with turned-up brim (p. 146), Mercury's *petasus*, Wish's hat, which our fairy-tales still call *wishing-hat*,² and Pluto's or Orcus's *helmet* (*Ἄϊδος κωνέη*, Il. 5, 845. Hesiod, Scut. 227). The dwarfs may have stood in some peculiar, though now obscured, relation to Oðinn, as the hat-wearing pataeci, cabiri and Dioscuri did to Jupiter (see Suppl.).

From such ability to conceal their form, and from their teasing character in general, there will arise all manner of deception and disappointment (conf. Suppl. to p. 331), to which man is exposed in dealing with elves and dwarfs. We read: *der alp triuget* (cheats), Fundgr. 327, 18; *den triuget*, weiz Got, nicht der *alp*, not even the elf can trick him, Dint. 2, 34; Silvester 5199; *die mag triegen wol der alp*, Suchenwirt xxxi. 12; *ein getroc daz mich in dem slâfe triuget*, Ben. 429; *dich triegen die elbin* (l. elbe, rhyme selbe), Altd. bl. 1, 261; *elbe triegent*, Amgb. 2^b; *diu elber triegent*, Herbort 5^b; *in bedûhto daz in trûge ein alp*, Ir. elfenn. lvii.; *alfs ghedroch*, Elegast 51, 775. Reinh. 5367, conf. Horae Belg. 6, 218-9; *alfsche droch*, Reinaert (proso lxxii.^a). In our

¹ Fornm. sög. 2, 141 says of Eyvindr the sorcerer: 'giörði þeim *hulidshialm*,' made for them a mist, darkness. *hulinhialmr*, Fornald. sög. 3, 219; *kuþshöutr* 1, 9. 2, 20. See Rafn's Index sub v. dulgerfi.

² A weighty addition to the arguments for the identity of Wuotan and Mercury; conf. p. 419 on the wishing-rod.

elder speech *gitroc, getroc, âgetroc, abegetroc*, denotes trickery especially diabolic, proceeding from evil spirits (Gramm. 2, 709. 740-1).¹ To the same effect are some other disparaging epithets applied to elves: *elbischez getwâs, elbischez âs, elbischez ungehiure*, as the devil himself is called a *getwâs* (*fantasma*) and a monster. So, of the morbid oppression felt in sleep and dreaming, it is said quite indifferently, either: 'the devil has shaken thee, *ridden* thee,' 'hînaht *rîtert* dich *satanas* (Satan shakes thee to-night),' Fundgr. 1, 170; or else the *elf*, the *nightmare*²: 'dich hat *geriten* der *mar*,' 'ein *alp zoumet* dich (bridles thee).' And as Dame Holle *entangles* one's spinning or hair (p. 269), as she herself has *tangled* hair,³ and as stubbly hair is called *Hollenzopf*;⁴ so the nightelf, the nightmare, rolls up the hair of men or the manes and tails of horses, in knots, or chews them through: *alpzopf, drutenzopf, wichtelzopf, weichselzopf* (of which more hereafter), in Lower Saxony *mahrenlocke, elfklatte* (Brem. wörtl. 1, 302), Dan. *marelok*, Engl. *elflocks* (Nares sub v.), *elvish knots*, and in Shakspeare to *elf* means to mat: 'elf all my hair in knots,' K. Lear ii. 3. Here will come in those '*comae* equorum diligenter *tricatae*,' when the white women make their midnight rounds (supra, p. 287). The Lithuanian elf named *aitwaras* likewise mats the hair: *aitwars* yo plaukus suzindo, suwele (has drawn his hair together). Lasicz 51 has: *aitwaros*, incubus qui post sepes habitat (from *twora sepes*, and *ais pone*). Some parts of Lower Saxony give to the *wichtelzopf* (*plica polonica*) the name of *selkensteert*, selkin's tail (Brem. wörtl. 4, 749), *sellentost* (Hufeland's Journal 11. 43), which I take to mean tuft of the goodfellow, homesprite

¹ Daz analutte des sih pergenten *trugetievels*, N. Bth. 44; *gidrog phantasma*, O. iii. 8, 24; *gedrog*, Hel. 89, 22; *tievels getroc*, Karl 62^a; 'ne dragu ic ênic drugi thing,' Hel. 8, 10. The dwarf Elberich (Ortn. 3, 27. 5, 105) is called 'ein *trügewiz*'; conf. infra, bilwiz.

² Our *nachtmar* I cannot produce either in OHG. or MHG. Lye gives AS. '*mære fæcce*' incubus, ephialtes, but I do not understand *fæcce*. Nearly akin is the Pol. *mora*, Boh. *mîra*, elf and evening butterfly, sphinx. In the Mark they say both *alb* and *mahre*, Adalb. Kuhn, p. 374. French *cauchemare, cochemar*, also *chaucheville, chaunchi vieilli* (Mém. des Antiq. 4. 399; J. J. Champollion Figeac patois, p. 125); Ital. *pesaruole*, Span. *pesadilla*, O. Fr. *appesart*; these from *caucher* (*calcare*), and *pesar* (to weigh down).

³ In Kinderm. 3, 44, Holle gets her terrible hair combed out, which had not been combed for a year. A girl, whom she has gifted, combs pearls and precious stones out of her own hair.

⁴ Hess. *Hollezaul* (for *-zagel*, tail), *Hollezopp*, Schmidt's Westerw. idiot. 341. Adellung has: '*hüllenzopf*, *plica polonica*, Pol. *koltun*, Boh. *koltaun*.'

(gesellchen).¹ In Thuringia *saellocke*, Prætorius's Weltbeschr. 1, 40. 293 (see Suppl.).

The Edda nowhere represents either *âlfar* or *dvergar* as mounted, whilst our poems of the Mid. Ages make both Elberich and Laurîn come *riding*. Heinrich von Ofterdingen bestows on them a steed 'als ein *geiz* (goat),' and Ulrich's Alexander gives the dwarf king Antilois a pony the *size of a roe*,² while Altd. bl. 2, 151 without more ado mounts the wihitel on a *white roe*. Antilois is richly dressed, bells tinkle on his bridle-reins; he is angry with Alexander for spoiling his flower-garden, as Laurîn is with Dietrich and Wittich. The Welsh stories also in Crofton Croker 3, 306 say: 'they were very diminutive persons riding four abreast, and mounted on *small white horses no bigger than dogs*' (see Suppl.).

All dwarfs and elves are *thievish*. Among Eddic names of dwarfs is an *Albiofr*, Sæm. 2^b; *Alpris*, more correctly *Alfrîkr dvergr*, in Vilks. saga cap. 16, 40. is called 'hinu mikli stelari'; and in the Titurel 27, 288 (Hahn 4105), a notorious thief, who can steal the eggs from under birds, is *Elbegast* (corrupted into *Elegast*, *Algast*). In our Low German legends they lay their plans especially against the *pea-fields*.³ Other thefts of dwarfs

¹ Ogonezyk Zakrzewski, in his Hist. of plica polonica (Vienna, 1830), observes, that its cure also is accomplished with superstitious ceremonies. In Podlachia the elftuft is solemnly cut off at Easter time and buried. In the Skawina district about Craeow, it is partially cropped with red-hot shears, a piece of copper money tied up in it, and thrown into the ruins of an old castle in which evil spirits lodge; but whoever does this must not look round, but hasten home as fast as he can. Superstitious formulas for the cure of plica are given by Zakrzewski, p. 20, out of an Old Boh. MS. of 1325.

² Wackernagel's Basel MSS. p. 28.

³ Deut. sagen, nos 152, 155; to which I will here add two communicated by Hr. Schambach. The first is from Jühnde, near Göttingen:—Vor nich langer tid gaf et to Jiine noch twarge. Düse plegten up et feld to gan, un den liien de arften (leuten die erbsen) weg to stelen, wat se iim san lichter konnen, da se unsichtbar wören dor (dureh) ene kappe, dei se uppen koppe harren (hatten). Sau wören nu ok de twarge enen manne iimmer up sin grat arftenstüeke egan, un riehteden öne velen schäen darup an. Düt duerde san lange, bet hei up den infal kam, de twarge to fengen. Hei tog alsan an hellen middage en sel (seil) rings iim dat feld. As nu de twarge nmer den sel dorkrupen wollen, fellen önen de kappen af, se seiten nu alle in blaten köppen, un wören sichtbar. De twarge, dei sau efongen wören, geiwen öne vele gaue wore, dat he dat sel wegnömen mögde, un versproken ene mette (miethe) geld davor to gewen, hei solle mant *vor sunnenupgange* weer (wieder) an düse stêe komen. En ander man segde öne awer, hei mögde nich gegen sunnenupgang, sundern schon iim twölwe hengan, denn da wöre de dag ok schon anegan. Düt dē he, un richtig wören de twarge da met ener mette geld. Davon heiten de liie, dei dei mette geld ekregen harren, Mettens. [Epitome:—Dwarfs at Jühnde preyed on the pea-fields; wore caps which made them invisible. One man at high noon stretched a cord round his field. Dwarfs, creeping under it, brushed

are collected in Elfenm. xcii. xciii., and their longing for children and blooming maids is treated of, p. civ. cv. Dwarf-kings *run away with* maidens to their mountains: Laurin with the fair Similt (Sindhilt?), Goldemar or Volmar with a king's daughter (Deut. heldensag. 174, Haupt's Zeitschr. 6, 522-3); the Swed. folk-lay 'Den *bergtagna*' (-taken) tells of a virgin, who spends eight years with a *mountain-king*, and brings him seven sons and a daughter, before she sees her home again.¹ The following

their caps off, became visible and were caught; promised him money, if he came there again *before sunrise*. A friend advised him to go as early as 12, for even then the day (of the dwarfs?) was begun. He did so, and got his meed.]

The second story is from Dorste in Osterode bailiwick:—En buere harre arften buten stan, dei wören öne timmer utefreten. Da word den bueren esegt, hei solle hengan un slaen met wëenrauen (weidenruten) drupe rüm, sau sleugde gewis einen de kappe af. Da geng he ok hen met sinnen ganzen lüen, un funk ok enen twarg, dei sie (sagte) tau öne, wenn he öne wier las lan (wieder los lassen) wolle, sau wolle öne enn wagen vul geld gewen, hei möste awer *vor sunnenuppgauge* komen. Da leit ne de buere las, un de twarg sie öne, wo sine hüle wöre. Do ging de buere henn un frang enn, wunnin dat denn die sunne upginge? Dei sie tau öne, dei ginge glocke twölwe up. Da spanne ok sinen wagen an, un tug hen. Assé (as he) vor de hülen kam, do juchen se drinne un sungen:

Dat ist gaut, dat de büerken dat nich weit,
dat de sunne üm twölwe up geit!

Assé sek awer melle, wesden se öne en afgefillet perd, dat solle mée (mit) nömen, wier (weiter) können se öne nits gewen. Da was de buere argerlich, awer hei wolle doch fleisch vor sine hunne mée nömen, da haude en grat stücke af, un laud et upen wagen. Asser mée na hus kam, da was alles schire gold. Da wollet andere noch nae langén, awer da was hüle un perd verschwunnen. [Épitome:—A farmer, finding his peas eaten, was advised to beat all round with willow twigs, sure to knock a dwarf's cap off. Caught a dwarf, who promised a waggon full of money if he'd come to his cave *before sunrise*. Asked a man when sunrise was? 'At twelve.' Went to the cave, heard shouting and singing: 'Tis well the poor peasant but little knows that twelve is the time when the sun up goes!' Is shown a skinned horse, he may take that! Gets angry, yet cuts a great piece off for his dogs. When he got home, it was all sheer gold. Went for the rest; cave and horse were gone.]

The remarkable *trysting-time before sunrise* seems to be explained by the dwarf-kind's shyness of daylight, which appears even in the Edda, Sæm. 51b: they *avoid the sun*, they have in their caves a different light and different time from those of men. In Norse legends re-appears the trick of engaging a troll in conversation till the sun is risen: when he looks round and sees the sun, he splits in two; Asbiörnsen and Moe, p. 186. [The *märchen* of Rumpelstilzchen includes the dwarfs' song, 'Tis well,' etc., the splitting in two, and the kidnapping presently to be mentioned.]

¹ But she-dwarfs also marry men; Ödman (Bahuslän, p. 78-9, conf. Afzelius 2, 157) relates quite seriously, and specifying the people's names:—Reors föräldrar i Hogen i Lurssockn, some bodde i Fuglekärr i Svarteborgssockn; hvars farfar var en skött, ok bodde vid et berg, ther fick han se mitt på dagen *sitjande en vacker piga på en sten*, ther med at fånga henne, *kastade han stål emellan berget ok henne*, hvarpå hennes far gasmade eller log in i berget, ok öppnade bergets dörr, tilfrågandes honom, om han vill ha hans dotter? Hvilket han med ja besvarade, ok efter *hon var helt naken*, tog han sina kläder ok hölgde ofver henne, ok lät christna henne. Vid afträdet sade hennes far til honom: 'när tu skalt ha bröllup, skalt tu laga til 12 tunnör öl ok baka en hop bröd ok kiött efter 4 stutar, ok kiöra til *jordhögen* eller *berget*, ther jag håller til, ok när brudskänken skall utdelas, skall jag väl ge min';

legend from Dorste near Osterode, it will be seen, transfers to *dwarfs* what the *Kindermärchen* No. 46 relates of a sorcerer:—
 Et was enmal en mäken int holt nan arberen egan, da keimen de *twarge* un neiment mée. Da se na örer hülen keimen, da verleifde sek de eine *twarg* in se, un da solle se öne ok frien, awer iest (erst) wollen de *twarge* de andern *twarge* taur hochtit bidden, underdes solle dat mäken in huse alles reine maken un taur hochtit anreien. Awer dat mäken, dat wolle den *twarg* nich frien, da wollet weglopen, awer dat se't nich glik merken, tug et sin teug ut un tug dat ne strawisch an, un da sach et ne tunne vul hunig, da krup et rinder (hinein), un da sach et ok ne tunne vul feddern, un da krup et ok rinder, un da et wedder ruter kam, was et gans vul feddern, un da leip et weg un steig upn hoagen boam. Da keimen de *twarge* derbunder (darunter) vorbei, un da se't seichen, meinen se, et wöre en vugel, da reipen se't an un sêen :

‘Wohen, woher du schöäne feddervugel?’

‘Ek kome ut der *twarges* hüle.’

‘Wat maket de schöäne junge brât?’

‘Dei steit metn bessen un keret dat hus.’

‘Juchhei! sau wil wie ok hen.’

Und da se hen keimen, sêen se taur brut ‘gûen morgen,’ un sêen noch mehr dertau; awer da se nich antwure, sleuchten se'r hinder de aren, un da fell se hen¹ (see Suppl.).

hvilket ok skedde. Ty när de andre gåfvo, *lyfte han up tacket ok kastade en så stor pemingeposse ther igenom*, at bänken så när gådt af, ok sade thervid: ‘ther är min skänk!’ ok sade ytterligare: ‘när tu skal ha tin hemmagifta, skaltu kiöra med 4 hästar hit til berget ok få tin andel.’ Tå han sedermera efter hans begäran kom tit, fik han *kopparkättlar*, then ene större än then andre, tils then yttersta største kättelen blef upfyld med andra mindre; item brandereatur, som voro hielmeta, af hvilken färg ok creaturslag, som äro stora ok frodiga, the än ha qvar på rik, i Tanums güll beläget. Thenne mannen Reors far i Foglekürsten benämnd, aflade en hop barn med thenna sin således från berget afhämtade hustru, bland hvilka var nämmemannen Reor på Hogen; so har Ola Stenson i stora Rijk varit Reors syster-son, hvilken i förledit år med döden afgik. [Epitome:—Reor's fathers dwelt, etc. One, an archer, lived near a hill, saw one day at noon a *fine girl sitting on a stone*; to get her, he *threw steel between her and the hill*. Her father opened the door of the hill, asked him if he wanted his daughter. He answered yes, and as she was *naked*, threw some of his clothes over her; had her christened. Father: ‘At thy wedding bring ale, bread and horseflesh to my *hill*, and I will give thee a wedding gift.’ This being done, he lifted their roof and threw in a great sum of money. ‘Now for house-furniture, come here with four horses.’ The man did so, and received *copper kettles* of all sizes, one inside the other, etc., etc. By this wife, thus fetched from the hill, he had many children; one was Reor, whose nephew O. S. died only last year.]

¹ Translation:—Once a girl had gone into the wood after strawberries, when the

They *abstract* well-shaped children from the cradle, and substitute their own ugly ones, or even themselves. These supposititious creatures are called changelings, *cambiones* (App., Superst. E.); OHG. *wihselinga* (N. Ps. 17, 46. Cant. Deuteron. 5), our *wechselbälge*; Swed. *bytingar*, Dan. *bittinger*; also our *kielkröpfe*, *dickköpfe* from their thick necks and heads. (Stories about them in Thiele 1, 47. 3, 1. Faye p. 20. Ir. Elfenm. xli.-xlv. cv. Deut. sag. nos. 81-2, 87-90.)¹ So early as in the poem 'Zeno' (Brunns p. 27 seq.) it is the *devil* that fills the place of a stolen child. The motive of the exchange seems to be, that elves are anxious to improve their breed by means of the human child, which they design to keep among them, and for which they give up one of their own. A safeguard against such substitution is, to place a key, or one of the father's clothes, or

dwarfs came and carried her off. When they got to their cave, one dwarf fell in love with her, and she was to marry him; but first the dwarfs were going to bid the other dwarfs to the wedding, in the meantime the girl was to make the house clean and prepare it for the wedding. But the girl, she did not want to marry the dwarf, so she would run away; but that they might not notice it at once, she pulled her dress off and put it round a bundle of straw; then she saw a tub full of honey and crept into it, and then she saw a tub full of feathers and crept into that also, and when she came out again, she was all over feathers; then she ran away, and climbed up a high tree. Then the dwarfs came past under it, and when they saw her, they thought she was a bird, and called to her and said: 'Whither and whence, thou pretty feathered bird?'—'I come out of the dwarf's hole'—'What does the pretty young bride?'—'She stands with a besom and sweeps the house.'—'Hurra! then we'll go there too.'—And when they got there, they said to the bride 'good morning,' and said other things too; but as she never answered, they boxed her ears, and down she fell.

Assuredly the dwarfs in this story are genuine and of old date. Besides, it can be supplemented from Kinderm. 3, 75, where the returning dwarfs are preceded by foxes and bears, who also go past and question the 'Fitcher's fowl.' There the tub of *honey* in the dwarf's house is a cask of *blood*, but both together agree wonderfully with the vessels which the dwarfs Fialar and Galar keep filled with Kvási's precious blood and with honey. Sn. 83. 84.

¹ Dresd. saml. no. 15, of the 'müllers sun.' A foolish miller begs a girl to teach him the sweetness of love. She makes him lick honey all night, he empties a big jar, gets a stomach-ache, and fancies himself about to become a parent. She sends for a number of old women to assist him: 'da fragt er, war sein kind wer komen (what's come of the baby)? sie sprachen: hastu nit vernommen? ez was ain rechter *wislouback* (regular changeling), und tett als ein *quoter schalk*: da er erst von deinem leib kam (as soon as born), da fuer ez pald hin und entran hin uff zuo dem fürst empor. Der müller sprach: pald hin uff daz spor! vachent ez (catch him)! pringent ez mir herab!' They bring him a swallow in a covered pot.—Again a Hessian folk-tale: A woman was cutting corn on the Dosenberg, and her infant lay beside her. A *wichtel-wife* crept up, took the human child, and put her own in its place. When the woman looked for her darling babe, there was a frightful thick-head staring in her face. She screamed, and raised such a hue and cry, that at last the thief came back with the child; but she would not give it up till the woman had put the *wichtelbalg* to her breast, and nourished it for once with the generous milk of human kind.

steel and needles in the cradle (App., Superst. Germ. 484. 744. Swed. 118).¹

One of the most striking instances of agreement that I know of anywhere occurs in connection with prescriptions for *getting rid of your changeling*.

In Hesse, when the wichtelmann sees water boiled over the fire in eggshells, he cries out: 'Well, I am as *old as the Westwald*, but I never saw anything boiled in eggshells;' Km. no. 39. In Denmark a pig stuffed with skin and hair is set before the changeling: 'Now, I have seen the *wood* in Tisö *young three times over*, but never the like of this': Thiele 1, 48. Before an Irish changeling they also boil eggshells, till he says: 'I've been *in the world 1500 years*, and never seen that'; Elfenm. p. 38. Before a Scotch one the mother puts twenty-four eggshells on the hearth, and listens for what he will say; he says: 'I was *seven* before I came to my nurse, I have lived *four years* since, and never did I see so many milkpans;' Scott's Mintrelsy 2, 174. In the Breton folksong (Villemarqué 1, 29) he sees the mother cooking for ten servantmen in one eggshell, and breaks out into the words: 'I have seen the *egg before* [it became] *the white hen*, and the *acorn before the oak*, seen it acorn and sapling and oak in Brezal wood, but never aught like this.' This story about the changeling is also applied to Dame Gauden's little dog, chap. XXXI. Villemarqué 1, 32, quotes in addition a Welsh legend and a passage from Geoffrey of Monmouth, in which the Breton and Welsh formula for great age is already put into the mouth of Merlin the wild; in each case an ancient forest is named. In all these stories the point was, by some out-of-the-way proceeding, to get the changeling himself to confess his age, and consequently the exchange. Such traditions must have been widely spread in Europe from the earliest times; and it was evidently assumed, that elves and korred had a very different term of life assigned them from that of the human race (see Suppl.).

All elves have an irresistible fondness for *music* and *dancing*. By night you see them tread their round on the moonlit meadows,

¹ The Finns call a changeling *luoti*: monstrum nec non infans matre dormiente a magis suppositus, quales putant esse infantem rachitide laborantem (Renvall). A Breton story of the *korrigan* changing a child is in Villemarqué 1, 25.

and at dawn perceive their track in the dew: Dan. *älledands*, Swed. *älfands*, Engl. *fairy rings*, *fairy green*. The sight of mountain-spirits *dancing* on the meadows betokens to men a fruitful year (Deut. sag. no. 298). An Austrian folk-song in Schottky, p. 102, has: ‘und duärt drobn afin beargl, da *dânzn* zwoa zweargl, de *dânzn* so rar.’ In Laurin’s mountain, in Venus’s mountain, there murmurs a gay seductive music, dances are trod in them (Laurin, 24); in the Ortnit (Ettm. 2, 17) there is ‘ein *smalez* pfat getreten mit *kleinen* fúezen,’ a small path trod by little feet. Songs of *elfins* allure young men up the mountain, and all is over with them (Svenska fornsånger 2, 305. Danske viser 1, 235–240).¹ This performance is called *elffrus lek*, *elfvelek*. The ordinary fornyrdalag² bears among Icelandic poets the name *liuflingslag* (carmen genii), Olafsen p. 56; in Norway that kind of sweet music is called *huldreslåt* (supra, p. 271). One unprinted poem in MHG. (Cod. pal. 341. 357^a) contains the remarkable passage: ‘there sat fiddlers, and all fiddled the *albleich* (elf-lay)’; and another (Altd. bl. 2, 93) speaks of ‘seiten spil und *des wihfels schal*’: it must have been a sweet enchanting strain, whose invention was ascribed to the elves.³ Finn Magnusen derives the name of the dwarf Haugspori (Sæm. 2^b) from the footmarks printed on grass by an elf roaming over the hills at night. And a song in Villemarqué 1, 39 makes the dwarfs dance themselves out of breath (see Suppl.).

This fondness of elves for melody and dance links them with higher beings, notably with half-goddesses and goddesses. In the ship (of Isis) songs of joy resound in the night, and a dancing multitude circles round it (p. 258). In Dame Holda’s dwelling, in Dame Venus’s mountain, are the song and the dance. Celtic traditions picture the fays as *dancing* (Mém. de l’acad. celt. 5, 108); these fays stand midway between elfins and wise women.⁴ The Hymn to Aphrodite 260 says of the mountain-nymphs:

δηρὸν μὲν ζῶουσι καὶ ἄμβροτον εἶδαρ ἔδουσι,
καὶ τε μετ’ ἀθανάτοισι καλὸν χορὸν ἐρρώσαντο.

¹ Folk-tale of the Hanebjerg in the Antiquariske Annaler 1, 331–2.

² Fornyrða-lag, ancient word-lay, the alliterative metre of narrative verse, in which the poems of the Elder Edda are written.—TRANS.

³ Conf. Ir. Elfenm. lxxxii.–lxxxiii., and the wihfel-show above, p. 441 note; Ihre sub v. älfdans; Arndt’s Journey to Sweden 3, 16.

⁴ Like the Servian *vily*, who hold their dance on mountain and mead, p. 456.

(On deathless food they feed, and live full long, And whirl with gods through graceful dance and song.) No wonder our sage elves and dwarfs are equally credited with having the gift of *divination*. As such the dwarf Andvari appears in the Edda (Sæm. 181^a), and still more Alvís (all-wise); dwarf Eugel (L. Germ. Ögel) prophesies to Siegfried (Hörn. Sifr. 46, 4. 162, 1), so does Grípir in the Edda, whose father's name is Eylimí; in the OFr. Tristran, the nains (nanus) Frocin is a *devins* (divinator), he interprets the stars at the birth of children (ll. 318-326. 632). When, in legends and fairy tales, dwarfs appear singly among men, they are *sage counsellors* and helpful, but also apt to fire up and take offence. Such is the character of Elberich and Oberon; in a Swiss nursery-tale (no. 165), '*e chlis isigs mandle*' (a little ice-grey mannikin), '*e chlis mutzigs mandle*' (stumpy m.), appears in an '*isige chläidle*' (grey coat), and guides the course of events; elves forewarn men of impending calamity or death (Ir. Elfenm. lxxxvi.). And in this point of view it is not without significance, that elves and dwarfs ply the *spinning* and *weaving* so much patronized by Dame Holda and Frikka. The flying gossamer in autumn is in vulgar opinion the thread spun by elves and dwarfs; the Christians named it Marienfaden (-thread), Mariensommer, because Mary too was imagined spinning and weaving. The Swed. *dverg* signifies araneus as well as nanus, and *dvergs-nät* a cobweb.¹ The ON. saga of Samson hinn fagri mentions in cap. 17 a marvellous '*skickja, sem álfkonurnar höfðu ofit,*' mantle that elfins had woven. On a hill inhabited by spirits you hear at night the *elfin* (which 'troidkone' here must mean) *spinning*, and her wheel humming, says Thiele 3, 25. Melusiua the fay is called *alvinne* in a Mid. Nethl. poem (Mone's Nederl. Volkslit. p. 75).—On the other hand, the male dwarfs *forge* jewels and arms (supra, p.444-7, and in fuller detail in Ir. Elfenm. lxxxviii.).²

¹ So the Breton *korr* is both dwarf and spider.

² Here is one more legend from Odman's Bahuslän, p. 79 :—Thessutan har man åtskillige berättelser ok sagor om *smedar*, så i högar som bärg, såsom här i Fossumstorp högar, hvarest man hördt, at the smidt *liksom i en annan smidja* om aftonen *efter solenes nedergång*, ok eljest mitt på höga middagen. För 80 år sedan gik Olas fadar i Surtung, benämd Ola Simusson, här i församlingen från Slängevald hafvandes med sig en hund, hvilken tå han blef varse mitt på dagen *bärgsmannen*, som tå *smidde på en stor sten*, skiälde han på honom, hvar på *bärgsmiden*, som hade en *linsgrå råk* ok *blåvulen hatt*, begynte at suarka åt hunden, som tillika med husbonden funno rådeligast, at lemna honom i fred. Thet gifvas ok ännu ibland gemene man små crucifixer af metall, som gemenligen halles före vara i fornda

To bring pig-iron to dwarfs, and find it the next morning outside the cave, ready worked for a slight remuneration, is a feature of very ancient date; the scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. (Argon. 4, 761) illustrates the ἄκμονες Ἡφαίστοιο (anvils of H.) by a story of the volcanic isles about Sicily taken from Pytheas's Travels: τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἐλέγετο τὸν βουλόμενον ἀργὸν σίδηρον ἀποφέρειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἐλθόντα λαμβάνειν ἢ ξίφος ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἠθέλε κατασκευάσαι, καταβαλόντα μισθόν (see Suppl.).

What I have thus put together on the nature and attributes of elves in general, will be confirmed by an examination of particular elvish beings, who come forward under names of their own.

Among these I will allot the first place to a genius, who is nowhere to be found in the Norse myths, and yet seems to be of ancient date. He is mentioned in several MHG. poems:

Sie wolten daz kein *pilwiz*
 si dâ schüzze durch diu knie. Wh. 324, 8.
 Er solde sîn ein *goter*
 und ein *pilewis* geheizen,
 davon ist daz in reizen
 die übeln ungehiure. Ruediger von zwein gesellen (Cod.
 regimont.) 15^b.

Dâ kom ich an *bulwechsperg* gangen,
 dâ schôz mich der *bulwechs*,
 dâ schôz mich die *bulwechsîn*,
 dâ schôz mich als ir ingesind. Cod. vindob. 2817. 71^a.
 Von schrabaz *pilwichten*. Titur. 27, 299 (Hahn 4116).
 Sein part het manchen *pillbiszoten*. Casp. von der Rön.
 heldenb. 156^b.

Out of all these it is hard to pick out the true name. Wolfram

tider *smidde i bürg*, hvilka the oförståndigare bruka at hänga på boskap, som hastigt fådt ondt ute på marken, eller som säges blifvit *vüderslagne*, hvarigenom tro them bli helbregda. Af sådana *bärgsmiden* har jag ok nyligen kommit öfver ett, som ännu är i förvar, ok på ofvannämde sätt gik i lån at bota siukdommar. [Epitome: —Many stories of *smiths* in the mountains, who worked as at any other *smithy*, after sunset or else at high noon. Eighty years ago Ola Simunsson was coming, etc.; had with him a dog, which, on seeing a *hill-man forging on a great stone*, barked at him; but the *hill-smith*, who wore a *light-grey coat* and *blue woollen cap*, snarled at the dog, etc. There are small metal crucifixes held to have been *forged in the hills* in former times, which simple folk still hang on cattle hurt in the field or *weather-stricken*, whereby they trow them to get healed. Of such *hill-wrought* things I have lately met with one, that used to be lent out to cure sicknesses.]

makes pilwiz (var. pilbiz, bilwiz, bilwitz) rhyme with biz (morsus), where the short vowel in the last syllable seems to point to pilwiht; the same with bilbis in another poem, which would have spelt it bilbeis if it had been long; so that we cannot connect it with the OS. balowîs, nor immediately with the bilwîs and balwîs contrasted on p. 374. The varying form is a sign that in the 13-14th century the word was no longer understood; and later on, it gets further distorted, till bulwechs makes us think of a totally unconnected word balwahs (hebes).¹ A confession-book of the first half of the 15th century (Hoffmann's Monatschr. 753) has *pelewysen* synonymous with witches, and Colerus's Hausbuch (Mainz 1656), p. 403, uses *bihlweisen* in the same sense; several authorities for the form *pilbis* are given in Schm. 4, 188. We welcome the present Westph. Nethl. *belewitten* in the Teutonista, where Schuiren considers it equivalent to *guede holden* and *witte vrouwen* (penates). Kilian has *belewitte* (lamia); and here comes in fitly a passage from Gisb. Voëtius de miraculis (Disput., tom. 2, 1018): 'De illis quos nostrates appellant *beeldwit* et *blinde belien*, a quibus nocturna visa videri atque ex iis arcana revelari putant.' *Belwit* then is *penas*, a kindly disposed home-sprite, a *gute holde* (supra, p. 266), what Rüdiger calls 'ein *guter* und ein *pilwiz*.' Peculiar to AS. is an adj. *bilwit*, *bilewit*, Cædm. 53, 4. 279, 23, which is rendered mansuetus, simplex, but might more exactly mean aequus, justus. God is called '*bilewit fæder*' (Andr. 1996), Boeth. metr. 20, 510. 538; and is also addressed as such in Cod. exon. 259, 6; again, '*bilwittra breoste*' (bonorum, aequorum pectus), Cod. exon. 343, 23. The spelling *bilehwit* (Beda 5, 2, 13, where it translates simplex) would lead to hwît (albus), but then what can *bil* mean? I prefer the better authorized *bilewit*, taking 'wit' to mean sciens, and *bilwit*, OHG. *pilawiz*, *pilwiz*? to mean aequum² sciens, aequus, bonus, although

¹ Fundgr. 1, 343, where *palwasse* rhymes with *valse*, as MHG. often has 'wahs for acutus, when it should be 'was,' OHG. huas, AS. hwæs, ON. hvass; thus the OHG. *palohuas*=badly sharp, i.e. blunt, ON. böhhvass? just as *palotât*=baleful deed. A later form *bülwächs* in Schm. 4, 15.

² The simple *bil* seems of itself to be aequitas, jus, and mythic enough (p. 376). MHG. *billich* (aequus), Diut. 3, 38. Fundgr. ii. 56, 27. 61, 23. 66, 19. Reinh. 354. Iv. 1630. 5244. 5730. 6842. Ls. 2, 329. *billichen* (jure), Nib. 450, 2. *der billich* (aequitas), Trist. 6429. 9374. 10062. 13772. 18027. An OHG. *billih* I only know from W. lxx. 27, where the Leyden MS. has *billithich*. As the notions 'aequus, aequalis, similis' lie next door to each other, *piladi*, *bilidi* (our bild) is really aequalitas, similitudo, the ON. *likneski* (imago). The Celtic *bil* also means good, mild; and Leo (Malb. Gl. 38) tries to explain *bilwiz* from *bilbheith*, *bilbhith*.

an adj. 'vit, wiz' occurs nowhere else that I know of, the ON. *vit* (gen. *vitrs*) being provided with a suffix *-r*. If this etymology is tenable, *bilwiz* is a good genius, but of elvish nature; he haunts *mountains*, his *shot* is dreaded like that of the elf (p. 460), hair is tangled and matted by him as by the alp (p. 464). One passage cited by Schm. 4, 188, deserves particular notice: 'so man ain kind oder ain gewand opfert zu aim *pilbispawm*,' if one sacrifice a child or garment to a pilbis-tree, *i.e.* a tree supposed to be inhabited by the pilwiz, as trees do contain wood-sprites and elves. Börner's Legends of the Orlagau, p. 59. 62, name a witch *Bilbze*. The change of *bilwiz*, *bilwis* into *bilwiht* was a step easily taken, as in other words also *s* and *h*, or *s* and *ht* interchange (*lios*, *liocht*, Gramm. 1, 138), also *st* and *ht* (*forest*, *foreht*, Gramm. 4, 416); and the more, as the compound *bilwiht* gave a not unsuitable meaning, 'good wight.' The Gl. blas. 87^a offer a *wihsilstein* (penas), nay, the varying form of our present names for the plica (p. 464), *weichselzopf*, *wichselzopf*, *wichtelzopf* (*bichtelzopf*) makes the similar shading off of *bilweichs*, *bilwechs*, *bilwicht* probable: I have no doubt there is even a *bilweichszopf*, *bilwizzopf* to be found.¹

Popular belief in the last few centuries, having lost the old and higher meaning of this spiritual being, has retained, as in the case of the alb, of *Holla* and *Berlita*, only the hateful side of its nature: a tormenting terrifying spectre, tangling your hair and beard, cutting up your corn, it appears mostly in a female form, as a sorceress and witch. Martin von Amberg's Mirror of Confession already interprets *pilbis* by devil, as Kilian does *belewitte* by *lamia*, *strix*. The tradition lingers chiefly in Eastern Germany,

¹ Another Polish name for plica, beside *koltun*, is *wieszcyce* (Linde 6, 227), and vulgar opinion ascribes it to the magic of a *wieszczka* wise woman, witch. This *wieszcyce* agrees with our *weichsel-zopf*, and also with the *-wiz*, *-weis* in *bilwiz*. If we could point to a compound *bialowieszczka* (white witch, white fay; but I nowhere find it, not even among other Slavs), there would arise a strong suspicion of the Slavic origin of our *bilwiz*; for the present its German character seems to me assured both by the absence of such Slavic compound, and by the AS. *bilwit* and Nethl. *belwitte*: besides, our *wiz* comes from *wizan*, and the Pol. *wieszcz* from *wiedzieć* [O.Sl. *védeti*, to wit], and the kinship of the two words can be explained without any thought of borrowing. Of different origin seem to me the Slovèn. *paglawitz*, dwarf, and the Lith. *Pilvitus* (*Lasicz* 54) or *Pilwite* (*Narbutt* 1, 52), god or goddess of wealth. [The Russ. *vèshch* (*shch* pron. as in parish-church) has the same sound as *wieszcz*, but means thing, Goth. *vaiht-s*; for *kt*, *ht* becomes *shch*, as in *noshch*, night. I am not sure therefore that even *wieszczka* may not be "little wiht."—TRANS.]

in Bavaria, Franconia, Vogtland and Silesia. H. Sachs uses *bilbitzen* of matting the hair in knots, *pilmitz* of tangled locks: 'ir har *verbilbitzt*, zapfet und stroblet, als ob sie hab der rab gezoblet,' i. 5, 309^b. ii. 2, 100^d; '*pilmitzen*, zoten und fassen,' iii. 3, 12^a. In the Ackermann von Böhmen, cap. 6, *pilwis* means the same as witch; '*pielweiser*, magician, soothsayer,' Böhme's Beitr. zum schles. recht 6, 69. 'an. 1529 (at Schweidnitz), a *pielweiss* buried alive,' Hoffmann's Monatschr. p. 247. '1582 (at Sagan), two women of honest carriage rated for *pilweisen* and ——,' *ibid.* 702. 'du *pileweissin!*' A. Gryphius, p. 828. 'Las de deine *bilbezzodn* auskampln' says the angry mother to her child, 'i den *bilmezschedl* get nix nei,' get your *b.* clots combed out, you don't come in in that shaggy scalp, Schm. 1, 168. *pilmeskind*, a curse like devil's child, Dellings's Bair. idiot. 1, 78. On the Saale in Thuringia, *bulmuz* is said of unwashed or uncombed children; while *bilbezschnitt*, *bilwezschnitt*, *bilfezschnitt*, *pilmasschuid* (Jos. Rank. Böhmerwald, p. 274) denotes a cutting through a field of corn, which is regarded as the work of a spirit, a witch, or the devil.

This last-mentioned belief is also one of long standing. Thus the Lex Bajuvar. 12 (13), 8: 'si quis messes alterius initiaverit maleficis artibus, et inventus fuerit, cum duodecim solidis componat, quod *aranscarti*¹ dicunt.' I dare say such a delinquent was then called a *piliwiz*, *pilawiz*? On this passage Mederer remarks, p. 202-3: An honest countryman told me about the so-called *bilmerschnitt*, *bilberschnitt*, as follows: 'The spiteful creature, that wants to do his neighbour a rascally mischief, goes at midnight, stark naked, with a *sickle tied to his foot*, and repeating magic spells, through the middle of a field of corn just ripe. From that part of the field that he has passed his sickle through, all the grains fly into his barn, into his bin.' Here everything is attributed to a charm practised by man.²

¹ Goth. *asans* (messis), OHG. *aran*, *arn*.

² Can this magic be alluded to so early as in the Kaiserchronik (2130-37)?

diu muoter heizit Rachel,
 diu hât in gelêret:
 swenne sie in hiez sniden gân,
 sin hunt incom nie dâr an,

sin sichil sneit schiere
mêr dan andere viere;
wil er durch einin bere varn,
der stêt immer mêr ingegen im ûf getân.

(His mother R. taught him: when she bade him go cut, he never put his *hand* to it, his sickle soon cut more than any other four; if he will drive through a hill, it opens before him.)

Julius Schmidt too (Reichenfels, p. 119) reports from the Vogtland: The belief in *bilsen-* or *bilver-schnitter* (-reapers)¹ is tolerably extensive, nay, there seem to be certain persons who *believe themselves to be such*: in that case they go into the field before sunrise on St. John's day, sometimes on Walpurgis-day (May 1), and cut the stalks with small *sickles tied to their great toes*, stepping slantwise across the field. Such persons must have *small three-cornered hats* on (*bilsenschnitter-hütchen*); if during their walk they are saluted by any one, they must die that year. These *bilsenschnitter* believe they get half the produce of the field where they have reaped, and small sickle-shaped instruments have been found in some people's houses, after their death. If the owner of the field can pick up any stubble of the stalks so cut, and hangs it in the smoke, the *bilsenschnitter* will gradually waste away (see Suppl.).

According to a communication from Thuringia, there are two ways of baffling the *bilms-* or *binsen-schneider* (-cutter),¹ whichever he is called. One is, on Trinity Sunday or St. John's day, when the sun is highest in the sky, to go and sit on an elderbush with a looking-glass on your breast, and look round in every quarter, then no doubt you can detect the *binsenschneider*, but not without great risk, for if he spies you before you see him, you must die and the *binsenschneider* remain alive, unless he happen to catch sight of himself in the mirror on your breast, in which case he also loses his life that year. Another way is, to carry some ears that the *binsenschneider* has cut to a newly opened grave in silence, and not grasping the ears in your bare hand; if the least word be spoken, or a drop of sweat from your hand get into the grave with the ears, then, as soon as the ears rot, he that threw them in is sure to die.

What is here imputed to human sorcerers, is elsewhere laid to the *devil* (Superst. no. 523), or to elvish goblins, who may at once be known by their small hats. Sometimes they are known as *bilgenschneider*, as *pilver-* or *hilperts-schnitter*, sometimes by altogether different names. Alberus puts *sickles in the hands* of women travelling in Hulda's host (supra, p. 269 note). In some places, acc. to Schm. 1, 151, they say *bockschnitt*, because the

¹ *Bilse* is henbane, and *binse* a rush, which plants have no business here. They are merely an adaptation of *bilwiz*, when this had become unintelligible.—TRANS.

goblin is supposed to ride through the cornfield on a he-goat, which may well remind us of Dietrich with the boar (p. 214). The people about Osnabrück believe the *tremsemutter* walks about in the corn: she is dreaded by the children. In Brunswick she is called *kornwif*: when children are looking for cornflowers, they will not venture too far into the green field, they tell each other of the cornwife that kidnaps little ones. In the Altmark and Mark Brandenburg they call her *roggenmöhme* (aunt in the rye), and hush crying children with the words: 'hold your tongue, or *roggenmöhme* with the long black teats will come and drag you away!' ¹ Others say 'with her long *iron* teats,' which recalls *iron* Berhta: others again name her *rockenmör*, because like Holla and Berhta, she plays all manner of tricks on idle maids who have not spun their distaffs clear during the Twelves. Babes whom she puts to her black breast are likely to die. Is not the Bavarian *preinscheuhe* the same kind of corn-spectre? In the Schräckengast, Ingolst. 1598, there are coupled together on p. 73, '*preinscheuhen* und *meerwunder*,' and p. 89 '*wilde larvenschopper* und *preinscheuhen*.' This *prein*, *brein*, properly *pap* (puls), means also grain-bearing plants like oats, millet, panicum, plantago (Schm. 1, 256-7); and *breinscheuhe* (-scare) may be the spirit that is the bugbear of oat and millet fields?

In all this array of facts, there is no mistaking the affinity of these *bilwisses* with divine and elvish beings of our heathenism. They mat the hair like dame Holla, dame Berhta, and the alb, they wear the small hat and wield the shot of the elves, they have at last, like Holla and Berhta, sunk into a children's bugbear. Originally 'gute holden,' sociable and kindly beings, they have twisted round by degrees into uncanny fiendish goblins, wizards and witches. And more, at the back of these elvish beings there may lurk still higher divine beings. The Romans worshipped a *Robigo*, who could hinder blight in corn, and perhaps, if displeased, bring it on. The walking of the *bilwiss*, of the *Roggenmuhme* in the grain had at first a benevolent motive: as the names *mutter*, *muhme*, *mör* teach us, she is a motherly

¹ Conf. Deut. sagen, no. 89. Kuhn, p. 373. Temme's Sagen, p. 80. 82, of the Altmark. The Baden legend makes of it a *rockert-weibele* and an enchanted countess of Eberstein, who walks about in a wood named Rockert (Mone's Anzeiger, 3, 145).

guardian goddess of spindle and seedfield. *Fro upon his boar* must have ridden through the plains, and made them productive, nay, even the picture of Siegfried riding through the corn I incline to refer to the circuit made by a god; and now for the first time I think I understand why the Wetterau peasant to this day, when the corn-ears wave in the wind, says *the boar walks in the corn*. It is said of the god who causes the crops to thrive. Thus, by our study of elves, with whom the people have kept up acquaintance longer, we are led up to gods that once were. The connexion of elves with Holla and Berhta is further remarkable, because all these beings, unknown to the religion of the Edda, reveal an independent development or application of the heathen faith in continental Germany (see Suppl.).¹

What comes nearest the hairy shaggy elves, or bilwisses, is a spirit named *scrat* or *scrato* in OHG. documents, and *pilosus* in contemporary Latin ones. The Gl. mons. 333 have *scratun* (*pilosi*); the Gl. herrad. 200^b *waltschräte* (*satyrus*); the Sumerlat. 10, 66 *srate* (*lares mali*); so in MHG. *scrâz*; Reinh. 597 (of the old fragment), 'ein wilder *waltschrät*;' Barl. 251, 11. Aw. 3, 226. Ulr. Lanz. 437 has 'von dem *schraze*' = dwarf; 'sie ist villihte ein *schrat*, ein geist von helle;' Albr. Titur. 1, 190 (Hahn 180). That a small elvish spirit was meant, is plain from the dimin. *schretel*, used synonymously with *wihTEL* in that pretty fable, from which our Irish elf-tales gave an extract, but which has since been printed entire in Mone's treatise on heroic legend, and is now capped by the original Norwegian story in Asbiörnsen and Moe, No. 26 (one of the most striking examples

¹ The Slavs too have a *field-spirit* who paces through the corn. Boxhorn's Resp. Moscov., pars 1, p. ... : "Daemonem quoque meridianum Moscovitæ metuunt et colunt. Ille enim, dum jam maturæ rescantur fruges, habitu *viduæ lugentis ruri obambulat*, operariisque uni vel pluribus, nisi protinus viso spectro in terram proni concidant, brachia frangit et crura. Neque tamen contra hanc plagam remedio destituuntur. Habent enim in vicina silva arbores religione patrum cultas : harum cortice vulneri superimposito, illum non tantum sanant, sed et dolorem loripedî eximunt." Among the Wends this corn-wife is named *pshipolnitsa* [prop. *prepóln.*, from *polno*, full, *i.e.* full noon], at the hour of noon she creeps about as a *veiled woman*. If a Wend, conversing with her by the hour on flax and flax-dressing, can manage to contradict everything she says, or keep saying the Lord's prayer backwards without stumbling, he is safe (Lausitz. monatsschr. 1797, p. 744). The Bohemians call her *baba* (old woman), or *polednice*, *poludnice* (*meridiana*), the Poles *dziewanna*, *dziewice* (*maiden*), of whom we shall have to speak more than once, conf. chap. XXXVI. Here also there are plainly gods mixed up with the spirits and goblins.

of the tough persistence of such materials in popular tradition); both the *schretel* and the word *wazzerbern* answer perfectly to the *troll* and the *hvidbiörn*. Vintler thinks of the *schrättlin* as a spirit light as wind, and of the size of a child. The Vocab. of 1482 has *schretlin* (penates); *Dasypodius nachtschrettele* (ephi-altes); later ones spell it *schrättele*, *schrüttel*, *schrettele*, *schrötle*, conf. Stald. 2, 350. Schmid's Schwäb. wörtb. 478. In the Sette comm. *schratu* or *schrettele* is a butterfly, Schm. 3, 519. A Thidericus *Scratman* is named in a voucher of 1244; *Spileker* 2, 84. A district in Lower Hesse is called the *Schratweg*, *Wochenbl.* 1833, 952. 984. 1023. And other Teutonic dialects seem to know the word: AS. *scritta*, Eng. *scrat* (hermaphroditus),¹ ON. *skratti* (malus genius, gigas); a rock on the sea is called *skrattasker* (geniorum scopulus), *Form. sög.* 2, 142. Comparing these forms with the OHG. ones above, we miss the usual consonant-change: the truth is, other OHG. forms do shew a *z* in place of the *t*: *scraz*, *Gl. fuld.* 14; *screza* (larvae, lares mali), *Gl. lindenbr.* 996^b; 'srezze vel strate' (not: screzzol scraito), *Sumerlat.* 10, 66; 'unreiner *schráz*,' *Altd. w.* 3, 170 (rhymes *vráz*).² And Upper Germ. dictionaries of the 16th cent. couple *schretzel* with alp; Höfer 3, 114, has 'der *schretz*,' and Schm. 3, 552, 'der *schretzel*, das *schretzlein*.' According to Mich. Beham 8. 9 (*Mone's Anz.* 4, 450-1), every house has its *schrezlein*; if fostered, he brings you goods and honour, he rides or drives the cattle, prepares his table on Brecht-night, etc.³

The agreement of Slavic words is of weight. O. Boh. *scret* (daemon), *Hanka's Zbirka* 6^b; *screti*, *scretti* (penates intimi et secretales), *ibid.* 16^b; Boh. *skřet*, *skřjtek* (penas, idolum); Pol. *skrzot*, *skrzitek*; Slovèn. *zhkrát*, *zhkrátiz*, *zhkrátelj* (hill-mannikin). To the Serv. and Russ. dialects the word seems unknown.

I can find no satisfactory root for the German form.⁴ In Slavic

¹ Already in *Sachsensp.* 1, 4 *altvile* and *dverge* side by side; conf. RA. 410.

² A contraction of *schrawaz*? *Gudr.* 448, *schrawaz* und *merwunder*; *Albr. Titur.* 27, 299 has *schrabaz* together with *pilwiht*; *schrawatzen* und *merwunder*, *Casp. von der Rön's Wolfdieterich* 195. *Wolfd. und Saben* 496. ['Probably of different origin,' says *Suppl.*]

³ Muchar, *Römisches Noricum* 2, 37, and *Gastein* 147, mentions a capricious mountain-spirit, *schrancl*.

⁴ The ON. *skratti* is said to mean terror also. The Swed. *skratte*, Dan. *skratte*, is to laugh loud. Does the AS. form *scritta* allow us to compare the Gr. *σκίρτος*, a hopping, leaping goblin or satyr (from *σκίπρω*, I bound)? *Lobeck's Aglaoph.*, 1311.

skrýti (celare, oculere) is worth considering. [A compound of krýti, to cover, root krý, krov, κρύπτω. If Slav. skrý, why not AS. scrûd, shroud?].

Going by the sense, *schrats* appears to be a wild, rough, shaggy wood-sprite, very like the Lat. faun and the Gr. satyr, also the Roman *silvanus* (Livy 2, 7); its dimin. *schrütlein*, synonymous with *wichtel* and *alp*, a home-sprite, a hill-mannikin. But the male sex alone is mentioned, never the female; like the fauns, therefore, they lack the beauty of contrast which is presented by the elfius and bilwissins. We may indeed, on the strength of some similarity, take as a set-off to these *schrats* those wild women and wood-minnes treated of at the end of chapter XVI. The Greek fiction included *mountain-nymphs* (νύμφαι ὄρεσκῶοι) and *dryads* (δρυάδες, Englished *wuduelfenne* in AS. glosses), whose life was closely bound up with that of a tree (loc. princ., Hymn to Aphrodite 257-272; and see Suppl.).

Another thing in which the *schrats* differ from elves is, that they appear one at a time, and do not form a people.

The Fichtelberg is haunted by a wood-sprite named the *Katzenveit*, with whom they frighten children: 'Hush, the *Katzenveit* will come!' Similar beings, full of dwarf and goblin-like humours, we may recognise in the *Gübich* of the Harz, in the *Rübezal* of Riesengebirge. This last, however, seems to be of Slav origin, Boh. *Rybecal*, *Rybrcol*.¹ In Moravia runs the story of the *seehirt*, sea-herd, a mischief-loving sprite, who, in the shape of a herdsman, whip in hand, entices travellers into a bog (see Suppl.).²

The gloss in Hanka 7^b. 11^a has '*vilcodlac* faunus, *vilcodlaci* faunificarii, incubi, dusii'; in New Boh. it would be *wlkodlak*, wolf-haired; the Serv. *vukodlac* is vampire (*Vuk* sub v.). It is not surprising, and it offers a new point of contact between elves, bilwissins, and *schrats*, that in Poland the same matting of hair is ascribed to the *skrzot*, and is called by his name, as the *skrjtek* is in Bohemia;³ in some parts of Germany *schrütleinzopf*.

¹ In Slav. *ryba* is fish, but *cal*, or *col* (I think) has no meaning. The oldest Germ. docs. have *Rube-zagil*, *-zagel*, *-zagl* (-tail); *Rube* may be short for the ghostly 'knecht Ruprecht,' or Robert. Is *Rubezagel* our bobtail, of which I have seen no decent etymology?—TRANS.

² Sagen aus der vorzeit Mährens (Brünn, 1817). pp. 136-171.

³ The *plica* is also called *koltun*, and again *koltki* are Polish and Russian home-sprites.

People in Europe began very early to think of dæmonic beings as *pilosi*. The Vulgate has 'et *pilosi* saltabunt ibi,' Isaiah 13, 21, where the LXX. had δαιμόνια ἐκεῖ ὀρχήσονται, conf. 34, 14.¹ Isidore's Etym. 8, cap. ult. (and from it Gl. Jun. 399): '*pilosi* qui graece panitae, latine *incubi* nominantur,—hos daemones Galli *dusios* nuncupant.² Quem autem vulgo *incubonem* vocant, hunc Romani faunum dicunt.' Burcard of Worms (App. Superst. C) is speaking of the superstitious custom of putting playthings, shoes, bows and arrows, in cellar or barn for the home-sprites,³ and these genii again are called '*satyri* vel *pilosi*.' The monk of St. Gall, in the Life of Charles the Great (Pertz 2,741), tells of a *pilosus* who visited the house of a smith, amused himself at night with hammer and anvil, and filled the empty bottle out of a rich man's cellar (conf. Ir. elfenn. cxi. cxii.). Evidently a frolicking, dancing, whimsical homesprite, rough and hairy to look at, 'eischlich getân,' as the Heidelberg fable says, and rigged out in the *red little cap* of a dwarf, loving to follow his bent in kitchens and cellars. A figure quite in the foreground in Cod. palat. 324 seems to be his very portrait.

Only I conceive that in earlier times a statelier, larger figure was allowed to the *schrat*, or wood-schrat, then afterwards the merrier, smaller one to the *schrettel*. This seems to follow from the ON. meaning of *skratti* gigas, giant. These *woodsprites* must have been, as late as the 6-7th cent., objects of a special worship: there were trees and temples dedicated to them. Quotations in proof have already been given, pp. 58. 68: 'arbores *daemoni* dedicatae,' and among the Warasken, a race akin to the Bavarian, '*agrestium* fana, quos vulgus *faunos* vocat.'

Some remarkable statements are found in Eckchart's *Waltharius*. Eckevid of Saxony accosts him with the bitter taunt (761):

¹ Luther translates *feldteufel*; the Heb. *saguir* denotes a shaggy, goat-like being. Radevicus frising. 2, 13, imitates the whole passage in the prophet: 'ululae, upnpae, bubones toto anno in ectis funebria personantes lugubri voce aures omnium repleverunt. *Pilosi* quos *satyros* vocant in domibus plerunque auditi.' Again 2, 24: 'in aedibus tuis lugubri voce respondeant ululae, saltent *pilosi*.'

² 'Daemones quos *duscios* Galli nuncupant.' Augustine, Civ. Dei, c. 23. The name *duz* still lives in Bretagne, dimin. *duzik* (Villemarqué 1, 42).

³ In the same way the *jüdel* (I suppose *giétel*, the same as *guote holde*) has toys placed for him, Superst. I, no. 62; conf. infra, the homesprites.

Dic, ait, an corpus vegetet tractabile temet,
sive per aërias fallas, *maledicte*, figuras?
saltibus assuetus faunus mihi quippe videris.

Walthari replies in mockery (765) :

Celtica lingua probat te ex illa gente creatum,
cui natura dedit reliquas ludendo praeire ;
at si te propius venientem dextera nostra
attingat, post Saxonibus memorare valebis,
te nunc in Vosago *fauni fantasma* videre.

If you come within reach of my arm, I give you leave then to tell your Saxon countrymen of the 'schratt' you now see in the Wasgau (Vosges). When Ekeveid has hurled his spear at him in vain, Walthari cries :

Haec tibi *silvanus* transponit munera *faunus*.

Herewith the 'wood-schratt' returns you the favour.¹

Here the faun is called *fantasma*, phantom ; OHG. *giscîn*, T. 81 (Matt. xiv. 26), otherwise *scînleih* (monstrum), Gl. hrab. 969^b. Jun. 214 ; AS. *scînlâc* (portentum) ; or *gitroc*, p. 464. *Phantasma vagabundum* (Vita Lebuini, Pertz 2, 361) ; '*fantasma* vult nos pessundare' (Hroswitha in Dulcicius) ; '*fantasia* quod in libris gentilium *faunus* solet appellari,' Mabillon, Analect. 3, 352. A 'municipium,' or 'oppidum *mons fauni*,' in Ivonis Carnot. epist. 172, and conf. the doc. quoted in the note thereon, in which it is *monsfaunum*. Similarly in OFr. poems : '*fantosme* nous va *faunoiant*' Méon 4, 138 ; '*fantosme* qui me desvoie, demaine,' *ibid.* 4, 140. 4. 402. A passage from Girart de Rossillon given in Mone's Archiv 1835. 210 says of a mountain : 'en ce mont ha moult de grans secrez, trop y a de *fantomes*.' Such are the *fauni ficarii* and *silvestres homines*, with whom Jornandes makes his Gothic *aliorunes* keep company (p. 404). Yet they also dip into the province of demigod heroes. Miming *silvarum satyrus*, and *Witugouwo* (silvicola) seem to be at once cunning smith-schratts and heroes (pp. 376-379). A valkyr unites herself with satyr-like Völundr, as the aliorunes did with fauns. The *wild women*, *wood-minne* (pp. 432-4), and the *wilde man*

¹ The dialogue is obscure, and in the printed edition, p. 86, I have endeavoured to justify the above interpretation.

(Wigamur 203) come together. Wigal. 6286 has *wildez wîp*, and 6602 it is said of the dwarf Karriôz :

Sîn muoter was ein wildez wîp	His mother was a wild woman,
dâ von was sîn kurzer lîp	therefrom was his short body
aller rûch unde stark,	all over hairy and strong,
sîn gebein was âne mark	his bones without marrow
	(solid)

nach dem geslechte der muoter sîn,	after his mother's stock,
deste sterker muoser sîn.	the stronger must he be.

In the *Wolfdietrich* a wild man like this is called *waltluoder*, and in *Laurîn* 173. 183 *waltmann*. The ON. mythology knows of wild wood-wives by the names *îviðjur*, Sæm. 88^a. 119^b, and *iarnviðjur*, Sn. 13. About the *îviðja* we find at the beginning of the *Hrafnagaldr* the obscure statement 'elr îviðja,' alit, auget, parit, gignit dryas; *îviðja* is derived from a wood or grove *îviðr*, of which the *Völuspâ* 1^a makes mention: 'nio man ek heima, nio *îviði*'; so *iarnviðja* from *iarnviðr*, iron wood (see Suppl.).¹

I cannot properly explain these ON. *îviðjur* and *iarnviðjur*. The popular belief of to-day in South-eastern Germany presents in a more intelligible shape the legend of the *wild-folk*, *forest-folk*, *wood-folk*, *moss-folk*, who are regarded as a people of the dwarf kind residing together, though they come up singly too, and in that case the females especially approximate those higher beings spoken of on p. 432. They are small of stature, but somewhat larger than elves, grey and oldish-looking, hairy and clothed in moss: 'ouch wâren ime diu ôren als eime *walttören vermeset*,' his ears like a forest-fool's bemossed (?), *Iw.* 440. Often *holzweibel* alone are mentioned, seldomer the males, who are supposed to be not so good-natured and to live deeper in the woods, wearing green garments faced with red, and black three-cornered hats. H. Sachs 1, 407^a brings up *holzmänner* and *holzfrauen*, and gives 1, 348^c the lament of the *wild woodfolk* over the faithless world. Schmidt's *Reichenfels*, pp. 140-8 tells us the *Voigtland* tradition, and *Börner*, pp. 188-242 that of the *Orlagau*; from them I borrow what is characteristic. The little wood-wives come up to woodcutters, and beg for something to eat, or take it themselves out

¹ Afzelius 2, 145-7, mentions Swed. *löfjerskor*, leaf-maids, forest-maids, and compares them with *Laufey* (p. 246), but the people have little to say about them.

of their pots ; but whatever they have taken or borrowed they make good in some other way, not seldom by good advice. At times they help people in their kitchen work and at washing, but always express a great fear of the wild huntsman that pursues them. On the Saale they tell you of a *bush-grandmother* and her *moss-maidens* ; this sounds like a queen of elves, if not like the 'weird lady of the woods' (p. 407). The little wood-wives are glad to come when people are baking, and ask them, while they are about it, to bake them a loaf too, as big as half a millstone, and it must be left for them at a specified place ; they pay it back afterwards, or perhaps bring some of their own baking, and lay it in the furrow for the ploughmen, or on the plough, being mightily offended if you refuse it. At other times the wood-wife makes her appearance with a broken little wheelbarrow, and begs you to mend the wheel ; then, like Berhta she pays you with the fallen chips, which turn into gold ; or if you are knitting, she gives you a ball of thread which you will never have done unwinding. Every time a man twists (*driebt*, throws) the stem of a young tree till the bark flies off, a wood-wife has to die. When a peasant woman, out of pity, gave the breast to a crying wood-child, the mother came up and made her a present of the bark in which the child was cradled ; the woman broke a splinter off and threw it in to her load of wood, but when she got home she found it was of gold (see *Suppl.*).

Wood-wives, like dwarfs, are by no means satisfied with the ways of the modern world ; but to the reasons given on p. 459 they add special ones of their own. There's never been a good time since people took to counting the dumplings they put in the pot, the loaves they put in the oven, to 'pipping' their bread and putting caraway-seeds in it. Hence their maxim :

Schäl keinen baum,	No tree ever shell,
erzähl keinen traum,	no dream ever tell,
back keinen kümmel ins brot,	bake in thy bread no cummin- seed,
so hilft dir Gott aus aller noth.	and God will help in all thy need.

The third line may be 'pip kein brod,' don't pip a loaf. A

wood-wife, after tasting some newly-baked bread, ran off to the forest, screaming loud :

Sie haben mir gebacken kümmelbrot,
das bringt diesem hause grosse noth !

(They've baked me caraway-bread, it will bring that house great trouble). And the farmer's prosperity soon declined, till he was utterly impoverished. To 'pip' a loaf is to push the tip of your finger into it, a common practice in most places. Probably the wood-wives could not carry off a pricked loaf, and therefore disliked the mark ; for a like reason they objected to counting. Whether the seasoning with cummin disgusted them as an innovation merely, or in some other connection, I do not know. The rhyme runs thus : 'kümmelbrot, unser tod !' the death of us ; or—'kümmelbrot macht angst und noth.'—Some wood-mannikins, who had long done good service at a mill, were scared away by the miller's men leaving out clothes and shoes for them, Jul. Schmidt, p. 146 (see Suppl.).¹ It is as though, by accepting

¹ This agrees wonderfully with what Reusch, pp. 53-5, reports from Prussian Samland :—A householder at Lapölnen, to whom the subterraneans had done many services, was grieved at their having such poor clothes, and asked his wife to put some new little coats where they would find them. Well, they took their new outfit, but their leave at the same time, crying, 'paid up, paid up !' Another time they had been helping a poor smith, had come every night and turned out a set of little pots, pans, plates and kettles as bright as could be ; the mistress would set a dish of milk for them, which they fell upon like wolves, and cleared to the last drop, washed up the plates and then set to work. The smith having soon become a rich man, his wife sewed them each a pretty little red coat and cap, and left them lying. 'Paid up, paid up !' cried the undergrounders, then quickly slipped into their new finery, and were off, without touching the iron left for them to work at, or ever coming back.—Another story of the Seewen-weiher (-pond), near Rippoldsau, in the Black Forest (Mone's Anz. 6, 175) :—A lake-mannikin liked coming to the folks at Seewen farm, would do jobs there all day, and not return into his lake till evening ; they used to serve him up breakfast and dinner by himself. If in giving out tasks they omitted the phrase 'none too much and none too little,' he turned cross, and threw all into confusion. Though his clothes were old and shabby, he never would let the Seewen farmer get him new ones ; but when this after all was done, and the new coat handed to the lake-mannikin, one evening, he said, 'When one is paid off one must go ; beginning from to-morrow, I come to you no more ;' and in spite of all the farmer's apologies he was never seen again.—Jos. Rank's Böhmerwald, p. 217, tells a pretty story of a *waschweiberl* (wee washerwife), for whom the people of the house wanted to have shoes made, but she would not hold out her little foot to be measured. They sprinkled the floor with flour, and took the measure by her footprints. When the shoes were made and placed on the bench for her, she fell a-sobbing, turned her little smock-sleeves down again, unlooped the skirt of her frock, then burst away, lamenting loudly, and was seen no more.' That is to say, the wee wife, on coming into the house, had turned up the sleeves of her smock, and looped up her frock, that she might the more easily do any kind of work. Similar tales are told of the *brownie*, R. Chambers, p. 33. And the same idea lies at the bottom of the first story about *wichtelmännchen* in *Kinderm.* 39.

clothes, the spirits were afraid of suddenly breaking off the relation that subsisted between themselves and mankind. We shall see presently that the home-sprites proper acted on different principles, and even bargained for clothes.

The more these wood-folk live a good many together, the more do they resemble elves, wichtels, and dwarfs; the more they appear singly, the nearer do the females stand to wise women and even goddesses, the males to gigantic fauns and wood-monsters, as we saw in Katzenveit, Gübich and Rübzahl (p. 480). The *salvage man* with uprooted fir-tree in his hand, such as supports the arms of several princes in Lower Germany, represents this kind of faun; it would be worth finding out at what date he is first mentioned. Grinkenschmied in the mountain (Deut. sag. 1, 232) is also called 'der *wilde man*.'

In the Romance fairy-tales an old Roman god has assumed altogether the nature of a wood-sprite; out of *Orcus*¹ has been made an Ital. *orco*, Neapol. *huorco*, Fr. *ogre* (supra, p. 314): he is pictured *black, hairy, bristly*, but of great stature rather than small, almost gigantic; children losing their way in the wood come upon his dwelling, and he sometimes shews himself good-natured and bestows gifts, oftener his wife (*orca*, *ogresse*) protects and saves.² German fairy-tales hand over his part to the *devil*, who springs even more directly from the ancient god of the lower world. Of the invisible-making helmet the *orco* has nothing left him, on the other hand a *dæmonic acuteness of scent* is made a characteristic feature, he can tell like a sea-monster the approach of human flesh: 'je sens la chair fraiche,' 'ich rieche, rieche menschenfleisch,' 'ich wittere, wittere menschenfleisch,' 'i schmöke ne Crist,' 'I smell the blood,' 'jeg lugter det paa min høire haand (right hand),' 'her lugter saa kristen mands been,'³ exactly as the *meerminne* already in

It is a common characteristic, that holds good of wichtels, of subterraneans, of lake-sprites and of wood-folk, but chiefly of male ones who do service to mankind. [Might the objection to shewing their feet arise from their being web-footed, like the Swiss *härmdändle*, especially in the case of water-sprites?]

¹ See App., Superst. A, '*Orcum* invocare' together with Neptune and Diana; Superst. G, extr. from Vintler, l. 83: 'er hab den *orken* gesechen.' Beow. 224 has *orcneas*, pl. of *orcne*.

² Pentamerone, for the *orco* 1, 1. 1, 5. 2, 3. 3, 10. 4, 8. For the *orca* 2, 1. 2, 7. 4, 6. 5, 4.

³ Perrault's *Petit poucet*; *Kinderm.* 1, 152. 179. 2, 350. 3, 410; *Musæus* 1, 21; *Danske viser* 1, 220; *Norske folkeeventyr*, p. 35.

Morolt 3924 says: 'ich smacke diutsche îserngewant,' coats of mail (see Suppl.). The Ital. however has also an *uom foresto*, Pulci's *Morgante* 5, 38.

The Gothic neut. *skôhsl*, by which Ulphilas renders *δαίμόνιον*, Matth. 8, 31. Lu. 8, 27 (only in margin; text reads *unhulþô*). 1 Cor. 10, 20. 21, I am disposed to explain by supposing a *skôhs*, gen. *skôhis*, or rather *skôgs* (the *h* being merely the *g* softened before *s*). It would answer to the ON. *skôgr* (*silva*); in all our Gothic fragments the word for forest never occurs, so that in addition to a *vidus* (p. 376) we may very well conjecture a *skôgs*. In Sweden the provincialisms *skogsnerte*, *skogsnufva*¹ are still used; *snerte* appears to contain *snert gracilis*, and *snufva* to mean *anhelans*.² Now if *skôhsl* is wood-sprite,³ there may have been associated with it, as with *δαίμόνιον*, the idea of a higher being, semi-divine or even divine. When we call to mind the sacred, inviolable trees inhabited by spirits (chap. XXI, and Superst. Swed. no. 110, Dan. no. 162), and the forest-worship of the Germani in general (pp. 54-58. 97-8); we can understand why *wood-sprites* in particular should be invested with a human or divine rather than elvish nature.

Water-sprites exhibit the same double aspect. Wise-women, valkyrs, appear on the wave as swans, they merge into prophetic *merwomen* and *merminnes* (p. 434). Even Nerthus and dame Holla bathe in lake or pool, and the way to Holla's abode is through the well, *Kinderm.* 24. 79.

Hence to the general term *holde* or *quoter holde* (*genius, bonus genius*) is added a *wasserholde* (p. 266), a *brunnenholde* (p. 268); to the more general *minni* a *merimiuni* and *marmennill* (p. 433). Other names, which explain themselves, are: MHG. *wildiu*

¹ Linnæus's *Gothlandske resa*, p. 312. Faye, p. 42.

² In 1298 Torkel Knutson founded on the Neva a stronghold against the Russians, called Landskrona. An old folk-tale says, there was heard in the forest near the river a continual knocking, as of a stone-cutter. At last a peasant took courage and penetrated into the forest; there he found a wood-sprite hewing at a stone, who, on being asked what that should mean, answered: 'this stone shall be the boundary between the lands of the Swedes and Moskovites.' Forsell's *Statistik von Schweden*, p. 1.

³ To make up an OHG. *skuoh* and *skuohisal* is doubtless yet more of a venture. Our *scheusal* (*monstrum*), if it comes from *schenen* (*sciuban*), to shy at, has quite another fundamental vowel; it may however be a corruption. The only very old form I know is the *schusel* given in the foot-note on p. 269. But the *Vocab. of 1482* has *scheuhe* (*larva*).

merkint, wildiu *merwunder*, Gudrun 109, 4. 112, 3. *wildez merwîp*, Osw. 653. 673; Mod. HG. *meerwunder*, *wassermann* (Slav. *vodnik*), *seejungfer*, *meerweib*; ON. *haf-frú*, *æs-kona*, *hafgýgr*, *margýgr*; Dan. *havmand*, *bröndmand* (man of the burn or spring), Molb. Dial. p. 58; Swed. *hafsman*, *hafsfru*, and more particularly *strömkarl* (river sprite or man). Wendish *vodny muz*, water man. The notion of a *water-king* shews itself in *waterconink*, Melis Stoke 2, 96. Certain elves or dwarfs are represented as water-sprites: *Andvari*, son of *Oin*, in the shape of a pike inhabited a fors, Sæm. 180-1; and *Alfrikr*, acc. to Vilks. saga, cap. 34, haunted a river (see Suppl.).

The peculiar name of such a watersprite in OHG. was *nihhus*, *nichus*, gen. *nichuses*, and by this term the glossists render crocodilus, Gl. mons. 332, 412. Jun. 270. Wirceb. 978^b; the Physiologus makes it neuter: *daz nikhus*, Diut. 3, 25. Hoffm. Fundgr. 23. Later it becomes *niches*, Gl. Jun. 270. In AS. I find, with change of *s* into *r*, a masc. *nicor*, pl. *niceras*, Beow. 838. 1144. 2854, by which are meant monstrous spirits living in the sea, conf. *nicorhús*, Beow. 2822. This AS. form agrees with the M. Nethl. *nicker*, pl. *nickers*, (Horae Belg. p. 119); Reinaert prose MIIII^b has '*nickers ende wichtereren*'; *necker* (Neptunus), Dint. 2, 224^b. '*hêft mi die necker bracht hier?*' (has the devil brought me here?), Mone's Ndr. volkslit. p. 140. The Mod. Nethl. *nikker* means evil spirit, devil, '*alle nikkers uit de hel;*' so the Engl. '*old Nick.*' We have retained the form with *s*, and the original sense of a watersprite, a male *nix* and a female *nixe*, i.e., *niks* and *nikse*, though we also hear of a *nickel* and *nickelmann*. In MHG. Conrad uses *wassernixe* in the sense of siren: '*heiz uns leiten ûz dem bade der vertânen (accursed) wassernixen, daz uns ir gedœne (din) iht schade*' (MS. 2, 200^b).¹

The ON. *níkr* (gen. *níks*?) is now thought to mean hippopotamus only; the Swed. *näk*, *nek*, and the Dan. *nök*, *nok*, *nocke*, *aanycke* (Molb. Dial. p. 4) express exactly our watersprite, but always a male one. The Danish form comes nearest to a Mid. Lat. *nocca*, spectrum marinum in stagnis et fluviis; the Finn.

¹ Gryphius (mihi 743) has a rhyme: '*die wasserlüss auf erden mag nicht so schöne werden,*' apparently meaning a water-wife or nixe. In Ziska's Östr. volksm. 54 a kind *wassernix*, like dame Holla, bestows wishing-gifts on the children.

näkki, Esth. *nek* (watersprite) seem borrowed from the Swedish. Some have brought into this connexion the much older *neha nehalennia* (pp. 257, 419), I think without good reason: the Latin organ had no occasion to put *h* for *c*, and where it does have an *h* in German words (as *Vahalis*, *Naharvali*), we have no business to suppose a *tenuis*; besides, the images of *Nehalennia* hardly indicate a river-goddess.

I think we have better reason for recognising the water-sprite in a name of Oðinn, who was occasionally conceived of as *Neptune* (p. 148), and often appears as a sailor and ferryman in his bark. The AS. *Andreas* describes in detail, how *God Himself*, in the shape of a divine shipman escorts one over the sea; in the *Legenda Aurea* it is only an angel. Oðinn, according to Sn. 3, is called *Nikarr* or *Hnikarr*, and *Nikuz* or *Hnikuðr*. In Sæm. 46^{a, b} we read *Hnikarr*, *Hnikuðr*, and in 91^a 184^{a, b} *Hnikarr* again. *Nikarr* would correspond to AS. *Nicor*, and *Nikuz* to OHG. *Nichus*. Snorri's optional forms are remarkable, he must have drawn them from sources which knew of both; the prefixing of an aspirate may have been merely to humour the metre. Finn Magnussen, p. 438, acutely remarks, that wherever Oðinn is called *Hnikarr*, he does appear as a sea-sprite and calms the waves. For the rest, no *nickar* (like *âlfar* and *dvergar*) are spoken of in either Edda. Of the metamorphoses of the *nickur* (hippop.) the ON. uses the expression "*nykrat eða fiungâlkat*," Sn. 317 (see *Suppl.*).

Plants and stones are named after the *nix*, as well as after gods. The nymphæa (*νυμφαία* from *νύμφη*) we still call *nix-blume* as well as *seeblume*, *seelilie*, Swed. *näckblad*, Dan. *nökkeblomster*, *nökkerose*; the *conferva rupestris*, Dan. *nökkeskæg* (*nix-beard*); the *haliotis*, a shellfish, Swed. *näcköra* (*nix-ear*); the crumby tufa-stone, *tophus*, Swed. *näckebröd*, the water-sprite's bread. Finn. *näkinkenka* (*mya margaritifera*) *näkin waltikka* (*typha angustifolia*); the Lausitz Wends call the blossoms or seedpods of certain reeds '*vodneho muzha porsty*, *potaczky* [*piorsty*, *perczatky*?], *lohszy*,' water-man's fingers or gloves. We ourselves call the water-lily *wassermännlein*, but also *mummel*, *mümmelchen* = *müemel*, *aunty*, *water-aunt*, as the mermaid in the old lay is expressly addressed as *Morolt's* '*liebe muome*,' and in Westphalia to this day *watermöme* is a

ghostly being; in Nib. 1479, 3 Siglint the one merwoman says of Hadbure the other :

Durch der wæte liebe hât *mîn muome* dir gelogen,

'tis through love of raiment (weeds) mine aunt hath lied to thee; these merwomen belong, as swan-maidens, to one sisterhood and kindred (p. 428), and in Oswald 673-9 'ein ander merwîp' is coupled with the first. Several lakes inhabited by nixes are called *mummelsee* (Deut. sag. nos. 59. 331. Mone's Anz. 3, 92), otherwise *meumke-loch*, e.g., in the Paschenburg of Schaumburg. This explains the name of a little river *Mümling* in the Odenwald, though old docs. spell it Mimling. Mersprites are made to favour particular pools and streams, e.g., the Saale, the Danube, the Elbe,¹ as the Romans believed in the bearded river-gods of individual rivers; it may be that the name of the *Neckar* (Nicarus) is immediately connected with our *nicor*, *nechar* (see Suppl.).

Biörn gives *nennir* as another ON. name for hippopotamus, it seems related to the name of the goddess *Nanna* (p. 310).² This *nennir* or *nikur* presents himself on the sea-shore as a handsome *dapple-grey horse*, and is to be recognised by his hoofs looking the wrong way; if any one mounts him, he plunges with his prey into the deep. There is a way however to catch and bridle him, and break him in for a time to work.³ A clever man at Morland in Bahus fastened an artfully contrived bridle on him, so that he could not get away, and ploughed all his land with him; but the bridle somehow coming loose, the 'neck' darted like fire into the lake, and drew the harrow in after him.⁴ In the same way German legends tell of a great hulking *black horse*, that had risen out of the sea, being put to the plough, and going ahead at a mighty pace, till he dragged both plough and ploughman over the cliff.⁵ Out of a marsh called the 'taufe,' near

¹ The *Elbjungfer* and *Saalweiblein*, Deut. sag. no. 60; the river-sprite in the Oder, *ibid.* no. 62.

² Muchar, in *Norikum* 2, 37, and in *Gastein* p. 145, mentions an Alpine sprite *Donanadel*; does *nadel* here stand for *nandel*? A misprint for *madel* (girl) is scarcely conceivable.

³ *Landnámabók*, 2, 10 (*Islend. sög.* 1, 74). *Olafsen's Reise igiennem Island*, 1, 55. *Sv. vis.* 3, 128.

⁴ P. Kalm's *Westgöta och Bahusländska resa*, 1742, p. 200.

⁵ *Letzner's Dasselsehe chronik* 5, 13.

Scheuen in Lower Saxony, a *wild bull* comes up at certain times, and goes with the cows of the herd (Harry's Sagen, p. 79). When a thunderstorm is brewing, a great *horse* with enormous hoofs will appear on the water (Faye, p. 55). It is the vulgar belief in Norway, that whenever people at sea go down, a *søedrouen* (sea sprite) shews himself in the shape of a headless old man (Sommerfelt, Saltdalens præstegjeld, Trondhjem 1827, p. 119). In the Highlands of Scotland a water-sprite in the shape of a horse is known by the name of *water-kelpie* (see Suppl.).

Water-sprites have many things in common with mountain-sprites, but also some peculiar to themselves. The males, like those of the schrat kind, come up singly rather than in companies. The water man is commonly represented as *oldish* and with a *long beard*, like the Roman demigod out of whose urn the river spouts; often he is *many-headed* (conf. p. 387), Faye p. 51. In a Danish folk-song the nökke lifts his beard aloft (conf. Svenska visor 3, 127. 133), he wears a *green hat*, and when he grins you see his *green teeth* (Deut. sag. no. 52). He has at times the figure of a *wild boy* with *shaggy hair*, or else with *yellow curls* and a *red cap* on his head.¹ The näkki of the Finns is said to have *iron teeth*.² The *nixe* (fem.), like the Romance fay and our own wise-women, is to be seen sitting in the sun, *combing* her long hair (Svenska vis. 3, 148), or emerging from the waves with the upper half of her body, which is exceedingly beautiful. The lower part, as with sirens, is said to consist of a fish-like tail; but this feature is not essential, and most likely not truly Teutonic, for we never hear of a tailed nix,³ and even the nixe, when she comes on shore among men, is shaped and attired like the daughters of men, being recognised only by the *wet skirt* of

¹ The small size is implied in the popular rhyme: 'Nix in der grube (pit), du bist ein böser bube (bad boy); wasch dir deine beinchen (little legs) mit rothen ziegelsteinchen (red brick).'

² On the grass by the shore a girl is seized by a pretty boy wearing a handsome peasant's belt, and is forced to scratch his head for him. While she is doing so, he slips a girdle round her unperceived, and chains her to himself; the continued friction, however, sends him to sleep. In the meantime a woman comes up, and asks the girl what she is about. She tells her, and, while talking, releases herself from the girdle. The boy was more sound asleep than ever, and his lips stood pretty wide apart; then the woman, coming up closer, cried out: 'why, that's a neck, look at his fish's teeth!' In a moment the neck was gone (Etwas über die Ehsten, p. 51).

³ But we do of nixes shaped like men above and like horses below; one water-sprite takes his name from his *slit ears*, Deut. sag. no. 63.

her dress, the *wet tips* of her apron.¹ Here is another point of contact with swan-maidens, whose swan-foot betrays them: and as they have their veils and clothes taken from them, the nixe too is embarrassed by the removal and detention of her gloves in dancing (Deut. sag. nos. 58. 60). Among the Wends the water-man appears in a linen smockfrock with *the bottom of its skirt wet*; if in buying up grain he pays more than the market price, a dearth follows, and if he buys cheaper than others, prices fall (Lausitz. monatschr. 1797, p. 750). The Russians name their water-nymphs *rusálki*: fair maidens with green or garlanded hair, combing themselves on the meadow by the waterside, and bathing in lake or river. They are seen chiefly on Whitsunday and in Whitsun-week, when the people with dance and song plait garlands in their honour and throw them into the water. The custom is connected with the German river-worship on St. John's day. Whitsun-week itself was called by the Russians *rusalbnaya*, in Boh. *rusadla*, and even in Wallachian *rusalie*.²

Dancing, song and music are the delight of all water-sprites, as they are of elves (p. 470). Like the sirens, the nixe by her song draws listening youth to herself, and then into the deep. So Hylas was drawn into the water by the nymphs (Apollod. i. 9, 19. Apollon. rhod. 1, 131). At evening up come the *damsels from the lake*, to take part in the human dance, and to visit their lovers.³ In Sweden they tell of the *strömkarl's* alluring enchanting strain: the *strömkarls-lag* (-lay) is said to have eleven variations, but to only ten of them may you dance, the eleventh belongs to the night-spirit and his band; begin

¹ In Olaf the Saint's saga (Fornm. sög. 4, 56. 5, 162) a *margógr* is pictured as a beautiful woman, from the girdle downward ending in a fish, lulling men to sleep with her sweet song; evidently modelled on the Roman siren. Pretty stories of nixes are told in Jnl. Schmidt's Reichenfels, p. 150 (where the word *doeken*=dolls, puppets) and 151. Water-wives when in labour send for human assistance, like she-dwarfs (p. 457). 'They spake at Dr. M. L.'s table of spectra and of changelings, then did Mistress Luther, his goodwife, tell an history, how a midwife at a place was fetched away by the *devil* to one in childbed, with whom the devil had to do, and that lived in a hole in the water in the *Mulda*, and the water hurt her not at all, but in the hole she sat as in a fair chamber.' Table-talk 1571. 440b.

² Schafarik in the Časopis česk. mus. 7, 259 has furnished a full dissertation on the *rusalky* [from *rusy*, blond; but there is also *ruslo*, river's bed, deepest part].

³ Hebel doubtless founds on popular tradition when (p. 281) he makes the '*jungfere usem see*' roam through the fields at midnight, probably like the *roggenmuhne* to make them fruitful. Other stories of the *meerweiblein* in Mone's Anz. 8, 178, and Bechstein's Thür. sagen 3, 236.

to play that, and tables and benches, cup and can, gray-beards and grandmothers, blind and lame, even babes in the cradle would begin to dance.¹ This melodious *strömkarl* loves to linger by mills and waterfalls (conf. Andvari, p. 488). Hence his Norwegian name *fossegrim* (fos, Swed. and ON. fors, waterfall). On p. 52 it was cited as a remnant of heathen sacrifices, that to this dæmonic being people offered a *black lamb*, and were taught music by him in return. The *fossegrim* too on calm dark evenings entices men by his music, and instructs in the fiddle or other stringed instrument any one who will on a Thursday evening, with his *head turned away*, offer him a little *white he-goat* and throw it into a 'forse' that falls *northwards* (supra, p. 34). If the victim is lean, the pupil gets no farther than the tuning of the fiddle; if fat, the *fossegrim* clutches hold of the player's right hand, and guides it up and down till the blood starts out of all his finger-tips, then the pupil is perfect in his art, and can play so that the trees shall dance and torrents in their fall stand still (see Suppl.).²

Although Christianity forbids such offerings, and pronounces the old water-sprites diabolic beings, yet the common people retain a certain awe and reverence, and have not quite given up all faith in their power and influence: accursed beings they are, but they may some day become partakers of salvation. This is the drift of the touching account, how the *strömkarl* or neck wants you not only to sacrifice to him in return for musical instruction, but to *promise him resurrection and redemption*.³ Two boys were playing by the riverside, the neck sat there touching his harp, and the children cried to him: 'What do you sit and play here for, neck? you know you will never be saved.' The neck began to weep bitterly, threw his harp away, and sank to the bottom. When the boys got home, they told their father

¹ Arndt's Reise nach Schweden 4, 241; similar dances spoken of in Herrauds-saga, cap. 11. pp. 49—52.

² Faye p. 57. Conf. Thiele 1, 135 on the *kirkegrim*.

³ Ödman's Bahuslän, p. 80: Om spelemän i högar ok forsar har man ok åtskilliga sagor; för 15 år tilbacka har man här uti högen under Gären i Tanums gäll belägit hört spela som the bäste musicanter. Then som har viol ok vill lära spela, blir i ögnableket lärd, allenast han lofvar upståndelse; en som ej lofte thet, fick höra huru the i högen *slogo sonder sina violer ok greto bitterliga*. (He that has a fiddle and will learn to play, becomes in a moment learned, only he promises resurrection; one who promised not that, did hear how they in the hill beat asunder their fiddles and wept bitterly.)

what had happened. The father, who was a priest, said 'you have sinned against the neck, go back, *comfort* him and *tell him he may be saved.*' When they returned to the river, the neck sat on the bank weeping and wailing. The children said: 'Do not cry so, poor neck, father says that your Redeemer liveth too.' Then the neck joyfully took his harp, and played charmingly till long after sunset.¹ I do not know that anywhere in our legends it is so pointedly expressed, how badly the heathen stand in need of the Christian religion, and how mildly it ought to meet them. But the harsh and the compassionate epithets bestowed on the nixes seem to turn chiefly upon their *unblessedness*, their damnation.²

But beside the *freewill offering* for instruction in his art, the nix also exacted cruel and *compulsory* sacrifices, of which the memory is preserved in nearly all popular tradition. To this day, when people are drowned in a river, it is common to say: 'the river-sprite *demand*s his yearly victim,' which is usually 'an innocent child.'³ This points to actual human sacrifices offered to the nixus in far-off heathen times. To the nix of the Diemel they throw *bread and fruit* once a year (see Suppl.).

On the whole there runs through the stories of water-sprites a vein of *cruelty* and *bloodthirstiness*, which is not easily found among dæmons of mountains, woods and homes. The nix not only kills human beings who fall into his clutches, but wreaks a bloody vengeance on his own folk who have come on shore, mingled with men, and then gone back. A girl had passed fifteen years in the sea-wife's house (i haf-fruns gård), and never seen the sun all that time. At last her brother ventures down, and brings his beloved sister safely back to the upper world. The hafsfu waited her return seven years, then seized her staff, and lashing the water till it splashed up high, she cried:

¹ Sv. visor 3, 128. Ir. Elfenm. p. 24; similar Irish, Scotch, and Danish traditions, pp. 200-2. Conf. Thiele 4, 14. Holberg's Julestue sc. 12: 'Nisser og underjorske folk, drive store fester bort med klagen og hylen, eftersom de ingen del har derudi' (because they have no part therein).

² 'Vertâne wassernixe,' fordone, done for (p. 488); 'den fula stygga necken,' Sv. vis. 3, 147; 'den usle havfrue, usle maremind,' 'den arme mareviv,' 'du jule og lede spaaqvinde!' Danske visor 1, 110. 119. 125. Holberg's Melampus 3, 7 cites a Danish superstition: 'naar en fisker ligger hos sin fiskerinde paa søen, saa føder hun en havfrue.'

³ Deut. sag., nos. 61. 62. Faye, p. 51. The River Saale yearly demands her victim on Walburgis or St. John's day, and on those days people avoid the river.

Hade jag trott att du varit så falsk,
Så skulle jag knackt dig din tiufvehals !

(had I trowed thou wert so false, I'd have nicked thy thievish neck), Arvidsson 2, 320-3. If the sea-maidens have stayed too long at the dance, if the captive Christian have born a child to the nix, if the water-man's child is slow in obeying his call, one sees a *jet of blood* shoot up from the water's bed in sign of the vengeful deed.¹ As a rule, there was likewise a favourable sign

¹ Dent. sag., nos. 49. 58-9. 60. 304-6. 318, 1. Here I give another Westphalian legend, written down for me by Hr Seitz, of Osnabrück :—Dönken von den *smett uppn Darmssen*. Dichte bei Braumske liggt en lütken see, de Darmssen ; do stönd vörr aulen tiën (olden tide) en klauster ane. de miönke åber in den klauster liabeden nig nå Goddes willen ; drumme gönk et unner. Nig lange nå hiar hörden de buren in der nauberskup, in Epe, olle nachte en kloppen un liarmen bi den Darmssen, osse wenn me upn ambold slët, und wecke lüe seigen wott (some folk saw somewhat) midden up den Darmssen. Se sgeppeden drup to ; då was et n *smett, de bet ant lif* (bis an's leib) *inn water seit*, mitn hämer in de füst, dämüt weis he jümmer up den ambold, un bedudde (bedeutete) de buren, dat se em wot to smien bringen sollen. Sit der tit brochten em de lüe ut der burskup jümmer isen to smien (iron to forge), un ninminske hadde so goe plogisen (good ploughshares) osse de Eper. Ens wol Koatman to Epe rêt (reed) ut den Darmssen häten, do feind he n *lütck kind* annen öwer, dat was *ruw upn ganssen liwe*.* Do sreggede de *smett* : '*nimm mi weinen süennien nig weg !*' åber Koatman neim dat kind inn back full, un löp dermit nå luse. Sit der tit was de *smett* nig mehr to sehn or to lören. Koatman färde (futterte) den *ruwen* up, un de wörd sin beste un flitigste knecht. Osse he åber twintig jår ault wör, sia he to sinen buren : 'bûr, ik mot von ju gaun, *min vâr het mi ropen*.' 'Dat spit mi je,' sia de bûr, 'gift et denn gar nin middel, dat du bi mi bliwen kannst ?' 'Ik will es (mal) sehn,' sia dat *waterkind*, 'gât erst es (mal) no Braumske un hålt mi en niggen djangen (degn) ; mer ju mjöt do förr giebn wot de kaupmann hebben will, un jau *niks afhanneln*.' De bûr gönk no Braumske un kofde en djangu, hannelde åber doch wot af. Nu göngen se to hauge no'n Darmssen, do sia de *ruwe* : 'Nu passt upp, wenn ik int water slæe un et *kümmt blôt*, dann mot ik weg, *kümmt mjalke*, dann darf ik bi ju bliwwen.' He slög int water, då kwamm kene mjalke un auk kên blöd. gans iargerlik sprak de *ruwe* : 'ji hebt mi wot wis maket, un wot afhannelt, dorümme kömmt kên blöd un kene mjalke. spöt ju, un kaupet in Braumske en ånnern djangn.' De bûr göng weg un kweim wir ; åber erst dat drüdde mal brächte he en djangen, wå he niks an awwehannelt hadde. Osse de *ruwe* då mit int water slög, *do was et so raut osse blöd*, de *ruwe* störtede sik in den Darmssen, un ninminske hef en wier sehn.—[Epitome :—*The smith in Darmssen lake*. Once a monastery there ; bad monks, put down. Peasants at Epe heard a hammering every night, rowed to middle of lake, found a *smith sitting up to his waist in water* ; he made them signs to bring him work, they did so constantly, and the Epe ploughshares were the best in the country. Once farmer Koatman found a *child* on the bank, *all over hairy*. Smith cried, 'don't take my son' ; but K. did, and reared him. Smith never seen again. The Shaggy one, when aged 20, said, 'I must go, *father has called me*.'—'Can't you stay anyhow ?'—'Well, I'll see ; go buy me a new sword, give the price asked, *don't beat down*.' K. bought one, but cheapened. They go to the Darmssen ; says Shag, 'Watch, when I strike the water ; *if blood comes*, I must go, *if milk*, I may stay.' But neither came : 'You've cheapened ! go buy another sword.' K. cheapened again, but the third time he did not. Shag struck the water, it was *red as blood*, and he plunged into the Darmssen.]—The same sign, of *milk or blood* coming up, occurs in another folk-tale, which makes the water-nymphs into white-veiled nuns, Mone's Anz. 3, 93.

* So in Casp. von der Rön, pp. 224-5 the meerwunder is called 'der *rauhe*, der *rauche*.' Conf. supra, pp. 481. 491.

agreed upon (a jet of milk, a plate with an apple), but withheld in such a case as this.

And here is the place to take up *Grendel* again, whom we likened (p. 243) to the malicious god Loki, though Loki, even apart from that, seemed related to Oegir. Grendel is cruel and bloodthirsty: when he climbs out of his marsh at night, and reaches the hall of the sleeping heroes, he clutches one and drinks the blood out of another (*Beow.* 1478). His mother is called a *merewif* (3037), *brimwylf* (she-wolf of the breakers, 3197), and *grundwyrgen* (3036) which means the same thing (from *wearg*, *lupus*, comes *wyrgen*, *lupa*). This pair, Grendel and mother, have a *water-house*, which is described (3027 seq.) almost exactly as we should imagine the Norse Oegir's dwelling, where the gods were feasted: indoors the water is excluded by walls, and there burns a pale light (3033).¹ Thus more than one feature leads on to higher beings, transcending mere watersprites (see *Suppl.*).

The notion of the nix drawing to him those who are *drowning* has its milder aspect too, and that still a heathen one. We saw on p. 311 that drowned men *go to the goddess Rân*; the popular belief of later times is that they are received into the abode of the nix or nixe. It is not the river-sprite kills those who sink in the element of water; kindly and compassionately he bears them to his dwelling, and harbours their souls.² The word *rân* seems to have had a more comprehensive meaning at first: '*mæla rân ok regin*' was to invoke all that is bad, all evil spirits, upon one. It has occurred to me, whether the unexplained Swed. *rå* in the compounds *sjörå* (nix), *skogsrå* (schratt), *tomtrå* (homesprite), which some believe to be *rå angulus*, or a contraction of *rådande*, may not have sprung from this *rân*, as the Scandinavian tongue is so fond of dropping a final *n*. Dame *Wächilt* too (p. 434) is a succouring harbouring water-wife. The water man, like Hel and Rân, *keeps with him the souls* of them that have perished in the water, 'in pots turned upside down,' to use the naïve language of one story (no. 52); but a peasant visiting him tilts them up, and in a moment the souls all mount up through the water. Of the

¹ Conf. the dolphin's house in Musäus's *märchen* of the Three Sisters.

² Probably there were stories also of *helpful succouring* river-gods, such as the Greeks and Romans told of Thetis, of Ino-Leucothea (*Od.* 5, 333-353), Albunea, Matuta.

drowned they say 'the nix has drawn them to him,' or 'has sucked them,' because bodies found in the water have the nose red.¹ 'Juxta pontem Mosellae quidam puerulus naviculam excidens submersus est. quod videns quidam juvenis vestibus abjectis aquae insilivit, et inventum extrahere volens, *maligno spiritu retrahente*, quem *Neptunum* vocant, semel et secundo perdidit; tertio cum nomen apostoli invocasset, mortuum recepit.' *Miracula S. Matthiae*, cap. 43. Pez, *Thes. anecd.* 2, 3, pag. 26. Rollenhagen in the *Froschmeuseler* (Nn II^b):

' das er
elend im wasser wer gestorben,
da die seel mit dem leib verdorben,
oder beim geist blieb, der immer frech
den *ersofnen die hels* abbrech.'

(that he had died miserably in the water, and his soul had perished with the body, or abode with the spirit that ever without ado breaketh the necks of the drowned). The Swedish superstition supposes that *drowned* men whose bodies are not found have been drawn into the dwelling of the *hufsfru* (Sv. vis. 3, 148). In some German fairy-tales (no. 79) children who fall into the well come under the power of the *water-nixe*; like dame Holla, she gives them tangled flax to spin.

Faye, p. 51, quotes a Norwegian charm, to be repeated on the water against the nix:

nyk, nyk, naal i vatn!
jomfru Maria kastet staal i vatn:
*du säk, äk flyt.*²

(nick, nick, needle in water! Virgin casteth steel in water. Thou sink, and I flee). A similar one for bathers is given in *Superst. Swed.* no. 71 [with the addition: 'thy father was a steel-thief, thy mother was a needle-thief,' etc.]. Steel stops a spirit's power to act upon you (*supra*, p. 466-7 n.).

A sepulchral cry of the nix, similar to death groans, is said to portend drowning (Faye, p. 51). Some very old writings ascribe

¹ Dan. 'nökken har taget ham,' 'nökken har suet dem,' Tullin's *Skrifter* 2, 13.

² So Brynhildr calls out at last to the giantess: '*seykstu, gýgjar kyn!*' *Sæm.* 229^b.

to watersprites in general *wailing voices* and *doleful speeches*, that resound from lakes and pools: they tell each other of their baffled schemes, or how they have to vacate the land before the christians. Gregory of Tours, in *De glor. confess.* cap. 31, remembers an incident of his young days ‘*apud Arvernos gestum.*’ A man setting out early to the forest has his morning meal blessed before he takes it: *Cumque ad amnem adhuc antelucanum venisset, imposito plastro cum bobus in ponte qui super navem locatus erat, alterum transmeare coepit in littus. Verum ubi in medium amnis devenit, audivit vocem dicentis ‘merge, merge, ne morêris!’ Cui respondens vox alia ait: ‘sine tua etiam admonitione quae proclamas fecissem, si res sacra meis conatibus non obstaret; nam scias eum eulogiis sacerdotis esse munitum, ideo ei nocere non possum’* (see *Suppl.*)—In the *Vita Godehardi Hildesiensis* (first quarter of 11th cent.), cap. 4 (*Leibn.* 1, 492), we read: *Erat etiam in orientali parte civitatis nostrae (Hildenes-hem) palus horriffica et circummanentibus omnino plurali formidine invisâ, eo quod ibi, ut opinabantur, tam meridiano quam et nocturno tempore illusiones quasdam horribiles vel audirent vel viderent, quae (sc. palus) a fonte salsuginis quae ibidem in medio bulliebat Sulza dicitur. Qua ille (Godehardus) spectata, et illusionem etiam phantastica, qua bruta plebs terrebatur, audita, eandem paludem secundo sui adventus anno cum cruce et reliquiis sanctorum invasit, et habitationem suam ibidem aptavit, et in medio periculo oratorium in honorem S. Bartholomaei apostoli fundavit, quo sequenti anno consummato et dedicato, omne daemonum phantasma (conf. p. 482) exinde funditus extirpavit, et eundem locum omnibus commorantibus vel advenientibus gratum et sine qualibet tentatione habitabilem reddidit.*—My third quotation is a continuation of that given on p. 108 from the *Vita S. Galli* (*Pertz* 2, 7): *Volvente deinceps cursu temporis electus Dei Gallus retia lymphae laxabat in silentio noctis, sed inter ea audivit demonem de culmine montis pari suo clamantem, qui erat in abditis maris. Quo respondente ‘adsum,’ montanus econtra: ‘Surge’ inquit ‘in adjutorium mihi. Ecce peregrini venerunt, qui me de templo ejecerunt (nam deos conterebant quos incolae isti colebant, insuper et eos ad se convertebant); veni, veni, adjuva nos expellere eos de terris.’ Marinus demon respondit:*

‘ En unus eorum est in pelago,
 cui nunquam nocere potero,
 volui enim retia sua ledere,
 sed me victum proba lugere :
 signo orationis est semper clausus,
 nec umquam somno oppressus.’

Electus vero Gallus hæc audiens munivit se undique signaculo Christi, dixitque ad eos :

‘ In nomine Jesu Christi præcipio vobis,
 ut de locis istis recedatis,
 nec aliquem hic ledere presumatis !’

et cum festinatione ad littus rediit, atque abbati suo quæ audierat recitavit.¹ Quod vir Dei Columbanus audiens, convocavit fratres in ecclesiam, *solitum signum tangens*. O mira dementia diaboli ! voces servorum Dei præripuit *vox fantasmatica*, cum *hejulus* atque *ululatus diræ vocis* audiebatur *per culmina*.—Read further on (2, 9) the story of two *lake-women* who stand naked on the shore and *throw stones*. Everywhere we see the preachers confront the pagan dæmons with cross and holy spell, as something real; the mournful howl of the spirits yields to the ringing of bells. Gods and spirits are not distinguished: the god cast out of the temple, whose image has been broken, is the elf or nix meditating revenge. It is remarkable, too, that *mountain* and *water* sprites are set before us as fellows (*pares*); in folk-tales of a later time their affinity to each other seems abundantly established.

We have now considered genii of mountains, of woods and of rivers; it remains to review the large and variously named group of the friendly familiar *Home-sprites*.

They of all sprites stand nearest to man, because they come and seek his fellowship, they take up their abode under his very roof or on his premises.

Again, it is a feature to be marked in home-sprites, that they are *purely male*, never female; there appears a certain absence of sex in their very idea, and if any female beings approach this

¹ Conf. the conversations of trolls overheard by two of St. Olaf's men, Fornm. sǫg. 1, 185-188.

goblin kind, it is former goddesses who have come down in the world.¹

What the Romans called *lar*,² *lar familiaris* (see the prologue to Plautus's *Aulularia*) and *penas*, is named in our older speech *hûsing* or *stetigot* (genius loci); conf. 'hûsinga (penates)' in Notker's *Capella* 51. In *Cap.* 142 N. renders lares by 'ingoumen (hiusero alde burgo)'; the literal meaning of *ingoumo* would be guard of the interior. In *Cap.* 50 he uses *ingeside* for penates, *i.e.* our ingesinde, inmates, domestics; the form continued to be used in MHG.: *daz liebe heilige ingeside*, *Rol.* 115, l. 226, 18. Similarly the Span. *duende*, *duendecillo* (goblin) seems derivable from *domus*, *dueño* is house-owner (*dominus*, distinct from *don*, p. 299 note), and *duendo* domestic, retired. The ON. *tôft*, Swed. *tomt*, means *area*, *domus vacua*, and the home-sprite's name is in Swed. *tomtekarl*, *tomtegubbe* (old fellow on the premises), *tomtrå*, *tomtebiss*, *som styr i källrars rike* (Hallman, p. 73): Norw. *tomtevätte*, *toftvätte*. Another ON. name is *skûrgoð*, p. 112. We can trace in them a peculiar connexion with the *hearth* of the house; they often come out from under it (p. 456 n.), it seems to be the door, as it were, to their subterranean dwelling: they are strictly *hearth-gods*. Here and there in Germany we also meet with the name *gesell*, fellow (supra, p. 464, *selle*, *selke*), *gutgesell*, *nachbar*, *lieber nachbar*, in the Netherlands *goede kind* (*Horac Belg.* 119), in England *goodfellow*, in Denmark *god dreng*, good boy, *kiære granne*, dear neighbour, (conf. *bona socia*, p. 283-8, and *quote holde*, p. 266). The Eng. *puck* we may indeed connect with the Ir. *phuka*, Wel. *pwcca*,³ but with more justice perhaps with the Dan. *pog* (lad), which is simply the Swed. *pojke*, ON. *pûki* (puer), and comes from Finn. *poica* (filius); in Lower Germany too they say *pook* for a puny stunted man (*Brem. wb.* 3, 349). *Heimreich's Nordfries. chron.* 2, 348 has *huspuke* (see *Suppl.*).

From the 13th century (and possibly earlier, if only we had authorities)⁴ down to the present time the name *kobold* has been

¹ *Holla*, *Berhta*, *Werra*, *Stempe*. Female are the Gr. *Mopuá* and *Λαμία*, the Rom. *Lamia*, *Mania*, *Maniola*. The Poles too have a fem. *Omaenica*: 'Aniculae vetant pueros edere in tenebris, ne spectrum hoc devorent, quod eos insatiabiles reddat,' *Linde* sub v. 'omacaé,' to burden. OHG. *âgenggun lamiae*, (Graff 1, 132.

² *Larva* (spectre, daemon) is conn. with *lar*, as *arvum*, *arvus* with *arare*. The *Monachus Sangall.* calls the pilosus (p. 481) *larva*.

³ *Crocker's Fairy legends* 3, 230-2. 262.

⁴ 'Acc. to Falke, a *Koboltesdorp* (ann. 946), Trad. corv.; *Adalpertus chobolt. kobolt* (ann. 1185), *MB.* 27, 36. 42.'—Extr. from *SUPPL.*

in use. A doc. of 1250 in Böhmer's Cod. francof. 1, 83 has a 'Heinricus dictus *Coboldus*.' Even before that date *coboldus* occurs (Zeitschr. des Hess. vereins 3, 64). Conrad of Würzburg, MS. 2, 206^a, has: 'mir ist ein lôser hoveschalk als ein *kobolt* von buhse,' no better than a k. of boxwood; and the Mîsnære (Amgb. 48^a): 'wê den *kobolden*, die alsus erstummen (are so struck dumb)! mir ist ein holzîn (wooden) bischof vil lieber dan ein stummer herre.' The notions of *kobold*, *dwarf*, *thumbkin*, *puppet*, *idol* largely run into one another (conf. supra, malik, p. 104 note). It seems, they used to carve little home-sprites of boxwood and set them up in the room for fun, as even now wooden nutcrackers and other mere playthings are cut in the shape of a dwarf or idol; yet the practice may have had to do with an old heathen worship of small lares, to whom a place was assigned in the innermost part of the dwelling; in time the earnest would turn into sport, and even christian sentiment tolerate the retention of an old custom.¹ They must also have tied rags and shreds into dolls, and set them up. The dumb wooden kobold is kept in countenance by the 'wooden bishop' mentioned immediately after by the Mîsnære.² In the oft-quoted poem of Ruediger we find (17^d of the Königsb. MS.) 'in *koboldes* sprâche,' [*i.e.*, speaking low]. In Altd. w. 2, 55 'einen *kobold* von wahse machen,' one of wax. Hoffmann's Fundgruben give us in the Glossary 386, from a Vocab. of the 14th century, *opold* for *kopold*. Hugo von Trimberg has several allusions to kobolds: line 5064, 'und lêrn einander goukelspil, unter des mantel er *kobolte* mache, der (whereat) manic man tougen (secretly) mit im lache'; 5576, 'der mâle ein andern *kobolt* dar, der ungesseu bî im sitze'; 10277, 'einer siht den andern an, als *kobolt* hern *taterman*'; 10843, 'ir abgot (the heathens' gods), als ich gelesen hân, daz waren *kobolt* und *taterman*'; 11527, 'Got möhte wol lachen, solte ez sîn, wan sîne *tatermennelin* (same in Roth's Fragment, p. 65) sô wunderlîch ûf erden leben,' God might laugh to see his little mannikins behave so strangely. Jugglers

¹ One ought to search out the age and design of the various gear that is set out (as mere ornament this long while) on shelves and tables; from this and from long-established moulds for pastry, we may arrive at some conclusions about the heathen custom of carving or 'doughing' idols (conf. pp. 15. 105. 112. 114): teig (dough) including any soft substance, clay, wax or flour-paste.

² On 'papa salignus' conf. Reinh. p. xciv.

bring kobolds out from under their cloak, kobolds are painted on the wall, the heathen gods were nothing but kobolds and tatermen, to stare at each other like kobold and taterman,—all through, the kobold appears as the tiny tricky home-sprite. In writers of the 17th century I find the remarkable phrase ‘to laugh *like a kobold*,’ Ettner’s *Unwürr. doct.* p. 340, and *App.* p. 53; ‘you laugh as though you’d empty yourself, *like a kobolt*,’ Reimdich p. 149. This must either mean, to laugh with mouth agape, like a carved kobold, who may have been so represented, or simply to laugh loud and heartily.¹ Again, ‘to laugh like a *hampelmann*,’ *Deutschfranzos* p. 274; ‘ho, ho, ho! the loud laugh of Robin Goodfellow,’ *Anecd. and Trad.*, ed. by W. J. Thoms, Lond. 1839, p. 115. In the poem of Zeno 867. 1027 this dæmonic laughter is expressed by *skraken* (*Brem. wb.* 4, 686 *schrachtern*). *Schweinichen* 1, 260 tells of an unquiet spirit laughing loud and shrill; it may be a laugh of mirth or mockery.

In the Netherlands too we find at an early time the form *koubout* (pl. *coubouten*, *Horae Belg.* 1, 119); now *kabout*, and in Belgium *kabot*, *kabotermanneken*.² The Scandinavian languages have not the word.

It is a foreign word, sprung no doubt from the Gr. *κόβαλος* (rogue), Lat. *cobalus*,³ with a *t* added, as our language is partial to forms in *-olt* for monstrous and ghostly beings. From *cobalus*, in Mid. Lat. already *gobelinus*, the Fr. has formed its *gobelin*, whence the Engl. *goblin*, strengthened into *hobgoblin*. Hanka’s O. Boh. glosses render 79^b *gitulius* (*getulius*, *gaetulius*) by *kobolt*, and directly after, *aplinus* (l. *alpinus*, *i.e.* *alpinus*, the ‘fool’ or queen in chess) by *tatrman*: here are *kobolt* and *tatrman* together, just as we saw them staring at each other in the *Renner*; hence also the *Cod. pal.* 341, 126° speaks of ‘*einen taterman mâlen*,’ painting a *t.*, and the *Wahtelmære* 140 of guiding him with strings, ‘*rihtet zuo mit den snüeren die tater-*

¹ ‘*Hlahtar kiscutitaz*,’ laughed till he shook, *K.* 24^v. *Notk. Cap.* 33 has: ‘*taz lahter scutta sia*; *Petronius*, cap. 24, ‘*risu dissolvebat ilia sua*’; *Reinardus* 3, 1929, ‘*cachinnus viscera fissurus*’; or, as we say, to split with laughing, laugh yourself double, short and small, to pieces, to a *hölzlin* (*Gryphius* p. m. 877), brown, out of your senses; ‘*einen schübel voll lachen*’; perish, die with laughing, *MHG.* ‘*man swindet under lachen*,’ *Ben.* 330. A Breton song in *Villemarqué* 1, 39 speaks of the loud laugh of the korred (see *Suppl.*).

² *Schayes sur les usages et traditions des Belges.* Louvain 1834, p. 230.

³ *Lobeck’s Aglaoph.* 1308–1328.

manne' (supra, p. 410 g.). To explain this taterman by the Engl. tatter has some plausibility, but then our HG. ought to have had zaterman (conf. OHG. zata, zatar, Graff 5, 632-3, with AS. tættara, panniculus). The glossist above may have meant by *gaetulus* an African savage, by *alpinus* a Tartar (MHG. tater, tateler), or still better, a fool;¹ the word *taterman* occurs in other O. Boh. documents besides, and signifies doll and idol (Jungmann 3, 554^b); foreign to all other Slavic dialects, it seems borrowed from German.² Its proper meaning can only be revealed by a fuller insight into the history of puppet-shows. Perhaps the Hung. *tatos* (juggler) has a claim to consideration.³

Several MSS. however and the first printed edition of the Renner have not taterman at all, but *katerman* (Cod. francof. 164^b reads verse 10843 *kobülde unde katirman*), which is not altogether to be rejected, and at lowest offers a correct secondary sense. *Katerman*, derived from *kater* (tom-cat), may be compared with *heinzelman*, *hinzelman*, *hinzemännchen*, the name of a home-sprite,⁴ with *Hinze* the cat in *Reineke*, and the wood-sprite *Katzenveit* (p. 480). The *puss-in-boots* of the fairy-tale plays exactly the part of a good-natured helpful kobold; another one is called *stiefel* (boot, Deut. sag. no. 77), because he wears a large boot: by the boot, I suppose, are indicated the *gefeyte schuhe* (fairy shoes) of older legend, with which one could travel faster on the ground, and perhaps through the air; such are the *league-boots* of fairy-tales and the *winged shoes* of *Hermes*. The name of *Heinze* is borne by a mountain-sprite in the *Froschmeuseler*. *Heinze* is a dimin. of *Heinrich*, just as in Lower Germany another noisy ghost is called *Chimke*, dimin. of *Joachim* (conf. 'dat *gimken*,' Brem. wb. 5, 379): the story of *Chimmeken*

¹ There is in the kobold's character an unmistakable similarity to the witty court-fool; hence I feel it significant, that one described in *Schweinichen* 1, 260-2 expressly carries a *bauble*. The Engl. *hobgoblin* means the same as *clowngoblin* (*Nares* sub v. *hob*).

² *Hausch* (Slav. myth. 299) takes the *taterman* (he says, *hasterman* also occurs) for a water-sprite.

³ 'In Tyrol *tatterman* = scarecrow, coward, kobold, from *tattern*, *zittern*, to quake, *skedaddle*; *Frommann* 2, 327. *Leoprechting* p. 177 says, *tattern* to frighten; at *Gratz* in Styria, the night before solstice, *tattermann*, a bugbear, is carried round and set on fire in memory of extirpated heathenism.'—*Extr. from SUPPL.*

⁴ Deut. sag. no. 75; the story is 100 years later than the composition of the *Reineke*. *Hinzelmann* leaves a dint in the bed, as if a cat had lain in it. *Luther's Table-talk* (ed. 1571, p. 441^a) had previously related the like concerning a spirit *Heinzlin*.

(of about 1327) is to be found in Kantzow's Pomerania I, 333. The similar and equally Low-German name *Wolterken* seems to have a wider circulation. Samuel Meiger in his *Panurgia lamiarum* (Hamb. 1587. 4), bok 3 cap. 2, treats 'van den laribus domesticis edder husknechtken, de men ok *Wolterken* unde *Chimken* an etliken örden nömet.' These *Wolterkens* are also mentioned by Arnkiel (Cimbr. heidenth. 1, 49); in the Netherlands they are called *Wouters*, *Wouterken*, and Tuinman 2, 201 has a proverb 't is een wilde *Wouter*;' though incorrectly he refers it to *wout* (*silva*). *Wouter*, *Wolter* is nothing but the human proper name *Walter* bestowed on a home-sprite. It is quite of a piece with the familiar intercourse between these spirits and mankind, that, beside the usual appellatives, certain proper names should be given them, the diminutives of Henry, Joachim, Walter. Not otherwise do I understand the *Robin* and *Nissen* in the wonted names for the English and Danish goblins *Robin goodfellow* and *Nissen god dreng*. *Robin* is a French-English form of the name Robert, OHG. Hruodperaht, MHG. Ruotperht, our Ruprecht, Rupert, Ruppert; and *Robin fellow* is the same home-sprite whom we in Germany call *knecht Ruprecht*, and exhibit to children at Christmas, but who in the comedies of the 16-17th centuries becomes a mere *Rüpel* or *Rüppel*, i.e. a merry fool in general.¹ In England, *Robin Goodfellow* seems to get mixed up with *Robin Hood* the archer, as *Hood* himself reminds us of *Hôdeken* (p. 463); and I think this derivation from a being of the goblin kind, and universally known to the people, is preferable to the attempted historical ones from *Rubertus* a Saxon mass-priest, or the English *Robertus* knight, one of the slayers of *Thomas Becket*. *Nisse*, *Nissen*, current in Denmark and Norway, must be explained from *Niels*, *Nielsen*,

¹ Ayer's *Fastnachtspiele* 73^d confirms the fact of *Rupel* being a dimin. of *Ruprecht*. Some dialects use *Rüpel*, *Riepel* as a name for the tom-cat again; in witch-trials a little young devil is named *Rubel*. Acc. to the Leipzig *Avanturier* 1, 22-3, *knecht Ruprecht* appears in shaggy clothes, sack on back and rod in hand.—

[If *Hob* in hobgoblin stands for Robert, it is another instance of the friendly or at least conciliatory feeling that prompted the giving of such names. In *Mids. N. Dream* ii. 1, the same spirit that has just been called *Robin Goodfellow*, is thus addressed:

Those that *Hob*-goblin call you, and sweet Puck,
You do their work, and they shall have good luck.

Of course *Hob* as a man's name is Robert, as *Hodge* is Roger.—TRANS.]

i.e. Nicolaus, Niclas,¹ not from our HG. common noun 'nix' the watersprite, which is in Danish nök, nok (p. 488), and has no connexion with Nisse; and the Swed. form is also *Nilson*. I find a confirmation of this in our habit of assigning to *Niclaus*, *Claus* or *Clobes* the selfsame part that in some districts is played by Ruprecht. To this latter I am inclined to refer even the words of so early a writer as Ofterdingen, MS. 2, 2^b: '*Ruprecht min knecht muoz iuwer hâr gelîch den tôren schern*,' R. my man must shear your hair like that of fools. A home-sprite *Rüdy* (for Rudolf) in Mone's Anz. 3, 365.

Another set of names is taken from the noises which these spirits keep up in houses: you hear them jumping softly, knocking at walls, racketing and tumbling on stairs and in lofts. Span. *trasgo* (goblin), and *traguear* (to racket); Fr. *soterai*, *sotret* (jumper), *Mém. de l'acad. celt.* 4, 91; *ekerken* (eichhörchen, squirrel), *Deut. sag.* no. 78; *poltergeist*, *rumpelgeist*, *rumpelstiltz* in the *Kindermärchen* no. 55, *rumpelstilt* in *Fischart*;² one particular goblin is called *klopfer*, knocker (*Deut. sag.* no. 76), and it may be in this connexion that *hämmerlein*, *hemerlein* (*supra*, p. 182) has come to be applied to home-sprites of diabolic nature. *Nethl. bullman*, *bullerman*, *bullerkater*, from *bullen*, *bullern*, to be boisterous. *Flem. boldergeest*, and hence 'bi holder te bolder,' our 'holter die polter,' helter-skelter. A *pophart*, identical with *rumpelstilt* in *Fischart*, is to be derived from *popeln*, *popern*, to keep bobbing or thumping softly and rapidly;³ a house-goblin in Swabia was called the *poppelle*; in other parts *popel*, *pöpel*, *pöpelmann*, *popanz*, usually with the side-meaning of a muffled ghost that frightens children, and seldom used of playful good-humoured goblins. At the same time *pöpel* is that which muffles (puppt) itself: about Henneberg, says *Reinwald* 2, 78, a dark cloud is so called; it contains the notion

¹ Not only Nielsen, but *Nissen* is a family name in Denmark, and can only mean the same, by no means nix or goblin. [I suppose Niels is rather Nigellus, Nigel, which breaks down the connexion with Nicolas or Claus; still the two can stand independently.—TRANS.]

² Is *stilt*, *stiltz* the old *stalt* in compounds? *Gramm.* 2, 527. What the fairy-tale says of *Rumpelstiltz*, and how his name has to be guessed, other stories tell of *Eisenhütel* or *Hopfenhütel* (who wear an iron hat or one wreathed with hop-leaves), *Kletke's Alman.* v. volksm. 67; or of the dwarf *Holzrührlein*, *Bonnesführlein*, *Harrys* 1, 18 [of *Kuirfiker*, *Gebhart*, *Tepentiren*, *Müllenh.* 306-8, of *Titteli Ture*, *Sv. folkv.* 1, 171.—SUPPL.]; and we shall meet with the like in giant-stories.

³ *Stald.* 1, 204. *Schm.* 1, 293. 323.

of mask and tarnkappe (p. 333). In connexion with Holda, a *Hollepöpel*, *Hollepeter* is spoken of.

The same shifting of form appears in the words *mumhart* (already in Cæsarius heisterb. 7, 46: 'mummart momordit me'), *mummel*, *mummelmann*, *mummanz*,¹ which express the very same notion, 'mummen, mummeln' signifying to mumble, to utter a muffled sound. Or can we connect it with *mumel*, *muomel*, the name of the watersprite (p. 490)? In that case, *vermummen* (to disguise), *mummerei* (mumming, larva) would seem to mean acting like the spectre, instead of the spectre having taken his name from mumming (see Suppl.).

The word *butze* as far back as the 12th-13th century had the same meaning as *mummart* and *poppart*: a place called *Puziprunnun*, *Puciprunnen*, MB. 6, 60. 62. 9, 420 (12th century), unless *puzi*=*puteus* be meant, might take its name from a well, haunted by such a home-sprite. 'Ein ungehiurer (uncanny) *butze*,' *Martina* 116^c 224^a; 'si sehent mich nicht mêr an in *butzen* wîs,' they look at me no more in *butze* wise, *Walth.* 28, 37; 'in *butzen* wise gehn,' *Oberlin* sub v.; 'den *butzen* vorht er kleine, als man dô seit von kinden,' he little fears the b., as we say of children, *Albr. Tit.* x. 144 (*Hahn* 1275); *butzengrîul*, -horror, *Walth.* 140, 2. *MsH.* 3, 451^a; 'geloub ich daz, sô bîz mich *butze*,' b. bite me if I believe it, *Hätzlerin* 287^a, which agrees with 'mummart momordit me' above; 'ein *kinderbutze*,' *Ls.* 1, 617; 'forht ich solchen *bützel*,' *Ls.* 1, 380, where a wihtel is spoken of. So, to frighten with the *butze*, to tear off the *butze* (mask); *butzen* antlüt (face) and *butzen* kleider (clothes)=larva in *Kaisersperg* (*Oberlin* 209); *winterbutz* in *Brant's Narrenschiff* 129 (*winterbutte* in the *Plattdeutsch* translation 140^b). I do not understand the *butzenhänsel* in *Weisth.* 1, 691. All over Germany almost, we hear to this day: 'der *butz* kommt,'² or 'der *butzemann*, *butzelmann*,' and in *Elsass* *butzmummel*, the same as *butz* or *mummel* alone. *buz*, *Jäger's Ulm*, p. 522. *butzenmann*, *Fischart's Bienkorb* 194^a. *butz*, *Garg.* 231^a. *butzemann*, *Simpl.* 2, 248. In *Bavaria*, *fasnachtbutz*, *Shrovetide* b., *buzmann*, *buzibercht*, b. coupled with the *Bercht* or *Berehta* of our pp. 272-9;

¹ For *mum hans* (muffle-jack), as *popanz* is for *pop-hans* (bob-jack), and as there were likewise *blindhans*, *grobhans*, *karsthans*, *scharrhans*, etc.

² In *Normandy*: 'hush, the goblin will eat you up.'

butzwinkel, lurking-place, *butzlfenster*, pitch-dark, when the apparition is most to be dreaded; 'the *putz* would take us over hill and dale,' Schm. 1, 229. 230; the *butz* who leads travellers astray (Muchar's Gastein, p. 145). In Swabia *butzenmaukler* (from *mancheln*, to be sly), *butzenbrecht*, *butzenraule*, *butzenrolle*, *rollputz*, *butzenbell* (because his rattle rolls and his bell tinkles), Schmid 111. About Hanau I have heard the interjection, *katzabutza-rola!* the 'katze-butze' bringing up the connexion between cat and goblin (p. 503) in a new form. In Switzerland *bootzi*, *bozi*, St. 1, 204. Here several meanings branch out of one another: first we have a monstrous *butz* that drags children away, then a tiny *bützel*, and thence both *bützel* and *butz-igel* (-urchin) used contemptuously of little deformed creatures. In like manner *but* in Low Germ. stands for a squat podgy child; *budden*, *verbudden* is to get stunted or deformed, while the bugbear is called *butte*, *butke*, *budde*, *buddeke*: 'dat di de *butke* nig bit,' (that thee the bogie bite not!) is said satirically to children who are afraid of the dark, Brem. wb. 1, 173-5; and here certainly is the place for the watersprite *butt* or *butlje* in the Kindermärchen no. 19, the name having merely been transferred to a blunt-headed fish, the rhombus or *passer marinus*.¹ There is also probably a *buttemann*, *buttmann*, but more commonly in the contracted form *bu-man* (Br. wb. 1, 153). Nethl. *bytebauw*, for *buttebauw*, which I identify with Low Germ. *bu-ba* (Br. wb. 1, 152). The Dan. *bussemand*, *bussegroll*, *bussetrold* (Molbech, p. 60) seems to be formed on the German (see Suppl.).—The origin of this *butze*, *butte* is hard to ascertain: I would assume a lost Goth. *biuta* (*tundo*, *pulso*), *báut*, *butum*, OHG. *piuzu*, *pôz*, *puzum*, whence OHG. *anapôz*, our *amboss*, *anvil*, MHG. *bôzen* (*pulsare*), and *gebiuze*, *thumping*, *clatter* [Engl. to *butt?*], conf. Lachmann on Nib. 1823, 2. Fragm. 40, 186; *butze* would be a thumping rapping sprite, perfectly agreeing with *mumhart* and *pophart*,² and we may yet hear of a *bôzhart* or *buzhart*. But, like

¹ Homesprite and water-sprite meet in this soothsaying wish-granting fish. The story of the butt has a parallel in the OFr. tale of an elvish spirit and enchanter Merlin, who keeps fulfilling the growing desires of the charcoal burner, till they pass all bounds, then plunges him back into his original poverty (Méon, nouv. rec. 2, 242-252. Jubinal 1, 128-135.

² As the monstrous includes the repulsive and unclean, it is not surprising that both *butze* and *popel* signify mucus, filth (Oberlin 210. Schm. 1, 291). The same with Swiss *böög*, St. 1, 203.

butzenhänsel, there is also a *hanselmann* used for spiritus familiaris (Phil. v. Sittew. 5, 328, ed. Lugd.), and the similar *hampelmann* for goblin, puppet and mannequin (=männeke, mannikin). Bavar. *hämpel*, *haimpel*, both devil and simpleton (Schm. 2, 197), Austr. *henparl* (Höfer 2, 46).

The Fr. *follet*, It. *foletto*, is a diminutive of *fol*, *fou*; which, like *follis* (bellows), seems to be derived from an obsolete *follere* (to move hither and thither), and brings us to a fresh contact of the home-sprite with the fool.¹ Then *lutin*, also *luton*, perhaps from the Lat. *luctus*: a sprite who wails and forebodes sorrow? Lithnan. *bildukkas*, *bildunas*, *bildziuks* (noisy sprite), from *bidenti* (to racket, rattle); *grozdunas* from *gródzia* (there is a racket made). Sloven. *ztrazhnik*, Serv. *strashilo*, Boh. *strašidlo*, Pol. *straszydlo*, from *strašiti* (terrere); Boh. *bubák* (noisy sprite). Somewhat stronger is the Pol. *dzieciojad*, child-eater, like the Lat. *manducus*. Irish home-sprites are called *Cluricauns* (Elfenm. p. 85-114), *Leprechaun*, *Logheriman* (Keightley 2, 179; and see Suppl.).

But enough of these names: no doubt many more could be added. It is time to consider the nature and functions of these Home-sprites.

In stature, appearance and apparel they come very near to elves and dwarfs; legend loves to give them *red hair* or a *red beard*, and the *pointed red hat* is rarely missing. *Hütchen* (Hodeke, Hoidike), the Hildesheim goblin, and *Hopfenhütel*, *Eisenhütel* take their names from it. A broad-topped mushroom is in Dan. called *nissehat*. The Norwegian Nissen is imagined small like a child, but strong, clothed in grey, with a *red peaky cap*, and carrying a *blue light* at night.² So they can make themselves visible or invisible to men, as they please. Their *fairy shoes* or *boots* have been noticed, p. 503; with these they can get over the most difficult roads with the greatest speed: it was just over mountains and forests that *Hütchen's rennpfad* extended (Deut. sag. 1, 100), and the *schratweg* (p. 479) means much the

¹ RATHERIUS, ed. BALLERINI, p. 314: 'merito ergo *follis* latali rusticitate vocaris, quoniam veritate vacuus.' WILHELM. METENS. ep. 3: '*follem* me rustico verbo appellasti.'

² J. N. WILSE'S *Beskrivelse over Spydeberg*, Christiana 1779, p. 418. Conf. the blue light of the black mannikin, *Kinderm.* no. 116.

same.¹ With this walking apparatus and this swiftness there is associated now and then some *animal's form* and name : Heinze, Heinzemann, polterkater, katermann, boot-cat, squirrel ; their shuffling and bustling about the house is paralleled by the nightly turbulence of obstreperous cats.² They like to live in the *stable*, *barn* or *cellar* of the person whose society they have chosen, sometimes even in a *tree* that stands near the house (Swed. *bo-trä*, dwelling-tree). You must not break a bough off such a tree, or the offended goblin will make his escape, and all the luck of the house go with him ; moreover, he cannot abide any chopping in the yard or spinning on a Thursday evening (Superst. Swed. no. 110).³ In household occupations they shew themselves friendly and furthersome, particularly in the *kitchen* and *stable*. The dwarf-king *Goldemar* (pp. 453. 466) is said to have lived on intimate terms with Neveling of Hardenberg at the Hardenstein, and often shared his bed. He played charmingly on the harp, and got rid of much money at dice ; he called Neveling brother-in-law, and often admonished him, he spoke to everybody, and made the clergy blush by discovering their secret sins. His hands were lean like those of a frog, cold and soft to the grasp ; he would allow himself to be felt, but *never to be seen*. After a stay of three years he made off without injuring any one. Other accounts call him *king Vollmar*, and they say the room he lived in is called *Vollmar's kammer* to this day : a place at table had to be kept for him, and one in the stable for his horse ; meats, oats and hay were consumed, but of horse or man you *saw nothing but the shadow*. Once an inquisitive man having sprinkled ashes and peas to make him fall and to get sight of his footprints, he sprang upon him as he was lighting the fire, and chopped him up into pieces, which he stuck on a spit and roasted, but the head and legs he thought proper to boil. The dishes, when ready, were carried to Vollmar's chamber, and one could hear them being consumed with cries of joy. After this, no more was heard

¹ So a *chemin de fées* is spoken of in Mém. celt. 4, 240, and a *tröllaskeid* (*curriculum gigantum*) in Laxd. saga 66.

² Witches and fays often assume the *shape of a cat*, and the cat is a creature peculiarly open to suspicions of witchcraft.

³ Wilse, ubi supra, entirely agrees : 'tomtegubben skal have sin til hold unde gamle træer ved stuehuset (*boetræer*), og derfor har man ej tordet fælde disse gandske.' To this connexion of home-sprites with tree-worship we shall have to return further on.

of king Vollmar ; but over his chamber-door it was found written, that from that time the house would be as unlucky as it had been prosperous till then, and the scattered estates would never come together again till there were three Hardenbergs of Hardenstein living at once. Both spit and gridiron were long preserved, till in 1651 they disappeared during the Lorrain war, but the pot is still there, let into the kitchen wall.¹ The home-sprite's parting prophecy sounds particularly ancient, and the grim savagery of his wrath is heathen all over. Sam. Meiger says of the *wolterkens* : 'Se vinden sik gemeinlich in den hüseren, dar ein god vörrad (store) van allen dingen is. Dar schölen se sik bedensthaftigen (obsequious) anstellen, waschen in der köken up, böten vür (beat the fire), schüren de vate, schrapen de perde im stalle, voderen dat quik, dat it vet und glat herin geit, theen (draw) water und dragent dem vehe (cattle) vör. Men kan se des nachtes hören de ledderen edder treppen (or stairs) up und dal stigen, lachen, wen se den megeden efte knechte de decken aftheen (pull off), se richten to, houwen in, jegen (against) dat geste kamen schölen,² smiten de ware in dem huse umme, de den morgen gemeinliken darna verkoft wert.' The goblin then is an obliging hardworking sprite, who takes a pleasure in waiting on the men and maids at their housework, and secretly dispatching some of it himself. He 'curries the horses, combs out their manes,³ lays fodder before the cattle,⁴ draws water from the well and brings it them, and cleans out the stable. For the maids he makes up fire, rinses out the dishes, cleaves and carries wood, sweeps and scrubs. His presence brings prosperity to the house, his departure removes it. He is like the helpful earth-mannikins who lend a hand in field labour (p. 451 n.). At the same time he oversees the management of the house, that everything be done orderly ; lazy and careless workers get into trouble with him (as with Holla and Berhta, pp. 269. 273), he pulls the coverlets off

¹ Von Steinen's Westph. gesch. pp. 777-9.

² When the *cat* trims her whiskers, they say it is a sign of guests.

³ Like the white lady (Berhta), whose nightly visits are indicated the next morning by the wax that has dropt from her taper on the manes (Deut. sag. no. 122). In Wales the people believe that goats have their beards combed out every Friday night by the elves (Croker 3, 204).

⁴ Hence the name *futtermännchen*, (confounded at times with *Petermännchen*) ; but often he has one favourite horse that he pays special attention to, taking hay out of the others' cribs to bring to him. Faye p. 44.

the beds of sluggards, blows their light out, turns the best cow's neck awry, kicks the dawdling milkmaid's pail over, and mocks her with insulting laughter; his good-nature turns into worrying and love of mischief, he becomes a 'tormenting spirit.' *Agemund* in the *Reinardus* 4, 859-920 seems to me no other than a house-dæmon, distorted and exaggerated by the poet, disturbing the maid in her sleep, her milking and churning (see Suppl.).¹

Servants, to keep on good terms with him, save a little potful of their food on purpose for him, which is surely a vestige of little sacrifices that were offered him of old (p. 448). That is probably why one Swiss goblin bears the name *Napfhans*, Potjack. But in many cases it is only done on holidays, or once a week. The sprite is easily satisfied, he puts up with a saucerful of porridge, a piece of cake and a glass of beer, which are left out for him accordingly; on those evenings he does not like any noisy work to be going on, either in or out of doors. This they call in Norway 'at holde qvelvart (qvellsvart),' to hold evening rest. Those who desire his goodwill, give him good words: '*kiäre granne, giör det!*' dear neighbour, do this; and he replies conformably. He is said at times to carry his preference for the goodman so far as to pilfer hay and straw from other farmers' barns or stables, and bring it to him (see Suppl.).

The Nissen loves the moonlight, and in wintertime you see him merrily skipping across the farmyard, or skating. He is a good hand at dancing and music, and much the same is told of him as of the Swedish *strömkarl* (p. 493), that *for a grey sheep* he teaches people to play the fiddle.²

The home-sprite is contented with a trifling wage: a new hat, a red cap, a parti-coloured coat with tinkling bells he will make shift with. The *hat* and *cap* he has in common with dwarfs (p. 463), and therefore also the power to make himself invisible. Petronius (Satir. cap. 38) shows it was already a Roman superstition: '*sed quomodo dicunt, ego nihil scivi, sed audivi, quomodo incuboni pileam rapuisset, et thesaurum invenit.*' Home-

¹ The description of his figure (a horse's mane, hawk's bill, cat's tail, goat's beard, ox's horns and cock's feet) can hardly have been all invented there and then.

² Unless Wilse (Beskriv. over Spyd. 419) has confounded Nissen with *nöcken*; yet the German goblin *Goldemar* was likewise musical (Ir. Elfenm. lxxxiii.). Wilse, and Faye, pp. 43-45, give the best account of the Norwegian Nissen, and Thiele i. 134-5 of the Danish.

sprites guard treasures, and in Nib. 399 Siegfried becomes master of the hoard as soon as he has taken Alberich's tarnkappe from him. In Calderon's *Dama duende* the little goblin wears a *large hat*: 'era un *frayle tamañito*, y tenia un *cucurucho tamaño*.' The Swedish 'tomte i gården' looks like a year-old child, but has an old knowing face under his red cap. He shews himself at midday (see chap. XXXVI., daemon meridianus) in summer and autumn, slow and panting he drags a single straw or an ear (p. 459); when the farmer laughed and asked, 'What's the odds whether you bring me that or nothing?' he quitted the farm in dudgeon, and went to the next. From that time prosperity forsook the man who had despised him, and went over to his neighbour. The farmer who respected the busy tomte and cared for the tiniest straw, became rich, and cleanliness and order reigned in his household. Many Christians still believe in such home-sprites, and present them an offering every year, 'pay them their wage' as they call it. This is done on the morn of Yule, and consists of grey cloth, tobacco and a *shovelful of earth*, Afzelius 2, 169. A *pück* served the monks of a Mecklenburg monastery for thirty years, in kitchen, stall and elsewhere; he was thoroughly good-natured, and only bargained for '*tunicam de diversis coloribus, et tintinnabulis plenam*.'¹ In Scotland there lived a goblin *Shellycoat*, and we saw (p. 465) that the dwarfs of the Mid. Ages also loved *bells* [schellen; and schellenkappe is Germ. for cap and bells]. The bells on the dress of a fool still attest his affinity to the shrewd and merry goblin (fol, follet); see Suppl.

He loves to play merry pranks, and when he has accomplished one, he is fain to laugh himself double for delight: hence that *goblin laughter* (p. 502) and *chuckling*. But also when he sulks, and means mischief to those who have brought him into trouble and difficulty, he utters a scornful laugh at the top of his voice.²

As *henchman true*, he abides by the master he once takes up with, come weal come woe. But his attachment is often found irksome, and one cannot be rid of him again. A farmer set fire

¹ The story (as written down in 1559) is given in Ern. Joach. Westphal's *Specimen documentorum ineditorum*, Rostock 1726, pp. 156-166.

² Scott's *Minstrelsy I. civ.* mentions a North English *Brag* or *Barguest*: 'he usually ended his mischievous frolics with a *horselaugh*.' Conf. Hone's *Tablebook* 2, 656.

to his barn, to burn the goblin that haunted it; when it is all ablaze, there sits the sprite at the back of the cart in which they were removing the contents (Deut. sag. no. 72).¹ In Mone's *Anzeiger* 1835, 312 we read of a little *black man* that was bought with a chest, and when this was opened, he hopped out and slipped behind the oven, whence all efforts to rout him out were fruitless; but he lived on excellent terms with the household, and occasionally shewed himself to them, though never to strangers. This black figure reminds one both of the Scandinavian dwarfs, and of the devil. Some thoroughly good goblin-stories are in Adalb. Kuhn's collection, pp. 42. 55. 84. 107. 159. 191-3. 372.²

There are also goblins who, like nix and watersprite, are engaged in no man's service, but live independently; when such a one is caught, he will offer you gifts or tell your fortune, to be set at liberty again. Of this sort is the *butt* in the nursery-tale

¹ Very similar stories in Kuhn, no. 103, Thiele 1, 136, and the Irish tale of the cluricaun (pp. 92. 213 of the transl.). Also a capital Polish story about Iskrzycki, in Wóycicki's *Klechy* 1, 198: An unknown person, who called himself Iskrzycki [flinty, from *iskra* = spark, says Grimm; there is also a Slav. *iskri* = near, *iskrenny* = neighbour, friendly] came and offered his services to a man of noble family. The agreement was drawn up, and even signed, when the master observed that Iskrzycki had horse's feet, and gave him notice of withdrawal. But the servant stood on his rights, and declared his intention of serving his master whether he would or no. He lived invisible by the fireplace, did all the tasks assigned him, and by degrees they got used to him; but at last the lady pressed her husband to move, and he arranged to take another estate. The family all set out from the mansion, and had got through the better part of the way, when, the log-road being out of repair, the carriage threatens to upset, and the lady cries out in alarm. Suddenly a voice from the back of the carriage calls out: Never fear, my masters! Iskrzycki is with you (*nie bój się, pani; Iskrzycki z wami*). The 'masters' then perceiving that they could not shake him off, turned back to their old house, and lived at peace with the servant until his term expired. [English readers will remember Tennyson's 'Yes, we're flitting, says the ghost.']—The *alraun* or *gallows-mannikin* in *Deutsche sagen* nos. 83. 84 is not properly a kobold, but a semi-diabolic being carved out of a root, and so diminutive that he can be kept in a glass; like an idol, he has to be bathed and nursed. In one thing however he resembles the home-sprite, that he will not leave his owner, and even when thrown away he always comes back again, unless indeed he be sold [orig. 'bought'] for less than he cost. The last purchaser has to keep him. *Simpliciss.* 2, 184. 203. *Conf. Schm.* 3, 96-7. [Home-sprites can be bought and sold, but the third buyer must keep him, Müllenhoff p. 322. With ref. to the 'idol (*götze*): As the figure of the child Jesus has its shirt washed (Sommer, pp. 38. 173), so the *heckmännchen* must be dressed up anew at a certain time every year, 10 Ehen, p. 235.—Extr. from SUPPL.]

² To escape the *futtermännchen*, a farmer built a new house, but the day before he moved, he spied the f. dipping his grey coat in the brook: 'My little coat here I swill and souse, To-morrow we move to a fine new house.' Börner's *Orlagau*, p. 246. Whoever has the kobold must *not wash or comb* himself (Sommer p. 171. Müllenh. 209); so in the case of the devil, ch. XXXIII.—Extr. from SUPPL.

(p. 507), likewise the *folet* in Marie de Fr. 2, 140, who grants three wishes (*oremens*). And the captive marmennill (p. 434), or the sea-wife, does the same.

The unfriendly, *racketing* and *tormenting* spirits who take possession of a house, are distinguished from the friendly and good-natured by their commonly forming a whole gang, who disturb the householder's rest with their *riot and clatter*, and *throw stones* from the roof at passers by. A French comedy of the 16th century, 'Les Esprits,'¹ represents goblins racketing in a house, singing and playing at night, and *aiming tiles* at passers by in the daytime; they are fond of fire, but make a violent uproar every time the master spits.² In Gervase of Tilbury, cap. 18, the *folleti* also *pelt with stones*, and this of stone-throwing is what we shall meet with in quite early stories of devils; altogether the racketing sprites have in this respect more of the devil or spectre in them than of the elf: it is a darkening and distortion of their original nature in accordance with Christian sentiment.

So it becomes clear, at last, how the once familiar and faithful friend of the family under heathenism has gradually sunk into a bugbear or a taunt to children: a lot which he shares with goddesses and gods of old. As with Holle and Berhte, so people are threatened with the Lamia, the Omacmica, the manducus and goblin (pp. 500. 507): 'le gobelin vous mangera, le gobelin vous attrapera!' Little *bützel* no more, but a frightful *butzemann* or *katzenvet*, in mask (strawbeard) or with sooty visage he scares (like the *roggenmuhme*, p. 477). And it is worth remarking how, in some districts at least, *knecht Ruprecht*, *knecht Nicolas*, appear at Christmas-time not by themselves, but in

¹ Comédies facecieuses de Pierre de l'Arivey, champenois, Lyon 1597. Rouen, 1611, p. 242 seq.

² *Legenda aurea*, cap. 177: Hujus Ludovici tempore, anno Domini 856, ut in quadam chronica habetur, in parochia Maguntina *malignus spiritus parietes domorum quasi malleis pulsando* et manifeste loquendo et discordias seminando adeo hominibus infestabat, ut quocumque intrasset, *statim illa domus exureretur*. Presbyteris autem letanias agentibus et aquam benedictam spargentibus inimicus *lapides jactabat* et multos eruentabat. Tandem aliquando conquiescens confessus est se, quando aqua spargebatur, *sub capa talis sacerdotis quasi familiaris sui latuisse*, accusans eum quod cum filia procuratoris in peccatum lapsus fuerit. [This incident, said to have occurred at Capmunti (Kembden) near Bingen, is derived from Rudolphi Fuldensis *Annal.* ann. 858, in Pertz 1, 372, where further details are given.—Extr. from SUPPL.

attendance on the real gift-giver, the infant Christ or dame Berhta: while these dole out their favours, those come on with rod and sack, threatening to thrash disobedient children, to throw them into the water, to puff their eyes out (Rockenphilos. 6, 353). Their pranks, their roughness, act as foil to the gracious higher being from whom the gifts proceed; they are almost as essential to the festival as Jackpudding to our old comedy. I can well imagine that even in heathen times the divinity, whose appearing heralded a happy time, had at his side some merry elf or dwarf as his *attendant* embodying to the vulgar eye the blessings that he brought.¹ Strongly in favour of this view are the North Franconian names *Hullepöpel* (Popowitsch 522), *Hollepeter* (Schm. 2, 174), the Bavarian *Semper*, of whom they say he cuts naughty children's bodies open and stuffs them with pebbles (Schm. 3, 12. 250), exactly after the manner of Holla and Berhta (p. 273)²; and consider faithful Eckart, who escorts Holla. In Christian times they would at first choose some saint to accompany the infant Christ or the mother of God in their distribution of boons, but the saint would imperceptibly degenerate into the old goblin again, but now a coarser one. The Christmas plays sometimes present the Saviour with His usual attendant Peter, or else with Niclas, at other times however Mary with Gabriel, or with her aged Joseph, who, disguised as a peasant, acts the part of knecht Ruprecht. Nicolaus again has converted himself into a 'man Clobes' or Rupert; as a rule, it is true, there is still a *Niclas*, a saintly bishop and benevolent being, distinct from the 'man' who scares children; but the characters get mixed, and *Clobes* by himself acts the 'man' (Tobler 105^b, 106^a); the Austrian *Grampus* (Höfer 1, 313. Schm. 2, 110), *Krämpus*, *Krambas*, is possibly for Hieronymus, but how to explain the Swiss *Schmutzli* (Stald. 2, 337) I do not rightly know, perhaps simply from his smutty sooty aspect? Instead of *Grampus* there is also in Styria a *Bärthel* (pointing to Berhta, or Bartholomew?) *Schmutzbartel*³ and *Klaubauf*, who rattles, rackets, and

¹ *Heinrich* and *Ruprecht* were once common names for serving-men, as Hans and Claus are now.

² *Zember* about Eger in German Bohemia (Popowitsch 523); at the same time the Lausitz idol *Sompar* (supra, p. 71 note) is worth considering.

³ The phrase 'he knows where Barthel gets his must,' notwithstanding other explanations, may refer to a home-sprite well-known in the cellar.

throws nuts (Denis, *Leseifr.* 1, 131 ; see *Suppl.*). Further, on this point I attach weight to the Swedish *jullekar*, Dan. *juleleger*, yule-lays, undoubtedly of heathen origin, which at Christmas-time present Christ and certain saints, but replace our man Ruprecht by a *julbock*, *julebuk*, *i.e.* a manservant disguised as a goat.¹ This interweaving of jackpudding, fool, Klobes and Rüpel, of the yule-buck and at last of the devil himself, into the rude popular drama of our Mid. Ages, shows what an essential part of it the wihfels and tatermans formerly wère, how ineradicable the elvish figures and characters of heathenism. The Greeks enlivened the seriousness of their tragedy by satyric plays, in which *e.g.* Proteus, similar to our sea-sprite (p. 434), played a leading part.²

There is yet another way in which a former connexion between gods, wise-women and these genii now and then comes to light. The elf who showers his darts is *servant* or *assistant* to the high god of thunder, the cunning dwarf has forged his thunderbolts for him ; like gods, they wear divine helmets of invisibility, and the home-sprite has his feet miraculously shod as well ; watersprites can assume the shape of fishes and sea-horses, and home-sprites those of cats. The weeping nix, the laughing goblin are alike initiated in the mystery of magic tones, and will even unveil it to men that sacrifice. An ancient worship of genii and daemons is proved by *sacrifices* offered to spirits of the mountain, the wood, the lake, the house. Goblins, we may presume, accompanied the manifestation of certain deities among men, as Wuotan and Holda, and both of these deities are also connected with watersprites and swan-maids. Foreknowledge of the future, the gift of prophecy, was proper to most genii ; their inexhaustible cheerfulness stands between the sublime serenity of gods

¹ Read Holberg's *Julestue*, and look up *julvätten* in Finn Magn. lexicon, p. 326 note.

² They frightened children with sooty Cyclops, and acc. to Callimachus (Hymn to Diana 66-71), Hermes, like our Ruprecht blackened with soot, struck terror into disobedient daughters even of gods :

ἀλλ' ὅτε κούρων τις ἀπειθέα μητέρι τεύχοι,
μήτηρ μὴν κύκλωπας ἐῆ' ἐπὶ παιδὶ καλίστρει
"Ἀργὴν ἢ Στερόπην· ὁ δὲ δώματος ἐκ μυχάτοιο
ἔρχεται Ἑρμείης, σποδιῆ κεχρημένος αἰθῆ,
αὐτίκα τὴν κούρην μορμύσσεται· ἡ δὲ τεκούσης
δύνει ἔσω κόλπους θεμένη ἐπὶ φάσει χεῖρας.

and the solemn fates of mortals. They feel themselves drawn to men, and repelled by them. The downfall of heathenism must have wrought great changes in the old-established relationship: the spirits acquired a new and terrible aspect as ministers and messengers of Satan.¹ Some put on a more savage look that savours of the giant, especially the woodsprites. Grendel's nature borders on those of giants and gods. Not so with the females however: the wild women and female nixes drop into the class of fortune-telling swan-maids who are of human kind, while the elfins that present the drinking-horn melt into the circle of valkyrs; and here again we recognise a general beauty pervading all the female spirits, and raising them above the males, whose characteristics come out more individually. In wichtels, dwarfs and goblins, especially in that children's bugbear the man Ruprecht, there shews itself a comic faculty derived from the oldest times.

Through the whole existence of elves, nixes, and goblins there runs a low under-current of the unsatisfied, disconsolate: they do not rightly know how to turn their glorious gifts to account, they always require to lean upon men. Not only do they seek to renovate their race by intermarriage with mankind, they also need the counsel and assistance of men in their affairs. Though acquainted in a higher degree than men with the hidden virtues of stones and herbs, they yet invoke human aid for their sick and their women in labour (pp. 457. 492), they borrow men's vessels for baking and brewing (p. 454 n.), they even celebrate their weddings and hightides in the halls of men. Hence too their doubting whether they can be partakers of salvation, and their unconcealed grief when a negative answer is given.

¹ *Bruder Rausch* (friar Rush) a veritable goblin, is without hesitation [described as being] despatched from hell among the monks; his name is to be derived from russ = fuligo (as kohlrusch was formerly spelt kolruss).

CHAPTER XVIII.

GIANTS.

The relation in which giants stand to dwarfs and men has been touched upon in p. 449. By so much of bodily size and strength as man surpasses the elf or dwarf, he falls short of the giant; on the other hand, the race of elves and dwarfs has a livelier intellect and subtler sense than that of men, and in these points again the giants fall far below mankind. The rude coarse-grained giant nature is defiant in its sense of material power and might, the sly shy dwarf is conscious of his mental superiority. To man has been allotted a happy mean, which raises him above the giant's intractableness and the dwarf's cunning, and betwixt the two he stands victorious. The giant both does and suffers wrong, because in his stupidity he undervalues everybody, and even falls foul of the gods; ¹ the outcast dwarf, who does discern good and evil, lacks the right courage for free and independent action. In order of creation, the giant as the sensuous element came first, next followed the spiritual element of elvish nature, and lastly the human race restored the equilibrium. The abruptness of these gradations is a good deal softened down by the giants or dwarfs forming frequent alliances with men, affording clear evidence that ancient fiction does not favour steep contrasts: the very earliest giants have sense and judgment ascribed to them (see Suppl.).

On one side we see giants forming a close tie of brotherhood or servile dependence with human heroes, on the other side shading off into the type of *schrats* and *woodsprites*.

There is a number of ancient terms corresponding in sense to our present word *riese* (giant).²

¹ Not a trace of the finer features of gods is to be seen in the Titans. O. Müller's *Proleg.* 373.

² Some are mere circumlocutions (a counterpart to those quoted on p. 450): *der grôze man*, Er. 5380. *der nichel man*, Er. 5475. *der nichel knabe*, Iw. 5056.

The oldest and most comprehensive term in Norse is *iötunn*, pl. *iötunar* (not *jötunn*, *jötunar*); it is backed up by an AS. *eoten*, pl. *eotenas*, *Beow.* 223 (*eotena cyn*, 836. *eotonisc*, 5953), or *eten*, *Lye* sub v.; OE. *etin*, *ettin*, *Nares* sub v.; Scot. *ettyn*, *eyttyn*, *Jamieson* sub v.; an OS. *etan*, *eten* can be inferred with certainty from the name of a place in old docs., *Etanasfeld*, *Etenesfeld* (*campus gigantis*), *Wigand's Archiv* i. 4, 85. *Möser* nos. 2. 13. 18. 19. And what is more, the word must have lived on in later times, down to the latest, for I find the fem. *eteninne* (*giantess*) preserved at least in nursery-tales. *Laurenberg* (ed. *Lappenberg*, p. 26)¹ has 'de olde *eteninne*,' and another Rostock book of the beginning of the 18th century² 'die alte *eteninne*'; I should like to know whence *Adelung* sub v. *mummel* gets the fact, that in Westphalia a certain terrible female with whom they frighten children is called *etheninne*? I have no doubt it is correct. The Saxon *etan* warrants us in conjecturing an OHG. *ëzan*, *ëzzan*, a Goth. *itans*, having for root the ON. *eta*, AS. *etan*, OHG. *ezzan*, Goth. *itan* (*edere*), and for meaning *edo* (*gen. edonis*), *manducus*, *πολυφάγος*, *devourer*. An AS. poem in *Cod. exon.* 425, 26 says: 'ic *mesan* mæg mealtelêcor and efn *etan* ealdum þyrre,' I can chew and eat more mightily than an old giant. Now the question arises, whether another word, which wants the suffix *-n*, has any business here, namely the ON. *iotr*,³ AS. *eot*, now only to be found in the compound *Forniotr*, *Forneot* (p. 240) and the national name *Iotar*, the Jutes? One thing that makes for it is the same omission of *-n* in the Swed. *jätte* (*gigas*), Dan. *jette*, pl. *jetter*; then, taking *iötunar* as=*iotar* (Goth. *itanôs*=*itôs*), we should be justified in explaining the names *Jotar*, *Jotland* by an earlier (*gigantic*?) race whom the advancing Teutons crowded out of the peninsula.⁴ In that case we might expect an OS. *et*, *etes*, an OHG. *ez*, *ezes*, with the

¹ Johann Laurenberg, a Rostock man, b. 1590, d. 1658. The first ed. of his poem appeared 1652.

² Ern. Joach. Westphal, *De consuetudine ex sacco et libro*, Rost. 1726. 8. pp. 224-5; the catalogue there given of old stories of women is copied in Joh. Pet. Schmidt's *Fastelabendssamlungen*, Rostock (1742) 4. resp. 1752, p. 22, but here incorrectly 'von der *Arden Inn*' instead of Westphal's 'von der alten *Eten Inne*.'

³ For *iötr*, as *miolk* for *miölk*, see *Gramm.* 1, 451. 482.

⁴ *Beda* 1, 15 has *Juti*, which the AS. version mistakenly renders *Geátas* (the ON. *Gautar*), though at 4, 16 it more correctly gives *Eotaland* for *Jutorum terra*, and the Sax. *Chron.* (Ingr. p. 14) has *Iotum* for *Iutis*, *Iutnacynn* for *Iutorum terra*.

meaning of giant.¹ Possibly there was beside *iötunn*, also an ON. *iötull*, OHG. *ezal* (edax);² that would explain the present Norwegian term for giant: *jötul*, *jutul*, Hallager 52. Faye 7 (see Suppl.).³

Our second term is likewise one that suggests the name of a nation. The ON. *þurs* seems not essentially different from *iötunn*; in Sn. 6 Ymir is called ancestor of all the hrîmþurses, in Sæm. 118^a all the iötnar are traced up to him. In particular songs or connexions the preference is given to one or the other appellative: thus in the enumeration of dialects in the *Alvismál* the giants are always iötnar, never þursar, and there is no Thursaheimr in use for Iötunheimr, Iötnaheimr; but Thrymr, though dwelling in Iötnaheimr, is nevertheless called þursa dróttinn (Sæm. 70. 71) and not iötna dróttinn, but he summons the iötnar (73^a), and is a iötunn himself (74^a). In Sæm. 85^b both iötnar and hrîmþursar are summoned one after the other, so there must be some nice distinction between the two, which here I would look for in the prefix hrîm: only hrîmþursar, no hrîmiötnar, are ever met with; of this hrîmþurs an explanation will be attempted further on. Instead of þurs there often occurs, especially at a later stage of the language, the assimilated form *þuss*, particularly in the pl. þussar, hrîmþussar; a dæmonic being in the later sagas is called *Thusselin* (Müller's Sagab. 1, 367-8), nay, the Danish tongue has retained the assimilation in its *tosse*, clumsy giant, dolt (a folk-song has *tossegrefve*),⁴ and a Norwegian dæmon bears the name *tussel*. The ON. þurs, like several names of gods, is likewise the title of a rune-letter, the same that the Anglo-Saxons called þorn (conf. 'þurs rîsta,' Sæm. 86^a): a notable deviation, as the AS. tongue by no means lacks the word; in Beow. 846 we find *þyrs*, and also in the menology in

¹ Can the witeh *Jettha* of the Palatinate (p. 96 note) be a corruption of Eta, Eza? Anyhow the Jettenbühel (Jetthæ collis) reminds us of the Bavarian *Jettenberg* (Mon. boica 2, 219, ann. 1317), and Mount *Jetten* in Reinbote's Georg 1717, where it is misprinted Setten. Near Willingshausen in Hesse is another *Jettenberg*, see W. Grimm On the runes, p. 271.

² The ruined Weissenstein, by Werda near Marburg, was acc. to popular legend the abode of a giant named *Essel* (ezzal?), and the meadow where at the fall of his castle he sank its *golden door* in the R. Lahn, is still called *Esselswerd*.

³ Isidore's glosses render the Gallic name of a people *ambro* by devorator, which agrees with the OHG. transl. *manezo*, man-eater (Graff 1, 528), the well-known MHG. *manezze*.

⁴ So the Dan. fos, fossen, for the ON. fors.

Hickes (Gramm. AS. p. 207) : ‘*þyrs* sceal on fenne gewunian,’ and elsewhere *þyrs*, pl. *þyrsas*, renders the Lat. *cyclops*, *orcus*. The passage already given from the Cod. exon. 425, 28 has *þyrre* with the *s* assimilated, as in *irre* for *irse*. And we find an Engl. *thurst* surviving in *hobthurst* (woodsprite), conf. *hobgoblin* p. 502 [hob o’ t’ hurst?] The OHG. form ought to be *durs*, pl. *dursâ*, or *duris*, gen. *durises*, which last does occur in a gloss for the Lat. *Dis*, *Ditis* (Schm. 1, 458), and another gloss more Low Germ. gives *thuris* for *orcus* (Fr. ogre); yet Notker ps. 17, 32 spells it *turs* (*daemonium*), pl. *tursa*, and MHG. has *turse*, gen. *tursen* (Aw. 3, 179), perhaps *türse*, *türsen* (as in Massm. denkm. 109 *türsen* rhymes *kürsen*), and even *türste*, gen. *türsten* (MS. 2, 205^a); on the other hand, Albr. Tit. 24, 47 has ‘*spil von einem dürsen*’ (Hahn 3254 *tursen*) = play of a d., from which passage we gather that *türse*-shows as well as *wihitel*-shows (p. 441n.) were exhibited for pastime: Ls. 3, 564 says, alluding to a well-known fable, ‘*des kunt der dürsch, und sprichet schuo!*’ the d. knows that, etc., where the notion of satyr and wild man (p. 482) predominates. The Latin poem of Wilten monastery in Tyrol, which relates the story of the giant Haimo, names another giant *Thyrsis*, making a proper name of the word:

Forte habitabat in his alius truculentior oris
Cyclops, qui dictus nomine *Thyrsis* erat,
Thyrsis erat dictus, Seveldia rura colebat.¹

The name of a place *Tursinriut*, *Tursenriut* (Doc. of 1218-9 in Lang’s Reg. 2, 88. 94)² contains our word unmistakably, and so to my thinking does the earlier *Tuzzinwanc* near Neugart, standing for *Tussinwanc*, *Tursinwanc* (*campus gigantis*), the present *Dussnang*. Nor does it seem much more hazardous to explain Strabo’s *Θουρνέλθα* (7, 1. Tzsch. 2, 328) by *Thurshilda*, *Thuss-hilda*, *Thursinhilda*,³ though I cannot produce an ON. *Thurshildr*. In Switzerland to this day *dürst* is the Wild Hunter (St. 1, 329), on the Salzburg Alp *dusel* is a night-spirit (Muchar’s Gastein, p. 145), and in Lower Germany *dros* or *drost* is devil, dolt, giant.⁴

¹ Mone’s *Untersuchung*, pp. 288-9.

² Now *Tirschenreit*, *Tirschengereith*. Schmeller’s birthplace in the Up. Palatinate, Schm. 1, 458. So *Türschenwald*, *Thyrsentritt*, *Türstwinkel*, et. — *Stürl.*

³ Conf. *Pharañdis*, *Verelde*, p. 284-5; *Grimild* for *Grimbild*.

⁴ *Brem. wb.* 1, 257. *Richey* sub *v. druus*, *Schütze* sub *v. drost*, *Strodtmann* sub

Whether *Thorsholt*, *Thosholt*, the name of a place in Oldenburg, is connected with þurs, I cannot tell.—In Gothic the word would have to be *þaúrs*, pl. *þaúrsôs* (or *þaúrsis*, pl. *þaúrsjôs*? *þaúrsus*, *þaúrsjus*? *þaúrsja*, *þaúrsjans*?); and of these forms the derivation is not far to seek. The Goth. *þaúrsus* means dry, *þaúrsjan* to thirst, *þaúrstei* thirst; *þaúrsus*, *þaúrsis* becomes in OHG. *durri* for *dursi* (as *airzis* becomes *irri* for *irsi*), while the noun *durst* (thirst) retains the *s*, and so does our *durs* (giant) and the ON. *þurs* by the side of the adjective *þurr* (dry). So that *þaúrs*, *þurs*, *durs* signify either fond of wine, thirsty, or drunken, a meaning which makes a perfect pair with that we fished out of *ítans*, *iötunn*. The two words for giant express an inordinate desire for eating and drinking, precisely what exhibits itself in the Homeric cyclop. Herakles too is described as *edax* and *bibax*, e.g. in Euripides's *Alcestitis*; and the ON. giant *Suttúngr* (*Sæm.* 23. *Sn.* 84) apparently stands for *Suptúngr* (*Finn Magn.* p. 738), where we must presuppose a noun *supt*=*sopi*, a *sup* or draught.

Now, as the Jutes, a Teutonic race, retained the name of the former inhabitants whom they had expelled,¹ these latter being the real *Iötnar* or *Itanôs*; so may the *þursar*, *dursâ*, in their mythic aspect [as giants] be connected with a distant race which at a very early date had migrated into Italy. I have already hinted (p. 25) at a possible connexion of the *þaúrsôs* with the *Τυρσηνοί*, *Τυρρηνοί*, *Tusci*, *Etrusci*: the consonant-changes are the very thing to be expected, and even the assimilations and the transposition of the *r* are all found reproduced. Niebuhr makes *Tyrrhenians* distinct from *Etruscans*, but in my opinion wrongly; as for the *θύρσος* carried in the Bacchic procession, it has no claim to be brought in at all (see *Suppl.*).

There is even a third mode of designating giants in which we likewise detect a national name. Lower Germany, Westphalia above all, uses *hüne* in the sense of giant; the word prevails in all the popular traditions of the Weser region, and extends as far as the Gröningen country and R. Drenthe; giants' hills, giants'

v. *droost*: 'dat di de *droost* sla!' may the d. smite thee; in the Altmark: 'det di de *druse* hal (fetch)!' and elsewhere 'de *drôs* in de helle.' At the same time the HG. *druos*, *truos* (plague, blain) is worth considering.

¹ A case that often occurs; thus the Bavarians, a Teutonic people, take their name from the Celtic *Boii*. [And the present Bulgarians, a Slav race, etc.]

tombs are called *hünebedde*, *hünebedden*, bed being commonly used for grave, the resting-place of the dead. 'Grot as en *hüne*' expresses gigantic stature. Schüren's Teutonista couples 'rese' with *huyne*. Even H.Germ. writers of the 16th-17th centuries, though seldomer, use *heune*; Mathesius: 'Goliath der grosse *heune*;' the Vocab. of 1482 spells *heune*. Hans Sachs 1, 453^a uses *heunisch* (like *entisch*) for fierce, malignant. But the word goes back to MHG. too; Herbort 1381: 'grôz alsam ein *hüne*,' rhym. 'mit starkem gelüne;' Trist. 4034: 'an geliden und an geliune gewahsen als ein *hiune*.'¹ In OHG. writings I do not find the word in this sense at all. But MHG. has also a *Hiune* (gen. *Hiunen*) signifying, without any reference to bodily size, a Hungarian, in the Nibelunge a subject of Etzel or Attila (1110, 4. 1123, 4. 1271, 3. 1824, 3. 1829, 1. 1831, 1. 1832, 1), which in Lat. writings of the Mid. Ages is called *Hunnus*, more exactly *Hunus*, *Chunus*. To this *Hiune* would correspond an OHG. *Hûnio*; I have only met with the strong form *Hûn*, pl. *Hûnî*, gen. *Hûnio*, *Hûneo*,² with which many names of places are compounded, e.g. *Hûniofeld*, a little town in Fulda bishopric, now *Hünfeld*; also names of men, *Hûnolt*, *Hûnperht* (*Humprecht*), *Hûnrât*, *Althûn*, *Folchûn*, etc. The AS. *Hûna* cyning (Beda 1, 13) requires a sing. *Hûn*; but to the ON. nom. pl. *Hûnar* there is said to belong a weak sing. *Hûni* (Gl. Edd. havn. 2, 881). It is plain those *Hûnî* have a sense that shifts about pretty much with time and place, now standing for Pannonians, then for Avars, then again for Vandals and Slavs, always for a nation brought into frequent contact with Germany by proximity and wars. The *Hiunenlant* of the 13th century (Nib. 1106, 3. 1122, 3) cannot possibly be the *Hûnaland* which the Eddic lays regard as Sigurd's home (Deutsche heldens. 6. 9). At the time when proper names like *Hûnrât*, *Hûnperht* first arose, there could hardly as yet be any thought of an actual neighbouring nation like Pannonians or Wends; but even in the earliest times there might circulate talk and tale of a primitive mythic race supposed to inhabit some uncertain region, much the same as *Iötnar* and *Thursar*. I incline

¹ Wolfdietr. 661 has, for giant, *hæne* rhym. *schæne*, but only in the place of the ancient *cæsura*, so that the older reading was most likely *hiune*.

² In Hildeb. lied 'Hûneo truhtin (lord of Huns), and 'altêr Hûn;' Diut. 2, 182 *Hûnî* (Pannonii); 2, 353^b *Hûni* for *Hûn* (Hunus); 2, 370 *Hûnî* (Vandali).

therefore to guess, that the sense of 'giant,' which we cannot detect in *Hûn* till the 13th century, must nevertheless have lain in it long before: it is by such double meaning that *Hadubrant's* exclamation 'altêr *Hûn!*' first acquires significance. When *Gotfried* used *hiune* for giant, he must have known that *Hiune* at that time also meant a Hungarian; and as little does the distinctness of the nationality rendered *Hûnî* in OHG. glosses exclude the simultaneous existence of a mythic meaning of the word. It may have been *vivider* or *fainter* in this place or that: thus, the ON. *hûnar* is never convertible with *iötnar* and *þursar*. I will not touch upon the root here (conf. p. 529 note), but only remark that one Eddic name for the bear is *húnn*, Sn. 179. 222^a, and acc. to *Biörn hûn* and *hûnbiörn* = *catulus ursinus* (see Suppl.).

One AS. term for giant is *ent*, pl. *entas*: *Ælfred* in his *Orosius* p. 48 renders *Hercules gigas* by 'Ercol se *ent*.' The poets like to use the word, where ancient buildings and works are spoken of: '*enta* geweorc, *enta* ærgeweorc (early work of giants), eald *enta* geweorc,' *Beow.* 3356. 5431. 5554. *Cod. exon.* 291, 24. 476, 2. So the adj.: '*entisc* helm,' *Beow.* 5955; *Lipsius's* glosses also give *eintisc* *avitus*, what dates from the giants' days of yore. Our OHG. *entisc* *antiquus* does not agree with this in consonant-gradation [*t* should be *z*]; it may have been suggested by the Latin word, perhaps also by the notion of *enti* (end); another form is *antrisc* *antiquus* (*Graff* 1, 387), and I would rather associate it with the Eddic '*inn aldni iötunn*' (*grandævus gigas*), *Sæm.* 23^a 46^b 84^b 189^b. The Bavarian patois has an intensive prefix *enz*, *enzio* (*Schmeller*, 188), but this may have grown out of the gen. of end, *ent* (*Schm.* 1, 77); or may we take this *ent*-itself in the sense of monstrous, gigantic, and as an exception to the law of consonant-change? They say both *enterisch* (*Schm.* 1, 77) and *enzerisch* for monstrous, extraordinary. And was the *Enzenbere*, MS. 2, 10^b a giant's hill? ¹ and is the same root contained in the proper names *Anzo*, *Enzo*, *Enzinchint* (*Pez*, thes. iii. 3, 689^c), *Enzawîp* (*Meichelb.* 1233. 1305), *Enzeman* (*Ben.* 325)? If *Hûnî* alluded to Wends and Slavs, we may be allowed to identify *entas* with the ancient *Antes*; as for the Indians, whom *Mone*

¹ The present *Inselberg* near *Schmalkalden*; old docs., however, spell it *Emisebere*, named apparently from the brook *Emise*, *Emse*, which rises on it. Later forms are *Enzelberg*, *Einzelberg*, *Einselberg*.

(Anz. 1836, 1. 2) would bring in, they may stay outside, for in OHG. itself antise, entise (antiquus) is distinct from indisc (Indicus), Graff 1, 385-6; and see Suppl.

The AS. poets use also the Greek, Latin,¹ and Romance appellative *gigant*, pl. *gigantas*, Beow. 225. *giganta* cyn 3379. *gigant-mæcg*, Cædm. 76, 36; conf. Ital. Span. *gigante*, Prov. *jayan* (Ferab. 4232), O.Fr. *gaiant* (Ogier 8092. 8101), Fr. *géant*, Eng. *giant*; also OHG. *gigant* (O. iv. 12, 61), MHG. *gigante die mâren* (Diut. 3, 60),² M. Nethl. *gigant*. The ON. word which is usually compared with this, but which wants the *nt*, and is only used of giantesses, seems to me unconnected: fem. *gýgr*, gen. *gýgjar*, Sæm. 39, Sn. 66. 68; a Swed. folk-song still has 'den leda *gijger*,' Arvidsson, 2, 302. It is wanting in the other Teut. dialects, but if translated into Gothic it would be *giugi* or *giugga*; I trace it to the root *gigan*, and connect it with the words quoted in my Gramm. 2, 50 no. 536 (see Suppl.).

Our *riese* is the OHG. *risi* (O. iv. 12, 61) or *riso* (N. ps. 32, 16), MHG. *rise*, MLG. *rese* (Eu. 7096), ON. *risi* (the elder Edda has it only in Gróttas. 12), Swed. *rese*, Dan. *rise*, M. Nethl. *rese*, *rose* (Huyd. op St. 3, 33. 306), now *reus*. To these would correspond a Gothic *vrisa*, as may be gathered from the OS. form *wriso* which I confidently infer from the adj. *wrisilic* giganteus, Hel. 42, 5. The Anglo-Saxons seem to have had no analogous *wrisa*, as they confine themselves to *þyrs*, *gigant* [and *ent*]. The root of *wrisa* is unknown to me; it cannot belong to *reisan* surgere, therefore the OHG. *riso* does not mean elatus, superbus, excelsus.³

Again, *lubbe*, *lúbbe* seems in parts of Lower Saxony to mean

¹ Strange that the Latin language has no word of its own for giant, but must borrow the Greek *gigas*, *titan*, *cyclops*; yet Italy has indigenous folk-tales of Campanian giants.

² The Biblical view adopted in the Mid. Ages traced the giants to *Cain*, or at least to mixture with his family: '*gigantes*, quales propter iracundiam Dei per filios Seth de *jiliabus Cain* narrat scriptura procreatos,' Pertz 2, 755. For in Genesis 6, 4 it is said: '*gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis; postquam enim ingressi sunt filii Dei ad filias hominum, illeque genuerunt, isti sunt potentes a seculo viri famosi.*' The same view appears in Cædm. 76. 77; in Beow. 213 Grendel's descent is derived from *Caines cynne*, on whom God avenged the murder of Abel: thence sprang all the *untýdras* (neg. of tudor proles, therefore misbirths, evil brood), *cotenas*, *ylfe*, *orcneas* and *gigantas* that war against God. This partly fits in with some heathen notions of cosmogony.

³ Mone in Anz. 8, 133, takes *wrise* for *frise*, and makes Frisians and Persians out of it. [What of 'writhe, wris-t, wrest, wrestle,' (as wit, wis-t becomes wise)? Or Slav. *vred-iti*, to hurt, AS. *wreðe*? A Russ. word for giant is *verzilo*, supposed to be from *verg-áti*, to throw.]

unwieldy giant, *lūbben-stones* are shown on the Corneliusberg near Helmstadt, and *lubbe* acc. to the Brem. wb. 3, 92 means a slow clumsy fellow; it is the Engl. *lubber*, *lobber*, and Michel Beham's *lūpel* (Mone's Anz. 1835, 450^b), conf. ON. *lubbi* (hirsutus). To this add a remarkable document by Bp. Gebhard of Halberstadt, bewailing as late as 1462 the heathenish worship of a being whom men named *den guden lubben*, to whom they offered bones of animals on a hill by Schochwitz in the county of Mansfeld. Not only have such ancient bone-heaps been discovered on the *Lupberg* there (conf. the Augsburg *perleich*, p. 294), but in the church of the neighbouring Müllersdorf an idol image let into the wall, which tradition says was brought there from the *Lupberg* (see Suppl.).¹

The ON. has several words for giantess, beside the *gýgr* mentioned above: *skass*, neut., Sæm. 144^b 154^b, and *skessa*, fem.; *gríðr* f., *mella* f.; *gífr* f., Sæm. 143^b, Norweg. *jyveri* (Hallag. 53) or *gyveri*, *gurri*, *djurre* (Faye 7. 9. 10. 12). This *gífr* seems to mean saucy, defiant, greedy.

Tröll neut., gen. *trölls* (Sæm. 6^a), Swed. *troll*, Dan. *trold*, though often used of giants, is yet a more comprehensive term, including other spirits and beings possessed of magic power, and equivalent to our monster, spectre, unearthly being. By *trold* the Danish folk-tales habitually understand beings of the elf kind. The form suggests a Gothic *trallu*; does our *getralle* in Renner 1365, 'der gebûre ein getralle,' rhym. 'alle,' mean the same thing? (see Suppl.).

Giant is in Lith. *milžinas*, *milžinis*, Lett. *milsis*, *milsenis*; but it would be overbold to connect with it German names of places, Milize (Trad. fuld. 2, 40), Milsenburg, Melsungen. The Slovak *obor*, Boh. *obr*, O. Pol. *obrzym*,² Pol. *olbrzym*, is unknown to the South Slavs, and seems to be simply *Avarus*, *Abarus*. Nestor calls the Avars *Obri* (ed. Schlözer 2, 112-7). The 'Græcus Avar' again in the legend of Zisa (p. 292-5) is a giant. Now,

¹ Neue mitth. des thür. sächs. vereins 3, 130-6. 5, 2. 110-132. 6, 37-8. The picture, however, contains nothing giant-like, but rather a goddess standing on a wolf. Yet I remark, that a giant's tomb on Mt. Blanc is called 'la tombe du bon homme, de la bonne femme,' an expression associated with the idea of a sacred venerated man (supra, p. 89). Conf. also *godgubbe* used of Thörr, p. 167, and *godmor*, p. 430.

² Psalter of queen Margareta, Vienna 1834, p. 17^b: *obrzim*, the -im as in *oyczim*, *pielgrzym*.

as the Avari in the Mid. Ages are = Chuni, the words *hûn* and *obor* alike spring out of the national names Hun and Avar.¹ To the Slavs, *Tchud* signifies both Finn and giant, and the Russ. *ispolin* (giant) might originally refer to the 'gens *Spalorum*' of Jornandes; conf. Schafarik 1, 286. 310. So closely do the names for giant agree with those of ancient nations: popular belief magnified hostile warlike neighbours into giants, as it diminished the weak and oppressed into dwarfs. The Sanskrit *râkshasas* can have nothing to do with our riese, nor with the OHG. *recchio*, MHG. *recke*, a designation of human heroes (see Suppl.).

We find plenty of proper names both of giants and giantesses preserved in ON., some apparently significant; thus *Hrûngnir* suggests the Gothic *hrugga* (virga, rod, pole) and our *runge* (Brem. wb. 3, 558); Herbort 1385: 'grôz alsam ein runge.' Our MHG. poems like giant's names to end in *-olt*, as *Witolt*, *Fasolt*, *Memerolt*, etc.

A great stature, towering far above any human size, is ascribed to all giants: stiff, unwieldy, they stand like hills, like tall trees. According to the Mod. Greeks, they were as tall as poplars, and if once they fell, they could not get up again [like Humpty Dumpty]. The one eye of the Greek cyclops I nowhere find imputed to our giants; but like them² and the ancient gods, (p. 322), they are often provided with *many hands* and *heads*. When this attribute is given to heroes, gigantic ones are meant, as Heimo, Starkaðr, Asperian (p. 387). But Sæm. 85^b expressly calls a þurs *þrîhöfðuðr*, exactly as the MHG. *Wahtelmære* names a *drîhouptigen* tursen (Massm. denkm. 109): a remarkable instance of agreement. In Sæm. 35^a appears a giant's son with *six heads*, in 56^a the *many-headed* band of giants is spoken of, and in 53 a giantess with 900 *heads*. Brana's father has *three* (invisible) *heads*, Fornald. sög. 3, 574, where also it is said: 'þa

¹ Schafarik explains *obor* by the Celtic *ambro* above (p. 520n.); but in that case the Polish would have been *abr*.

² Briareus or Ægæon has a *hundred arms* (ἐκατόγχερος, Il. 1, 402) and *fifty heads*, Geryon *three heads* and *six hands*; in Hesiod's Theog. 150, Kottus, Gyges and Briareus have *one hundred arms* and *fifty heads*. The giant in the Hebrew story has only an *additional finger* or *toe* given to each hand and foot: *vir fuit excelsus, qui senos in manibus pedibusque habebat digitos, i.e. viginti quatuor* (instead of the human twenty), 2 Sam. 21, 20. Bertheau's Israel, p. 143. O. Fr. poems give the Saracen giant *four arms, two noses, two chins*, Ogier 9817.

fell margr (many a) *tvíhöfðuðr* iötunn.' Trollds with 12 heads, then with 5, 10, 15 occur in Norske event. nos. 3 and 24. In Scotland too the story 'of the *reyde eyttyn* with the *thre heydis*' was known (Complaynt, p. 98), and Lindsay's Dreme (ed. 1592, p. 225) mentions the 'history of *reid etin*.' The fairy-tale of *Red etin wi' three heads* may now be read complete in Chambers,¹ pp. 56-58; but it does not explain whether the red colour in his name refers to skin, hair or dress. A black complexion is not attributed to giants, as it is to dwarfs (p. 444) and the devil, though the half-black Hel (p. 312) was of giant kin. Hrúngnir, a giant in the Edda, has a *head of stone* (Sæm. 76^b, Sn. 109), another in the Fornald. sög. 3, 573 is called *Iarnhaus*, iron skull. But giants as a rule appear well-shaped and symmetrical; their daughters are capable of the highest *beauty*, e.g. Gerðr, whose gleaming arms, as she shuts the house-door, make air and water shine again, Sæm. 82^a, Sn. 39 (see Suppl.).

In the giants as a whole, an untamed natural force has full swing, entailing their excessive bodily size, their overbearing insolence, that is to say, abuse of corporal and mental power, and finally sinking under its own weight. Hence the iötunn in the Edda is called *skrautgiarn* (fastosus), Sæm. 117^b; *sa inn úmáttki* (præpotens) 41^b 82^h; *storúðgi* (magnanimus) 76^b; *þrúngmóðgi* (superbus) 77^a; *hardráðr* (sævus) 54^a; our derivation of the words iötunn and þurs finds itself confirmed in poetic epithet and graphic touch: *kostmóðr* iötunn (cibo gravatus), Sæm. 56^b; '*öl*r (ebrius) ertu Geirröðr, hefir þú ofdruccit (overdrunk)' 47^a (see Suppl.).

From this it is an easy step, to impute to the giants a *stupidity* contrasting with man's common sense and the shrewdness of the dwarf. The ON. has '*ginna alla sem þussa*' (decipere omnes sicut thursos), Nialssaga p. 263. *Dumm* in our old speech was mutus as well as hebes, and *dumbr* in ON. actually stands for *gigas*; to which *dumbi* (dat.) the adj. *þumbi* (hebes, inconcinnus) seems nearly related. A remarkable spell of the 11th cent. runs thus: '*tumbo* saz in berke mit *tumbemo* kinde in arme, *tumb* hiez der bere, *tumb* hiez daz kint, der *heilego tumbo* versegene tisa wunda!' i.e. dummy sat on hill with d. child in arm, d. was

¹ Popular rhymes, fireside stories, and amusements of Scotland, Edinb. 1842.

called the hill and d. the child, the holy d. bless this wound away [the posture is that of Humpty Dumpty]. This seems pointed at a sluggish mountain-giant, and we shall see how folk-tales of a later period name the giants *dumme dutten*; the term *lubbe*, *lūbbe* likewise indicates their clumsy lubberly nature, and when we nowadays call the devil *dumm* (stupid), a quondam giant is really meant (see Suppl.).¹

Yet the Norse lays contain one feature favourable to the giants. They stand as specimens of a fallen or falling race, which with the strength combines also the innocence and wisdom of the old world, an intelligence more objective and imparted at creation than self-acquired. This half-regretful view of giants prevails particularly in one of the finest poems of the Edda, the *Hǫmrisqvíða*. *Hǫmir*² is called *forn iötunn* (the old) 51^a, as *Πολύφαμος* in Theocr. 11, 9 is *ἀρχαῖος*, and another giant, from whom gods are descended, has actually the proper name *Forniotr*, *Forneot* (p. 240), agreeing with the '*aldinn iötunn*' quoted on p. 524; then we have the epithet *hundvíss* (multiscius) applied 52^b, as elsewhere to *Loðinn* (Sæm. 145^a), to *Geirröðr* (Sn. 113), and to *Starkaðr* (Fornald. sög. 3, 15. 32).³ *Oegir* is called *fiölkunnigr* (much-knowing), Sæm. 79, and *barnteitr* (happy as a child) 52^a; while *Thrymr* sits fastening golden collars on his hounds, and stroking his horses' manes, Sæm. 70^b. And also the faithfulness of giants is renowned, like that of the men of old: *trölltryggr* (fidus instar gigantis), Egilss. p. 610, and in the Faröe dialect '*trár sum trödlir*,' true as giants (Lyngbye, p. 496).⁴ Another lay is founded on the conversation that *Oðinn* himself is anxious to hold with a giant of great sense on matters of antiquity (*á fornóm stöfum*): *Vafþrúðnir* again is called '*inn alsvinni iötunn*,' 30^a 35^b; *Örgelmir* and *Bergelmir* '*sa inn fróði*

¹ The familiar fable of the devil being taken in by a peasant in halving the crop between them, is in the Danish myth related of a trolld (Thiele 4, 122), see Chap. XXXIII.

² ON. *hûm* is crepusculum, *hûma* vesperascere, *hûma* dormiturire; is *Hǫmir* the sluggish, sleepy? OHG. *Hiumi*? How if the MHG. *hiune* came from an OHG. *hiumi*? An *m* is often attenuated into *n*, as OHG. *sliumi*, *sniumi* (celer), MHG. *sliune*, *sliunic*, our *schleunig*. That would explain why there is no trace of the word *hiune* in ON.; it would also be fatal to any real connexion with the national name *Hûn*.

³ *Hund* (centum) intensifies the meaning: *hundmargr* (permultus), *hundgamall* (old as the hills).

⁴ We find the same faithfulness in the giant of Christian legend, St. *Christopher*, and in that of Carolingian legend, *Ferabras*.

iötunn,' Sæm. 35^{a, b}; Fenja and Menja are *framvísar* (Gróttas. 1, 13). When the verb þreya, usually meaning exspectare, desiderare, is employed as characteristic of giants (Sæm. 88^a), it seems to imply a dreamy brooding, a half-drunken complacency and immobility (see Suppl.).

Such a being, when at rest, is good-humoured and unhandy,¹ but when provoked, gets wild, spiteful and violent. Norse legend names this rage of giants *iötunmóðr*, which pits itself in defiance against *âsmóðr*, the rage of the gods: 'vera í iötunmóði,' Sn. 150^b. When their wrath is kindled, the giants hurl rocks, rub stones till they catch fire (Roth. 1048), squeeze water out of stones (Kinderm. no. 20. Asbiörn'sen's Mœe, no. 6), root up trees (Kinderm. no. 90), twist fir-trees together like willows (no. 166), and stamp on the ground till their leg is buried up to the knee (Roth. 943. Vilks. saga, cap. 60): in this plight they are chained up by the heroes in whose service they are to be, and only let loose against the enemy in war, e.g. Witolt or Witolf (Roth. 760. Vilks. saga, cap. 50). One Norse giant, whose story we know but imperfectly, was named *Beli* (the bellower); him Freyr struck dead with his fist for want of his sword, and thence bore the name of 'bani Belja,' Sn. 41. 74.

Their relation to gods and men is by turns friendly and hostile. *Iötunheimr* lies far from *Asaheimr*, yet visits are paid on both sides. It is in this connexion that they sometimes leave on us the impression of older nature-gods, who had to give way to a younger and superior race; it is only natural therefore, that in certain giants, like Ecke and Fasolt, we should recognise a precipitate of deity. At other times a rebellious spirit breaks forth, they make war upon the gods, like the heaven-scaling Titans, and the gods hurl them down like devils into hell. Yet there are some gods married to giantesses: Niörðr to Skaði the daughter of Thiassi, Thôrr to Iarnsaxa, Freyr to the beautiful Gerðr, daughter of Gýmir. Gunnlöð a giantess is Oðin's beloved. The âsin Gefiun bears sons to a giant; Borr weds the giant Bölþorn's daughter Bestla. Loki, who lives among the âses, is son to a giant Farbauti, and a giantess Angrboða is his

¹ Unformed, inconcinuus; MHG. *ungevüege*, applied to giants, Nib. 456, 1. Iw. 444. 5051. 6717. *der ungevüege knabe*, Er. 5552; 'knabe,' as in 'der michel knabe,' p. 518n.

wife. The gods associate with Oegir the iötunn, and by him are bidden to a banquet. Giants again sue for âsins, as Thrymr for Freyja, while Thiassi carries off Iðunn. Hrûngnir asks for Freyja or Sif, Sn. 107. Starkaðr is henchman to Norse kings; in Rother's army fight the giants Asperiân (Asbiörn, Osbern) and Witolt. Among the âses *the great foe of giants* is *Thórr*, who like *Jupiter* inflicts on them his thunder-wounds; ¹ his hammer has crushed the heads of many: were it not for Thórr, says a Scandinavian proverb, the giants would get the upper hand; ² he vanquished Hrûngnir, Hýmîr, Thrymr, Geirröðr, and it is not all the legends by any means that are set down in the Edda (see Suppl.). *St. Oiaf* too keeps up a hot pursuit of the giant race; in this business heathen and Christian heroes are at one. In our heroic legend Sigenôt, Ecke, Fasolt succumb to *Dietrich's* human strength, yet other giants are companions of Dietrich, notably Wittich and Heime, as Asperiân was Rother's. The kings Niblunc and Schilbunc had twelve strong giants for friends (Nib. 95), *i.e.* for vassals, as the Norse kings often had twelve berserks. But, like the primal woods and monstrous beasts of the olden time, the giants do get gradually extirpated off the face of the earth, and with all heroes giant-fighting alternates with dragon-fighting.³

King Frôði had two captive giant-maidens *Fenja* and *Menja* as mill-maids; the grist they had to grind him out of the quern Grôtti was gold and peace, and he allowed them no longer time for sleep or rest than while the gowk (cuckoo) held his peace or they sang a song. We have a startling proof of the former prevalence of this myth in Germany also, and I find it in the bare proper names. *Managold*, *Manigold* frequently occurs as a man's name, and is to be explained from mani, ON. men = monile; more rarely we find *Fanigold*, *Fenegold*, from fani, ON. fen = palus, meaning the gold that lies hidden in the fen. One Trad. patav. of the first half of the twelfth cent. (MB. 28^b, pp. 90-1)

¹ The skeleton of a giantess struck by lightning, hung up in a sacristy, see Widgren's Ostergötland 4, 527.

² Swed. 'vore ej thordön (Thor-din, thunder) till, lade troll verlden öde.'

³ In British legend too (seldom in Carolingian) the heroes are indefatigable giant-quellers. If the nursery-tale of Jack the giantkiller did not appear to be of Welsh origin, that hero's deeds might remind us of Thór's; he is equipped with a cap of darkness, shoes of swiftness, and a sword that cuts through anything, as the god is with the resistless hammer.

furnishes both names *Manegolt* and *Fenegolt* out of the same neighbourhood. We may conclude that once the Bavarians well knew how it stood with the fanigold and manigold ground out by *Fania* and *Mania* (see Suppl.).

Ymir, or in giant's language Örgelmir, was the *first-created*, and out of his body's enormous bulk were afterwards engendered earth, water, mountain and wood. Ymir himself originated in melted hoarfrost or rime (hrîm), hence all the giants are called *hrîmpursar*, rime-giants, Sn. 6. Sæm. 85^a,^b; *hrîmkaldr*, rime-cold, is an epithet of þurs and iötunn, Sæm. 33^b 90^a, they still drip with thawing rime, their beards (kinnskôgr, chin-forest) are frozen, Sæm. 53^b; *Hrîmniur*, *Hrîmgrîmr*, *Hrîmgerðr* are proper names of giants, Sæm. 85^a 86^a 114. 145. As hrîm also means grime, fuligo, Ymir may perhaps be connected with the obscure MHG. om, ome (rubigo), see Gramm. 3, 733. At the same time the derivation from ymjá, umði (stridere) lies invitingly near, so that Ymir would be the blustering, noisy, and one explanation of Örgelmir would agree with this; conf. chap. XIX. (see Suppl.).

Herbs and heavenly bodies are named after giants as well as after gods: *þursaskegg*, i.e. giant's beard (*fucus filiformis*); Norw. *tussegras* (*paris quadrifolia*); *Brönugras* (*satyrium*, the same as *Friggjargras*, p. 302), because a giantess Brana gave it as a charm to her client Hålfðân (*Fornald. sög.* 3, 576); *Forneotes folme*, p. 240; Óðinn threw *Thiassi's eyes*, and Thôrr *Örvandil's toe*, into the sky, to be shining constellations, Sn. 82-3. 111.

Giants, like dwarfs, shew themselves *thievish*. Two lays of the Edda turn upon the recovery of a hammer and a cauldron which they had stolen.

The giants form a separate people, which no doubt split into branches again, conf. Rask's *Afhand.* 1, 88. Thrymr is called *þursa dróttinn*, Sæm. 70-74; a *þursa þjóð* (nation) is spoken of, 107^a, but *iötunheimr* is described as their usual residence. Even our poem of Rother 767 speaks of a *riesenlant*. On the borders of the giant province were situate the *griottána garðar*, Sn. 108-9. We have already noticed how most of the words for giant coincide with the names of ancient nations.

Giants were imagined dwelling on *rocks* and *mountains*, and their nature is all of a piece with the mineral kingdom: they are either animated masses of stone, or creatures once alive petrified.

Hrúngnir had a three-cornered stone heart, his head and shield were of stone, Sn. 109. Another giant was named *Vagnhöfði* (waggon-head), Sn. 211^a, in Saxo Gram. 9. 10. Dame *Hütt* is a petrified queen of giants, Deut. sag. no. 233.

Out of this connexion with mountains arises another set of names: *bergrisi*, Sn. 18. 26. 30. 45-7. 66. Gróttas. 10. 24. Egilss. 22; ¹*bergbúi*, Fornald. sög. 1, 412; *hraunbúi* (saxicola), Sæm. 57^b 145^a; *hraunhvalr* (-whale) 57^b; *þussin af biargi*, Fornald. sög. 2, 29; *bergdanir* (gigantes), Sæm. 54^b; *bergrisa brúðr* (bride), *mær bergrisa*, Gróttas. 10. 24, conf. the Gr. *ὀρειάς*: on this side the notion of giantess can easily pass into that of elfin. Thrymheimr lies up in the mountains, Sn. 27. It is not to be overlooked, that in our own Heldenbuch Dietrich reviles the giants as mountain-cattle and forest-boors, conf. *bererinder*, Laurin 2625, and *waltgebûren* 534. 2624. Sigenôt 97. walthunde, Sigenôt 13. 114. waldes diebe (thieves), 120. waldes tôle (fool), waldes affe (ape), Wolfd. 467. 991 (see p. 481-2 and Suppl.).

Proper names of giants point to stones and metals, as *Iarnsava* (ironstony), *Iarnhaus* (ironskull); possibly our still surviving compound *steinalt*, old as stone (Gramm. 2, 555), is to be explained by the great age of giants, approaching that of rocks and hills; *gífur rata* (gigantes pedes illidunt saxis) is what they say in the North.

Stones and rocks are *weapons* of the giant race; they use only stone clubs and stone shields, no swords. Hrúngni's weapon is called *hein* (hone); when it was flung in mid air and came in collision with Thôr's hammer, it broke, and a part fell on the ground; hence come all the 'heinberg,' whinstone rocks, Sn. 108-9. Later legends add to their armament *stahelstangen* (steel bars) 24 yards long, Roth. 687. 1662. Hürn. Sifr. 62, 2. 68, 2. Sigenôt (Lassb.) 14, (Hag.) 69. 75. Iwein 5022 (-ruote, rod 5058. -kolbe, club 6682. 6726). Trist. 15980. 16146; *ísenstange*, Nib. 460, 1. Veldek invests his Pandurus and Bitias (taken from Aen. 9, 672) with giant's nature and *íserne kolven*, En. 7089; king Gorhand's giant host carry *kolben stähelín*, Wh. 35, 21. 395, 24. 396, 13; and giant Langben a *staalstang* (Danske viser 1, 29). We are expressly told in Er. 5384, 'wâfens wâren

¹ In the case of mixed descent: *hálfbegrísi*, *hálfrísi*, *hálfröll*, Egilss. p. 22. Nialss. p. 164; see Gramm. 2, 633.

si blôz,' i.e. bare of knightly weapon, for they carried 'kolben swære, grôze unde lange.'¹ Yet the 'eald *sweord* eotonisc' probably meant one of stone, though the same expression is used in Beow. 5953 of a metal sword mounted with gold; even the 'entisc *helm*,' Beow. 5955 may well be a stone helmet. It may be a part of the same thing, that no iron sword will cut into giants; only with the *pommel of the sword* can they be killed (Ecke 178), or with the *fist*, p. 530 (see Suppl.).

Ancient *buildings* of singular structure, which have outlasted many centuries, and such as the men of to-day no longer take in hand, are vulgarly ascribed to *giants* or to the *devil* (conf. p. 85, note on devil's dikes): 'burg an berge, hô holmklibu, *wrisilic* giwerc' is said in Hel. 42, 5 of a castle on a rock (risônburg, N. Bth. 173); a *Wrisberg*, from which a Low Saxon family takes its name, stood near the village of Petze. These are the *enta geweorc* of AS. poetry (p. 524): 'efne swâ wîde swâ *wegas* tô lâgon *enta cergeweorc* innan burgum, *stræte stânfage*,' Andr. 2466. 'stapulas storme bedrifene, eald *enta geweorc*,' 2986. Our Anno-lied 151 of Semiramis: 'die alten Babilônîe stiphti si van cigelin den alten, die die *gigandi* branten,' of bricks that giants burnt. And Karlmeinet 35: 'we dise *burg* stichte? ein *rise in den alten zîden*.' In O. French poems it is either *gaiant* or *paian* (pagans) that build walls and towers, e.g. in Gerars de Viane 1745:

Les *fors tors*, ke sont dantiquitey,
ke *paian* firent par lor grant poestey.

Conf. Mone's Unters. 242-4-7. 250. Whatever was put together of enormous blocks the Hellenes named *cyclopean walls*, while the modern Greeks regard the *Hellenes* themselves as giants of the old world, and give them the credit of those massive structures.² Then, as ancient military roads were constructed of great blocks of stone (*strâta felison gifuogid*, Hel. 164, 27), they also were laid to the account of giants: *iötna vegar* (*viæ gigantum*), Sæm. 23^b; 'usque ad *giganteam viam*: *entîsken wec*,' MB. 4, 22 (about 1130). The common people in Bavaria and Salzburg call such a road, which to them is world-old and uncanny, *enterisch* (Schm.

¹ Goliath too, 1 Sam. 17, 7, and 2 Sam. 21, 19 is credited with a hastile (spear-staff) quasi *liciatorium textentium* (like a weaver's beam).

² Conf. Niebuhr's Rom. Hist. i. 192-3. An ancient wall is in Mod. Greek τὸ ἑλληνικό, Ulrich's Reise 1, 182.

4, 44) ; the *tröllaskeld* was mentioned p. 508-9, and *tröllahlað* is septum gigantum. Some passages in Fergût are worthy of notice ; at 1576 :

Die roke was swert ende eiselike,
want wîlen êr ên *gigant*,
hie hieu hare ane enen cant
ên *padelkîn* tote in den top,
daer en mach ghên paert op,
ên man mochter opgaen te voet.

And at 1628 seq. is described the brazen statue of a *dorper*,¹ standing outside the porch of a door :

het dede maken ên *gigant*,
die daer wîlen woende int lant (see Suppl.).

Giant's-mountains, *giant's-hills*, *hünen-beds* may be so named because popular legend places a giant's grave there, or sees in the rock a resemblance to the giant's shape, or supposes the giant to have brought the mountain or hill to where it stands.

We have just had an instance of the last kind: the Edda accounts for all the *hein-rocks* by portions of a *giant's club* having *dropt to the ground*, which club was made of smooth whinstone. There is a pleasing variety about these folk-tales, which to my thinking is worth closer study, for it brings the living conception of giant existence clearly before us. One story current in the I. of Hven makes Grimild and Hvenild two giant sisters living in Zealand. Hvenild wants to carry some slices of Zealand to Schonen on the Swedish side ; she gets over safely with a few that she has taken in her apron, but the next time she carries off too large a piece, her *apron-string breaks* in the middle of the sea, she drops the whole of her load, and that is how the Isle of Hven came to be (Sjöborg's Nomenkl. p. 84). Almost the same story is told in Jutland of the origin of the little isle of Worsöekalv (Thiele 3, 66). Pomeranian traditions present differences in detail : a giant in the Isle of Rügen grudges having to wade through the sea every time to Pomerania ; he will build a causeway across to the mainland, so, tying an apron round him, he fills it with earth. When he has got past Rodenkirchen with

¹ This *dorper grôt* again we are tempted to take for the old thundergod, for it says : ' hi hilt *van stale* (of steel) *enen hamer* in sine hant.'

his load, *his apron springs a leak*, and the earth that drops out becomes the nine hills near Rambin. He darns the hole, and goes further. Arrived at Gustow, he bursts another hole, and spills thirteen little hills; he reaches the sea with the earth that is left, and shoots it in, making Prosnitz Hook and the peninsula of Drigge. But there still remains a narrow space between Rügen and Pomerania, which so exasperates the giant that he is struck with apoplexy and dies, and his dam has never been completed (E. M. Arndt's *Märchen* 1, 156). Just the other way, a giant girl of Pomerania wants to make a bridge to Rügen, 'so that I can step across the bit of water without wetting my bits of slippers.' She hurries down to the shore with an apronful of sand; but the *apron had a hole* in it, a part of her freight ran out 'tother side of Sagard, forming a little hill named Dubberworth. 'Dear me! mother will scold,' said the hüene maiden, but kept her hand under, and ran all she could. Her mother looked over the wood: 'Naughty child, what are you after? come, and you shall have the stick.' The daughter was so frightened she let the apron slip out of her hands, the sand was all spilt about, and formed the barren hills by Litzow.¹ Near Vi in Källasocken lies a huge stone named Zechiel's stone after a giantess or merwoman. She lived at Edha castle in Högbysocken, and her sister near the Skäggenäs (shag-ness) in Småland. They both wished to build a bridge over the Sound; the Småland giantess had brought Skäggenäs above a mile into the sea, and Zechiel had gathered stones in her apron, when a man shot at her with his shafts, so that she had to sit down exhausted on a rock, which still bears the impress of her form. But she got up again, and went as far as Pesnäsocken, when *Thor began to thunder* (*då hafver gogubben begynt at åka*); she was in such a fright that she fell dead, scattering *the load of stones out of her apron higgledy-piggledy* on the ground; hence come the big masses of rock there of two or three men's height. Her kindred had her buried by the side of these rocks (Ahlqvist's *Öland*, 2, 98-9). These giants' dread of Thor is so great, that when they hear it thunder, they hide in clefts of rocks and under trees: a *högbergsgubbe* in Gothland,

¹ Lothar's *Volkssagen*, Leipz. 1825, p. 65. Temme's *Pomm. sagen*, nos. 190-1; see Barthold's *Pommern* 1, 5e0, who spells Dobberwort, and explains it by the Pol. wor (sack).

whom a peasant, to keep him friendly, had invited to a christening, refused, much as he would have liked to share in the feast, because he learnt from the messenger that not only Christ, Peter and Mary, but Thor also would be there; he would not face him (Nyerup's *Morskabsläsning*, p. 243). A giant in Fladsøe was on bad terms with one that lived at Nestved. He took his wallet to the beach and filled it with sand, intending to bury all Nestved. On the way the sand ran out through a *hole in the sack*, giving rise to the string of sandbanks between Fladsøe and Nestved. Not till he came to the spot where Husvald then stood, did the giant notice that the greater part was spilt; in a rage he flung the remainder toward Nestved, where you may still see one sandbank by itself (Thiele 1, 79). At Sonnerup lived another giant, Lars Krands by name, whom a farmer of that place had offended. He went to the shore, filled his glove with sand, took it to the farmer's and emptied it, so that the farmhouse and yard were completely covered; what had *run through the five finger holes* of the glove made five hills (Thiele 1, 33). In the Netherlands the hill of Hillegersberg is produced by the sand which a giantess lets fall through *een schortekleed* (Westendorp's *Mythol.* p. 187).—And these tales are not only spread through the Teutonic race, but are in vogue with Finns and Celts and Greeks. Near Päjände in Hattulasocken of Tawastoland there stand some rocks which are said to have been carried by giant's daughters *in their aprons* and then tossed up (Ganander's *Finn. myth.* pp. 29. 30). French traditions put the holy Virgin or fays (p. 413) in the place of giantesses. Notre dame de Cléry, being ill at ease in the church of Mezières, determined to change the seat of her adoration, took *earth in her apron* and carried it to a neighbouring height, pursued by Judas: then, to elude the enemy, she took *a part of the earth up again*, which she deposited at another place not far off: oratories were reared on both sites (*Mém. de l'acad. celt.* 2, 218). In the Charente country, arrond. Cognac, comm. Saintfront, a huge stone lies by the Ney rivulet; this the holy Virgin is said to have carried on her head, beside four other pillars *in her apron*; but as she was crossing the Ney, she *let one pillar fall* into Saintfront marsh (*Mém. des antiquaires* 7, 31). According to a Greek legend, Athena was fetching a mountain from Pallene to fortify the Acropolis, but, startled at the ill news

brought by a crow, she *dropt it on the way*, and there it remains as Mount Lykabettos.¹ As the Lord God passed over the earth scattering stones, his bags burst over Montenegro, and the whole stock came down (Vuk. 5).

Like the goddess, like the giants, the devil takes such burdens upon him. In Upper Hesse I was told as follows: between Gossfelden and Wetter there was once a village that has now disappeared, Elbringhausen; the farmers in it lived so luxuriously that the devil got power over them, and resolved to shift them from their good soil to a sandy flat which is flooded every year by the overflowing Lahn. So he took the village up in his basket, and carried it through the air to where Sarenau stands: he began picking out the houses one by one, and setting them up side by side; by some accident *the basket tipped over*, and the whole lot tumbled pellmell on the ground; so it came about, that the first six houses at Sarenau stand in a straight row, and all the others anyhow. Near Saalfeld in Thuringia lies a village, Langenschade, numbering but 54 houses, and yet a couple of miles long, because they stand scattered and in single file. The devil flew through the air, carrying houses *in an apron*, but a hole in it let the houses drop out one by one. On looking back, he noticed it and cried 'there's a pity (schade)!' (see Suppl.).

The pretty fable of the giant's daughter picking up the *ploughing husbandman* and taking him home to her father *in her apron* is widely known, but is best told in the Alsace legend of Nideck castle:

Im waldschloss dort am wasserfall
sinn d'ritter rise gsinn (gewesen);
ä mol (einmal) kummt's früle hrab ins
thal,
unn geht spaziere drinn.
sie thut bis schier noch Haslach gehn,
vorm wald im ackerfeld
do blibt sie voll verwundrung stehn
nun sieht, wie's feld wurd bestellt.
sie lüegt dem ding ä wil so zu;
der *plui*, die *ros*, die *liitt*
ischer ebs (ist ihr etwas) neus; sie geht
derzu

In forest-castle by waterfall
the barons there were giants;
once the maiden comes down into the
dale,
and goes a-walking therein.
She doth as far as Haslach go;
outside the wood, in the cornfield
she stands still, full of wonder,
and sees how the field gets tilled.
She looks at the thing a while,
the *plough*, the *horses*, the *men*
are new to her; she goes thereto

¹ Antigoni Carystii hist. mirab. cap. 12, Lips. 1791 p. 22: τῆ δὲ Ἀθηναίᾳ, φερούσῃ τὸ βρῶς, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Λυκαβηττὸς, κορώνην φησὶν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ἐριχθόνιος ἐν φανερώ· τὴν δὲ ἀκούσασαν βίψαι τὸ βρῶς, ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶ· τῆ δὲ κορώνῃ διὰ τὴν κακαγ-
γελίαν εἰπεῖν, ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὐ θέμις αὐτῇ εἶσται ἀφικέσθαι.

unn denkt ' die nimm i mit.'
 D'rno huurt sie an de bode hin
 unn *spreit ihr fürti uss*,
 fangt alles mit der hand, thut's 'nin,
 unn lauft gar froh noch hus.
 sie springt de felswei 'nuf ganz frisch,
 dort wo der berg jetzt isch so gäh
 unn me (man) so krattle mus in d'höh,
 macht sie nur eine schritt.
 Der ritter sitzt just noch am tisch :
 ' min kind, was bringste mit ?
 d' freud lüegt der zu de auge 'nuss ;
 se krom nur geschwind din fürti uss ;
 was hest so zawelichs drin ? '
 ' o vatter, *spieldings* gar ze nett,
 i ha noch nie ebs schöns so g'hett,'
 unn stelltem (ihm) alles hin.
 Unn uf de tisch stellt sie den *pflui*,
 d' bure unn ihri ros,
 lauft drum heram unn lacht derzu,
 ihr freud isch gar ze gross.
 ' Ja, kind, diss isch ken *spieldings* nitt,
 do hest ebs schöns gemacht '
 saht der herr ritter glich und lacht,
 ' geh nimm's nur widder mit !
 die bure sorje uns für brot,
 sunsch sterbe mir de hungertod ;
 trah alles widder furt ! '
 's früule krint, der vatter schilt :
 ' ä bur mir nitt als *spieldings* gilt,
 i liid (ich leide) net dass me murt.
 pack alles sachte widder iin
 uun trah's ans nämli plätzel hin,
 wo des (du's) genuhme hest.
 baut nit der bur sin ackerfeld,
 se fehlt's bi uns an brot unn geld
 in unserm felsennest.'

and thinks ' I'll take them with me.'
 Then plumps down on the ground
 and *spreads her apron out*,
 grasps all in her hand, pops it in,
 and runs right joyful home ;
 leaps up the rock-path brisk,
 where the hill is now so steep
 and men must scramble up,
 she makes but one stride.
 The baron sits just then at table :
 ' my child, what bringst with thee ?
 joy looks out at thine eyes ;
 undo thine apron, quick,
 what hast so wonderful therein ? '
 ' O father, *playthings* quite too neat,
 I ne'er had aught so pretty,'
 and sets it all before him.
 On the table she sets the *plough*,
 the *farmers* and their *horses*,
 runs round them and laughs,
 her joy is all too great.
 ' Ah child, this is no plaything,
 a pretty thing thou hast done ! '
 saith the baron quick, and laughs,
 ' go take it back !
 the farmers provide us with bread,
 else we die the hunger-death ;
 carry it all away again.'
 The maiden cries, the father scolds :
 ' a farmer shall be no toy to me.
 I will have no grumbling ;
 pack it all up softly again
 and carry it to the same place
 where thou tookst it from.
 Tills not the farmer his field,
 we are short of bread and money
 in our nest on the rock.'

Similar anecdotes from the Harz and the Odenwald are given in Deut. sag. nos. 319. 324. In Hesse the giant's daughter is placed on the Hippersberg (betw. Kölbe, Wehrda and Gossfelden) : her father rates her soundly, and sets the ploughman at liberty again with commendations. The same story is told at Dittersdorf near Blankenburg (betw. Rudolstadt and Saalfeld). Again, a hüenin with her daughter dwelt on Hüenenkoppe at the entrance of the Black Forest. The daughter found a peasant ploughing on the common, and put him *in her apron, oxen, plough* and all, then went and showed her mother 'the little fellow

and his *pussy-cats*.' The mother angrily bade her carry man, beast and plough directly back to where she found them: 'they belong to a people that may do the hūnes much mischief.' And they both left the neighbourhood soon after.¹ Yet again: when the Grünggrund and the country round about were still inhabited by giants, two of them fell in with an ordinary man: 'what sort of *groundworm* is this?' asked one, and the other answered, 'these *groundworms* will make a finish of us yet!' (Mone's Anz. 8, 64). Now sentiments like these savour more of antiquity than the fair reasons of the Alsatian giant, and they harmonize with a Finnish folk-tale. Giants dwelt in Kemissocken, and twenty years ago² there lived at Rouwwanjemi an old woman named Caisa, who told this tale: A giant maiden (*kalewan tyttären*) took up *horse and ploughman and plough* (*bewosen ja kyntäjän ja auran*) *on her lap*, carried them to her mother and asked, 'what kind of *beetle* (*sontiainen*) can this be, mother, that I found rooting up the ground there?' The mother said, 'put them away, child; we have to leave this country, and they are to live here instead.' The old giant race have to give way to agricultural man, agriculture is an eye-sore to them, as it is to dwarfs (p. 459). The honest coarse grain of gianthood, which looks upon man as a tiny little beast, a beetle burrowing in the mud, but yet is secretly afraid of him, could not be hit off more happily than in these few touches. I believe this tradition is domiciled in many other parts as well (see Suppl.).

Not less popular or naïve is the story of the giant on a journey being troubled with a *little stone in his shoe*: when at last he shakes it out, there is a rock or hill left on the ground. The Brunswick Anzeigen for 1759 inform us on p. 1636: 'A peasant said to me once, as I travelled in his company past a hill on the R. Elm: Sir, the folk say that here a hūne *cleared out his shoe*, and that's how this hill arose.' The book 'Die kluge trödelfrau' by E. J. C. P. N. 1682, p. 14, mentions a large stone in the forest, and says: 'Once a great giant came this way with a pebble in his shoe that hurt him, and when he *untied the shoe*, this stone fell out.' The story is still told of a smooth rock near Goslar, how the great Christopher carried it in his shoe, till he

¹ L. A. Walther's Einl. in die thür. schwarzb. gesch., Rudolst. 1788, p. 52.

² In Ganander's time (Finn. myth. p. 30).

felt something gall his foot; he *pulled off the shoe and turned it down*, when the stone fell where it now lies. Such stones are also called *crumb-stones*. On the Solling near Uslar lie some large boundary-stones, 16 to 20 feet long, and 6 to 8 thick: time out of mind two giants were jaunting across country; says the one to the other, 'this shoe hurts me, some bits of gravel I think it must be,' with that he *pulled off the shoe and shook these stones out*. In the valley above Ilfeld, close to the Bähr, stands a huge mass of rock, which a giant once *shook out of his shoe*, because the grain of sand galled him. I am confident this myth also has a wide circulation, it has even come to be related of a mere set of men: 'The men of Sauerland in Westphalia are fine sturdy fellows; they say one of them walked to Cologne once, and on arriving at the gate, asked his fellow-traveller to wait a moment, while he looked in his shoe to see what had been teasing him so all the while. "Nay" said the other, "hold out now till we get to the inn." The Sauerlander said very well, and they trudged up and down the long streets. But at the market-place he could stand it no longer, he *took the shoe off and threw out a great lump of stone*, and there it has lain this long while to prove my words.' A Norwegian folk-tale is given by Hammerich (om Ragnaröks-mythen, p. 93): a jutel had got something into his eye, that pricked him; he tried to ferret it out with his finger, but that was too bulky, so he took a sheaf of corn, and with that he managed the business. It was a fir-cone, which the giant felt between his fingers, and said: 'who'd have thought a little thing like that would hurt you so?' (see Suppl.).

The Edda tells wonderful things of giant Skrÿmir,¹ in the thumb of whose glove the god Thôrr found a night's lodging. Skrÿmir goes to sleep under an oak, and snores; when Thôrr with his hammer strikes him on the head, he wakes up and asks if *a leaf has fallen on him*. The giant lies down under another oak, and snores so that the forest roars; Thôrr hits him a harder blow than before, and the giant awaking cries, '*did an acorn fall on my face?*' He falls asleep a third time, and Thôrr repeats his blow, making a yet deeper dint, but the giant merely strokes his cheek, and remarks, 'there must be birds roosting in those

¹ In the Farøe dialect *Skrujmsli* (Lyngbye, p. 480). ON. *skraumr* blatero, babler.

boughs; I fancied, when I woke, they *dropt something* on my head.' Sn. 51-53. These are touches of genuine gianthood, and are to be met with in quite different regions as well. A Bohemian story makes the giant Scharmak sleep under a tower, which his enemies undermine, so that it tumbles about his ears; he shakes himself up and cries: 'this is a bad place to rest in, the *birds drop things on your head.*' After that, three men drag a large bell up the oaktree under which Scharmak is asleep, snoring so hard that the leaves shake; the bell is cut down, and comes crashing on the giant, but he does not even wake. A German nursery-tale (1, 307) has something very similar; in another one, millstones are dropt on a giant in the well, and he calls out, 'drive those *hens* away, they scratch the sand up there, and make the *grains come in my eyes*' (2, 29).¹

A giantess (gýgr) named *Hyrrokin* (igne fumata) is mentioned in the Edda, Sn. 66 on occasion of Baldr's funeral: nothing could set the ship *Hrínghorn*, in which the body lay, in motion; they sent to the giants, and *Hyrrokin* came riding on a wolf, with a snake for bridle and rein; she no sooner stepped up to the vessel and touched it with her foot, than fire darted out of the beams, and the firm land quaked. I also find in a Norwegian folk-tale (Faye, p. 14), that a giantess (*djurre*) by merely kicking the shore with her foot threw a ship into the most violent agitation.

Rabelais² and Fischart have glorified the fable of *Gargantua*. It was, to begin with, an old, perhaps even a Celtic, giant-story, whose genuine simple form may even yet be recoverable from unexpired popular traditions.³ *Gargantua*, an enormous eater and drinker, who as a babe had, like St. Christopher, taxed the resources of ten wetnurses, stands with each foot on a high mountain, and *stooping down drinks up the river that runs between*

¹ Conf. the story of the giant Autsch in Hammer's *Rosenöl* 1, 114.

² Rabelais took his subject-matter from an older book, printed already in the 15th century, and published more than once in the 16th: *Les chroniques admirables du puissant roi Gargantua s. l. et a. (gothique)* 8; Lyon 1532. 4; *La plaisante et joyeuse histoire du grand Gargantua*. Valence 1547. 8; at last as a chap-book: *La vie du fameux Gargantua, le plus terrible géant qui ait amais paru sur la terre*. Conf. *Notice sur les chroniques de Garg.*, par l'auteur des nouv. rech. bibl. Paris 1834.

³ A beginning has been made in *Traditions de l'ancien duché de Retz, sur Garg.* (Mém. de l'acad. celt. 5, 392-5), and in *Volkssagen aus dem Greysersland* (Alpenrosen 1824, pp. 57-8). From the latter I borrow what stands in the text.

(see Suppl.). A Westphalian legend of the Weser has much the same tale to tell: On the R. Solling, near Mt. Eberstein, stands the Hünenbrink, a detached conical hill [brink = grassy knoll]. When the hüne who dwelt there of old wanted to wash his face of a morning, he would plant one foot on his own hill, and with the other stride over to the Eichholz a mile and a half away, and *draw from the brook that flows through the valley*. If his neck ached with stooping and was like to break, he stretched one arm over the Burgberg and laid hold of Lobach, Negenborn and Holenberg to support himself.

We are often told of *two giant comrades* or neighbours, living on adjacent heights, or on two sides of a river, and holding converse. In Ostergötland, near Tumbo in Ydre-härad, there was a jätte named *Tumme*; when he wished to speak to his chum *Oden* at Hersmåla two or three miles off, he went up a neighbouring hill Högatoft, from which you can see all over Ydre (Widegren's Ostergötland 2, 397). The first of the two names is apparently the ON. þumbi (stultus, inconcinnus, conf. p. 528), but the other is that of the highest god, and was, I suppose, introduced in later legend by way of disparagement. German folktales make such giants throw *stone hammers* and *axes* to each other (Deut. sag. no. 20), which reminds one of the thundergod's hammer. Two hūnes living, one on the Eberstein, the other on Homburg, had but one axe between them to split their wood with. When the Eberstein hüne was going to work, he shouted across to Homburg four miles off, and his friend immediately *threw the axe over*; and the contrary, when the axe happened to be on the Eberstein. The same thing is told in a tradition, likewise Westphalian, of the hūnes on the Hünenkeller and the Porta *throwing their one hatchet*.¹ The hūnes of the Brunsberg and Wiltberg, between Godelheim and Amelunxen, *played at bowls* together across the Weser (Deut. sag. no. 16). Good neighbours too were the giants on Weissenstein and Remberg in Upper Hesse; they had a *baking-oven* in common, that stood midway in the field, and when one was kneading his dough, he threw a stone over as a sign that wood was to be fetched from his neighbour's fort to heat the oven. Once they both happened to be throwing at the

¹ Redeker's Westfälische sagen, no. 36.

same time, the *stones met in the air*,¹ and fell where they now lie in the middle of the field above Michelbach, each with the marks of a big giant hand stamped on it. Another way of signalling was for the giant to *scratch his body*, which was done so loud that the other heard it distinctly. The three very ancient chapels by Sachsenheim, Oberwittighausen and Grünfeldhausen were built by giants, who fetched the great heavy stones *in their aprons*. When the first little church was finished, the giant flung his *hammer* through the air: wherever it alighted, the next building was to begin. It came to the ground five miles off, and there was erected the second church, on completing which the giant flung the hammer once more, and where it fell, at the same distance of five miles, he built the third chapel. In the one at Sachsenheim a huge rib of the builder is preserved (Mone's Anz. 8, 63). The following legends come from Westphalia: Above Nettelstädt-on-the-hill stands the Hünenbrink, where hünens lived of old, and kept on friendly terms with their fellows on the Stell (2½ miles farther). When the one set were baking, and the other wanted a *loaf* done at the same time, they *just pitched it over* (see Suppl.). A hüene living at Hilverdingsen on the south side of the Schwarze lake, and another living at Hille on the north side, used to *bake their bread* together. One morning the one at Hilverdingsen thought he heard his neighbour emptying his kneading-trough, all ready for baking; he sprang from his lair, snatched up his dough, and leapt over the lake. But it was no such thing, the noise he had heard was only his neighbour *scratching his leg*. At Altehüffen there lived hünens, who had but one knife at their service; this they kept stuck in the trunk of a tree that stood in the middle of the village, and whoever wanted it fetched it thence, and then put it back in its place. The spot is still shown where the tree stood. These hünens, who were also called *duttens*, were a people exceedingly scant of wit, and to them is due the proverb 'Altehüffen *dumme dutten*.' As the surrounding country came more and more under cultivation, the hünens felt no longer at ease among the new settlers, and they retired. It was then that the *duttens* of Altehüffen also made up their minds to emigrate; but what they wanted was to go and find the

¹ Like Hrúngni's hein and Thór's hammer, p. 533.

entrance into heaven. How they fared on the way was never known, but the joke is made upon them, that after a long march they came to a great calm, clear sheet of water, in which the bright sky was reflected; here they thought they could plunge into heaven, so they jumped in and were drowned.¹ From so remarkable a consensus² we cannot but draw the conclusion, that the giants held together *as a people*, and were settled in the *mountains* of a country, but that they gradually gave way to the human race, which may be regarded as a nation of invaders. Legend converts their stone weapons into the woodman's axe or the knife, their martial profession into the peaceable pursuit of baking bread. It was an ancient custom to stick swords or knives into a tree standing in the middle of the yard (Fornald. sög. 1, 120-1); a man's strength was proved by the depth to which he drove the hatchet into a stem, R.A. 97. The jumping into the blue lake savours of the fairy-tale, and comes before us in some other narratives (Kinderm. 1, 343. 3, 112).

But, what deserves some attention, Swedish folktales make the divine foe of giants, him that hurls thunderbolts and throws hammers, himself play with stones as with balls. Once, as Thor was going past Linneryd in Småland with his henchman (the Thiálf of the Edda), he came upon a giant to whom he was not known, and opened a conversation: 'Whither goes thy way?' 'I go to heaven to fight Thor, who has set my stable on fire.' 'Thou presumest too much; why, thou hast not even the strength to lift this little stone and set it on the great one.' The giant clutched the stone with all his might, but could not lift it off the ground, so much weight had Thor imparted to it. Thor's servant tried it next, and lifted it lightly as he would a glove. Then the giant knew it was the god, and fell upon him so lustily that he sank on his knees, but Thor swung his hammer and laid the enemy prostrate.

All over Germany there are so many of these stories about stones and hammers being hurled, and giant's fingers imprinted

¹ The last four tales from Redeker, nos. 37 to 40. *Dutten* means stulti, and is further intensified by the adj. In the Teutonist *doð*=gawk, conf. Riechthofen sub v. *dud*, and supra, p. 528 on *tumbo*. Similar tales on the Rhön mts., only with everything giant-like effaced, about the *tollen dittisser* (Bechstein pp. 81-91).

² I do not know that any tract in Germany is richer in giant-stories than Westphalia and Hesse. Conf. also Kuhn's *Märkische sagen*, nos. 22. 47. 107. 132. 141. 149. 158. 202. Temme's *Pommersche sagen*, nos. 175-184. 187.

on hard rock, that I can only select one here and there as samples of the style and spirit of the rest. Ruins of a castle near Homberg in Lower Hesse mark the abode of a giantess; five miles to one side of it, by the village of Gombet, lies a *stone* which she *hurled* all the way from Homberg at one throw, and you see the *fingers of her hand* imprinted on it. The *Scharfenstein* by Gudensberg was *thrown* there by a giant in his rage. On the Tyrifjordenstrand near Buru in Norway is a large *stone*, which one jutul fighting with another is said to have *flung obliquely across the bay*, and plain *marks of his fingers* remain on the stone (Faye, p. 15). Two or three miles from Dieren in the Meissen country there lie a *block of quartz* and one of *granite*; the former was thrown by the giant of Wantewitz at the giant of Zadel, the latter by the Zadel at the Wantewitzer; but they both missed, the stones having fallen wide of the mark.¹ So two combatants at Refnäs and Asnäs threw enormous stones at each other, one called *sortensteens*, the other *blak*, and the latter still shews the *fingers* of the thrower (Thiele 1, 47). A kind of slaty stone in Norway, says Hallager 53^a, is called *jyvrikling*, because the *jyvri* (giantess) is said to have smeared it over with butter, and you may see the *dint of her fingers* on it. Two giants at Nestved tried their hands at *hurling stones*; the one aimed his at Riislöv church, but did not reach it, the other threw with such force that the stone flew right over the Steinwald, and may still be seen on the high road from Nestved to Ringsted (Thiele 1, 80; conf. 176). In the wood near Palsgaard lies a huge stone, which a jette *flung* there because the lady of the manor at Palsgaard, whom he was courting, declined his proposals; others maintain that a jette maiden *slung it over* from Fünen *with her garter* (Thiele 3, 65-6; conf. 42).

When giants fight, and one pursues another, they will in their haste leap over a village, and *slit their great toe* against the church-spire, so that the blood spurts out in jets and forms a pool (Deut. sag. no. 325); which strikingly resembles Wäinä-möinen, rune 3. In leaping off a steep cliff, their foot or their horse's hoof leaves *tracks in the stone* (ibid. nos. 318-9). Also, when a giant *sits down to rest* on a stone, or *leans* against a rock,

¹ Preusker in Kruse's Deutsch. alterth. iii, 3, 37.

his figure prints itself on the hard surface,¹ e.g. Starcather's in Saxo Gram. 111.

It is not as *smiths*, like the cyclops, that giants are described in German legend, and the forging of arms is reserved for dwarfs. Once in our hero-legend the giant Aspriân *forges shoes* (Roth. 2029); also the giant Vade makes his son Velint learn *smith-work*, first with Mîmir, then with dwarfs.

As for *smiðr* in the ON. language, it does not mean *faber*, but *artificer* in general, and particularly *builder*; and to be accomplished builders is a main characteristic of giants, the authors of those colossal structures of antiquity (p. 534). On the nine giant-pillars near Miltenberg the common folk still see the handmarks of the giants who intended therewith to *build a bridge* over the Main (Deut. sag. no. 19).

The most notable instance occurs in the Edda itself. A iötunn had come to the âses, professing to be a *smiðr*, and had pledged himself to build them a strong castle within a year and a half, if they would let him have *Freyja* with the *sun and moon* into the bargain. The gods took counsel, and decided to accept his offer, if he would undertake to finish the building by himself without the aid of man, *in one winter*; if on the first day of summer anything in the castle was left undone, he should forfeit all his claims. How the 'smith,' with no help but that of his strong horse *Svaðilfari*, had nearly accomplished the task, but was hindered by Loki and slain by Thôrr, is related in Sn. 46-7.

Well, this myth, obeying that wondrous law of fluctuation so often observed in genuine popular traditions, lives on, under new forms, in other times and places. A German fairy tale puts the *devil* in the place of the *giant* (as, in a vast number of tales, it is the devil now that executes buildings, hurls rocks, and so on, precisely as the giant did before him): the devil is to build a house for a peasant, and get *his soul* in exchange; but he must *have done before the cock crows*, else the peasant is free, and the devil has lost his pains. The work is very near completion, one tile alone is wanting to the roof, when the peasant imitates the

¹ Herod. 4, 82: Ἰχνος Ἡρακλέος φαίνοσσι ἐν πέτρῃ ἐνεόν, τὸ οἴκε μὲν βήματι ἀνδρὸς, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγθος δίπηχυ, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμὸν, in Scythia. (Footprint of Herakles in stone, like a man's, but two cubits long.)

crowing of a cock, and immediately all the cocks in the neighbourhood begin to crow, and the enemy of man loses his wager. There is more of the antique in a Norrland saga: ¹ King Olaf of Norway walked 'twixt hill and dale, buried in thought; he had it in his heart to build a church, the like of which was nowhere to be seen, but the cost of it would grievously impoverish his kingdom. In this perplexity he met a man of strange appearance, who asked him why he was so pensive. Olaf declared to him his purpose, and the *giant* (troll) offered to complete the building by his single self within a certain time; for wages he demanded the *sun and moon*, or *St. Olaf himself*. To this the king agreed, but projected such a plan for the church, as he thought impossible of execution: it was to be so large, that seven priests could preach in it at once without disturbing each other; pillar and ornament, within and without, must be wrought of hard flint, and so on. Ere long such a structure stood completed, all but the roof and spire. Perplexed anew at the stipulated terms, Olaf wandered over hill and dale; suddenly inside a mountain he heard a child cry, and a giant-woman (jätteqvinna) hush it with these words: 'tyst, tyst (hush)! ² to-morrow comes thy father *Wind-and-Weather* home, bringing both sun and moon, or saintly Olaf's self.' Overjoyed at this discovery, ³ for to name an evil spirit brings his power to nought, Olaf turned home: all was finished, the spire was just fixed on, when Olaf cried: '*Vind och Veder!* du har satt spiran sneder (hast set the spire askew).' Instantly the giant, with a fearful crash, fell off the ridge of the church's roof, and burst into a thousand pieces, which were nothing but flintstones. According to different accounts, the jätte was named *Blüster*, and Olaf cried: 'Blüster, sätt spiran väster (set the spire west-er)!' or he was called *Slätt*, and the rhyme ran: 'Slätt, sätt spiran rätt (straight)!' They have the same story in Norway itself, but the giant's name is *Skalle*, and he reared the magnificent church at Nidarös. In Schonen the giant is *Finn*, who built the church at Lund, and was turned into

¹ Extracted, from Zetterström's collection, in the third no. of the *Iduna*, 2 ed. Stockh. 1816, pp. 60-1. Now included, with others like it, in Afzelius's *Sagohäfter* 3, 83-86.

² Conf. the interj. 'ziss, ziss!' in H. Sachs iv. 3, 3^b.

³ Almost in the same way, and with similar result, the name of Rumpelstilz is discovered in *Kinderm.* 55; conf. 3, 98, and supra p. 505 n.

stone by St. Lawrence (Finu Magnusen's Lex. myth. 351-2; and see Suppl.).

It is on another side that the following tale from Courland touches the story in the Edda. In Kintegesinde of the Dzervens are some old wall-stones extending a considerable length and breadth, and the people say: Before the plague (i.e. time out of mind) there lived in the district of Hasenpot a *strong man* (giant) of the name of Kinte. He could hew out and polish huge masses of stone, and carted even the largest blocks together with his one *white mare*. His dwelling-house he built on rocks, his fields he fenced with stone ramparts. Once he had a quarrel with a merchant of Libau; to punish him, he put his *white mare* to draw a stone equal to twelve cartloads all the way to Libau, intending to drop it at the merchant's door. When he reached the town, they would not let him cross the bridge, fearing it would break under the load, and insisted on his removing the stone outside the liberties. The strong man, deeply mortified, did so, and dropt the stone on the road that goes to Grobin by Battenhof. There it lies to this day, and the Lettons, as they pass, point to it in astonishment.¹ Kinte's white mare may stand for the Scandinavian smith's Svaðilfari; the defeat of the giant's building designs is effected in a different way.

King Olaf brooked many other adventures with giants and giantesses. As he sailed past the high hills on the Horns-herred coast, in which a giantess lived, she called out to him:

S. Olaf med dit röde skiäg,
du seilar for när ved min kjelderväg!

(St. Olaf with thy red beard, thou sailest too near my cellar wall).
Olaf was angry, and instead of steering his vessel between the cliffs, he turned her head on to the hill, and answered:

hör du kjerling med rok og med teen,
her skal du sidde og blive en steen!

(hear, thou carlin with distaff and spool, here shalt thou sit and become a stone). He had scarce finished speaking, when the hill split open, the giantess was *changed into a stone*, and you still see her sitting *with spindle and distaff* on the eastern cliff; a

¹ Communic. by Watson in Jahresverhandl. der kurl. gesellsch. 2, 311-2.

sacred spring issued from the opposite cliff.¹ According to a Swedish account, Olaf wished to sail through Värmland and by L. Väner to Nerike, when the troll shouted to him :

kong Olaf med dit pipuga skägg (peaky beard),
du seglar för när min badstuguvägg (bathroom wall) !

Olaf replied :

du troll med din råk och ten
skal bli i sten
och aldrig mer göra skeppare men !

(shalt turn to stone, and never more make skipper moan). The giantess *turned into stone*, and the king erected a cross at Dalky church in Elfdals herred.² The Danish rhyme is also quoted as follows :

hör du Oluf rodeskjäg,
hvi seiler du igjennem vor stueväg (through our chamber wall) ?

And :

stat du der og bliv til steen,
og (gör) ingen dannemand (no Dane) mere til meen !³

In Norway itself the legend runs thus : The Hornelen Mountains in Bremanger were once connected with Maröe, but are now divided from it by a sound. St. Olaf sailed up to them, and commanded the cliffs to part and let him pass through. They did so, but instantly a giantess leapt out of the mountain and cried :

sig (see), du mand med det hvide skäg (white beard),
hvi splitter du saa min klippeväg ?

Olaf :

stat (stand) trold nu evig der i steen,
saa gjør du ei nogen mand (not any man) meer meen.

His word came to pass, and the stone figure stands yet on the cliff (Faye 124). Olaf's *red beard* (like those of our hero-kings Otto and Friedrich) reminds us of Thôrr the foe of giants (p. 177) ; 'pipuga skägg' is apparently the same as the *pipskägg*, wedge-

¹ Danske viser 2, 12-3. Thiele 1, 32; conf. Faye, 118-9.

² Fernow's Värmland, p. 223.

³ Nyerup's Karakteristik af Christian 4, p. 17.

like or peaked beard, quoted by Ihre; but the Norwegian rhyme has *white beard* (the *barbe fleurie* of Charlemagne). Such divergences, and the changes rung on 'cellar wall, bathroom wall, cliff wall,' vouch for the popular character of the tradition (see Suppl.). It will surprise no one, if I produce a still older type of the whole story from the Edda itself. When Brynhildr in her decorated car was faring the 'hel-veg,' she went past the dwelling of a *gýgr*; the giantess accosts her with the words (Sæm. 228^a):

skaltu í gögnom gânga eigi
griôti studda garða mâna!

(shalt not go through my stone-built house). This brings on a dialogue, which is closed by Brynhildr with the exclamation: 'seykstu gýgjarkyn!' (conf. p. 497n.). The giantess's house is of stones skilfully put together, and the later rhymes speak of cellar and bathroom: she herself is quite the housewife with *distaff and spindle*. The sacred rights of domesticity are infringed, when strangers burst their way through. There are other instances in which the giantess, like the elfin, is described with spindle and distaff: 'tolv troldqvinder (12 trold-women) de stode for hannem med *rok og ten*' (Danske viser 1, 94).¹

Close to the Romsdalshorn in Norway is a mountain called Troldtinder, whose jutting crags are due to giants whom Olaf converted into stones, because they tried to prevent his preaching christianity in Romsdal.²

It would appear, from Sæm. 145^b, that giants, like dwarfs, have reason to dread the daylight, and if surprised by the break of day, they *turn into stone*: 'dagr er nû,' cries Atli to Hrîngerðr, 'hafnar mark þyckir hlægeliggt vera, þars þu í steins líki stendr.'

Grotesque humanlike shapes assumed by stalactite, flint and flakestone on the small scale, and by basalt and granite rocks on the great, have largely engendered and fed these fancies about

¹ The Celtic fay carries huge stones on her spindle, and spins on as she walks, Keightley 2, 286. Conf. supra, p. 413.

² Faye 124, who follows Schöning's Reise 2, 128. Sanct Olafs saga på svenske rim, ed. Hadorph. p. 37: 'ell troll, som draap X män, han giordit i stena, och stander än; flere troll han och bortdref, sidan folkit i frijd blef.' Certain round pot-shaped holes found in the mountains, the Norwegian people believe to be the work of giants. They call them *jättegryter, troldgryter*, yet also *S. Oles gryter* (Hallager 53^b).

petrified giants. Then the myth about stone-circles accounts for their form by dances of giants ;¹ many rocks have stories attached to them of wedding-folk and dancing guests being turned into stone (see Suppl.). The old and truly popular terminology of mountains everywhere uses the names of different parts of the body ; to mountains are given a head, brow, neck, back, shoulder, knee, foot, etc. (RA. 541).

And here we come across numerous approximations and overlappings between the giant-legend and those of dwarfs, schrats and watersprites, as the comprehensive name *troll* in Scandinavian tradition would of itself indicate. Dwarfs of the mountains are, like giants, liable to transformation into stone, as indeed they have sprung out of stone (p. 532-3). Rosmer havmand (merman) *springs* or *flics*, as the graphic phrase is, *into stone*.²

Then on the other side, the notion of the giant gets a good deal mixed up with that of the hero, usually his opposite. *Strong Jack* in our nursery-ales assumes quite the character of a giant ; and even *Siegfried*, pure hero as he is in the Mid. Age poems, yet partakes of giant nature when acting as a smith, like *Wielant*, who is of giant extraction. Moreover, both *Siegfried* slightly, and *Strong Jack* more distinctly, acquire a tinge of that Eulenspiegel or Rübzahl humour (p. 486) which is so amusing in the Finnish stories of *Kalewa*, *Hisi*, and especially *Soini* (conf. *Kalewala*, rune 19). This *Soini* or *Kullervo* bears the nickname of *Kalki* (schalk, rogue) ; when an infant three days old, he tore up his baby-linen ; sold to a Carelian smith, and set to mind the baby, he dug its eyes out, killed it, and burnt the cradle. Then, when his master ordered him to fence the fields in, he took whole fir-trees and pines, and wattled them with snakes ; after that, he

¹ Stonehenge, AS. Stånhenge (-hanging), near Salisbury, in Welsh Choïrgaur, Lat. *chora gigantum* : acc. to Giraldus Camb. cap. 18, a cairn brought by giants from Africa to Spain (Palgrave's Hist. of AS., p. 50) ; conf. Diefenbach's *Celtica* ii. 101. In Trist. 5887, Gurmun is said to be 'born of Africa.'

² Danske viser 1, 223 : 'han sprang saa vildt i bjerget om, og blev til flintesten sorte.' 1, 228 : 'han blev til en kampesteen graa.' 1, 233 : 'saa fløj han bort i røden flint, og blev saa borte med alle.' 1, 185 of a cruel stepmother : 'hun sprang bort i flintesteen.' But H. Sachs too has, iii. 3, 31^a. 426, 'vor zorn zu einem stein springen ;' ib. 53^b, 'vor sorg zu ein stein springen ;' iv. 3, 97^a, 'vor leid wol zu ein stein möcht springen.' Overpowering emotions make the life stand still, and curdle it into cold stone. Conf. Chap. XXXII. on the heroes entrapped in mountains, and Suppl.

had to pasture the flock, but the goodwife having baked a stone in his bread, Soini was in such a rage that he called bears and wolves to aid him, who tore the woman's legs and worried the flock. The Esthonians also tell of a giant's son (Kallewepoeg), who furrowed up grassy lands with a wooden plough, and not a blade has grown on them since (see Suppl.). This trickiness of the Finnish giants is a contrast to the rough but honest ways of the German and Scandinavian.

Above all, there is no clear line to be drawn between giants and the wild hairy *woodsprites* dealt with in pp. 478-486. In the woods of the Bingenheim Mark are seen the stone seats of the *wild folk* (conf. p. 432) who once lived there, and the print of their hands on the stones (Deut. sag. no. 166). In the vale of Gastein, says Muchar, p. 137, *wild men* have lived within the memory of man, but the breed has died out since; one of them declared he had seen the forest of Sallesen near Mt. Stubnerkogel get 'mair' (die out and revive again) nine times: he could mind when the Bocksteinkogl was no bigger than a kranawetvogl (crossbill?), or the mighty Schareck than a twopenny roll. Their strength was gigantic: to *hurl a ploughshare the whole breadth of the valley* was an easy throw for them. One of these 'men' leant his staff against the head farmer's house, and the whole house shook. Their dwelling was an inaccessible cavern on the left bank of the Ache, at the entrance to the Klamm; outside the cave stood some appletrees, and with the *apples* they would *pelt* the passers-by in fun; remains of their household stuff are still to be seen. To the inhabitants of the valley they were rather friendly than otherwise, and often put a quantity of butter and milk before their house-doors. This last feature is more of a piece with the habits of dwarfs and elves than of giants.

Just as the elves found the spread of agriculture and the clearing of their forests an abomination, which compelled them to move out; so the giants regard the woods as their own property, in which they are by no means disposed to let men do as they please. A peasant's son had no sooner begun to cut down a bushy pinetree, than a great stout troid made his appearance with the threat: 'dare to cut in my wood, and I'll strike thee dead' (Asbiörn'sen's Mœe, no. 6); the Danish folk-song of Eline af Villenskov is founded on this, D.V. 1, 175. And no less do

giants (like dwarfs, p. 459) hate the ringing of bells, as in the Swedish tale of the old giant in the mountain (Afzelius 3, 88); therefore they sling rocks at the belfries. Gargantua also carries off bells from churches.

In many of the tales that have come before us, *giant* and *devil* are convertible terms, especially where the former has laid aside his clumsiness. The same with a number of other resemblances between the two. The devil is described as many-headed like the giant, also, it is true, like the dragon and the hellhound. Wherever the devil's hand clutches or his foot treads, indelible traces imprint themselves even on the hardest stone. The titans chased from Olympus resemble the angels thrust out of heaven and changed into devils. The abode of the giants, like that of heathens and devils in general (p. 34), is supposed to be *in the north*: when Freyr looks from heaven toward Iötunheim (Sæm. 81) and spies the fair giantess, this is expressed in Suorri 39 by 'Freyr leit í norðrætt.' In the Danish folk-song of the stolen hammer, Thôrr appears as *Tord* (thunder) af Hafsgaard (sea-burgh), while the giant from whom Loke is to get the hammer back dwells in *Nordenfjeld*; the Swedish folk-song says more vaguely 'trolltrams gård.'¹

But what runs into gianthood altogether is the nature of the *man-eating* huorco or ogre (p. 486). Like him the stone-hurling cyclops in the *Odyssey* hanker after human flesh; and again a Tartar giant *Depêghöz* (eye on top of head)² stands midway between *Polyphemus*, who combs with a harrow and shaves with a scythe (Ov. *Metam.* 13, 764), and *Gargantua*. As an infant he sucks all the nurses dry, that offer him the breast; when grown up, the Oghuzes have to supply him daily with 2 men and 500 sheep. Bissat, the hero, burns out his eye with a red-hot knife; the blinded giant sits outside the door, and feels with his hands each goat as it passes out. An arrow aimed at his breast would not penetrate, he cried 'what's this fly here teasing me?' The Laplanders tell of a giant *Stalo*, who was one-eyed, and went about in a garment of iron. He was feared as a man-eater, and

¹ To wish a man '*nordan till fjälls*' (Arvidsson 2, 163) is to wish him in a disagreeable quarter (Germ. 'in pepperland,' at Jericho).

² Diez: The newly discovered Oghuzian cyclop compared with the Homeric. Halle & Berlin 1815.

received the by-name of *yityatya* (Nilsson 4, 32). The Indian *Mahâbhârata* also represents *Hidimbas* the *râkshasa* (giant)¹ as a man-eater, misshapen and red-bearded: man's flesh he *smells from afar*,² and orders *Hidimba* his sister to fetch it him; but she, like the monster's wife or daughter in the nursery-tales, pities and befriends the slumbering hero (see Suppl.).

Our own giant-stories know nothing of this grim thirst for blood, even the Norse *iötunn* is nowhere depicted as a cannibal, like the Greek and Oriental giants; our giants are a great deal more genial, and come nearer to man's constitution in their shape and their way of thinking: their savagery spends itself mainly in hurling huge stones, removing mountains and rearing colossal buildings.

Saxo Gram. pp. 10. 11 invests the giantess *Harthgrepa* with the power to *make herself small or large* at pleasure. This is a gift which fairy-tales bestow on the ogre or the devil, and folk-tales on the *haulemutter* (Harrys 2, 10; and Suppl.).

It is in living legend (folktale) that the peculiar properties of our native giants have been most faithfully preserved; the poets make their giants far less interesting, they paint them, especially in subjects borrowed from Romance poetry, with only the features common to all giants. *Harpîn*, a giant in the *Iwein*, demands a knight's daughter, hangs his sons, and lays waste the land (4464. 4500):³ when slain, he falls to the ground like a tree (5074).⁴ Still more vapid are the two giants introduced at 6588 seq. Even in the *Tristan*, the description of giant *Urgân* (15923) is not much more vivid: he levies blackmail on oxen and sheep, and when his hand is hewn off, he wants to heal

¹ *Tevetat's* second birth (Reinhart celxxx.) is a *râkshasi*, giantess, not a beast.

² 'Mightily works man's smell, and amazingly quickens my nostrils,' *Arjuna's Journey*, by Bopp, p. 18. The same in our fairy-tales (supra, p. 486). Epithets of these Indian *dæmons* indicate that they *walk about by night* (Bopp's gloss. 91. 97).

³ One giant is 'hagel al der lande,' hail-storm to all lands, *Bit.* 6482.

⁴ N.B., his bones are treasured up *outside the castle-gate* (5881), as in *Fischart's Garg.* 41: 'they tell of riesen and haunen, shew their bones in churches, under town halls.' So there hangs in a church the *skeleton* of the giantess struck by lightning (p. 531 n.), the heathen maiden's *dripping rib* (*Deut. sag.* 140), and her *yellow locks* (*ibid.* 317); in the castle is kept the *giant's bone* (*ibid.* 324). At *Alpirsbach* in the Black Forest a giant's skeleton hangs outside the gate, and in *Our Lady's church* at *Arnstadt* the '*riesenribbe*,' *Bechst.* 3, 129; conf. *Jerichow* and *Werben* in *Ad. Kuhn*, no. 56. The horns of a giant ox nailed up in the porch of a temple (*Niebuhr's Rom. Hist.* 1, 407).

it on again (16114).¹ The giants shew more colour as we come to poems in the cycle of our hero-legend. Kuperân in the Hürn. Sîfrit (Cüpriân of the Heldens. 171) rules over 1000 giants, and holds in durance the captive daughter of a king. The Rother brings before us, all alive, the giants Aspriân, Grimme, Widolt, the last straining like a lion at his leash, till he is let loose for the fight (744. 2744. 4079); in the steel bar that two men could not lift he buries his teeth till fire starts out of it (650. 4653-74), and he smites with it like a thunderbolt (2734); the noise of his moving makes the earth to quake (5051), his hanberk rings when he leaps over bushes (4201); he pitches one man over the heads of four, so that his feet do not touch the ground (1718), smashes a lion against the wall (1144-53), rubs fire out of mill-stones (1040), wades in mould (646. 678) up to the knee (935), a feature preserved in Vilks. saga, cap. 60, and also Oriental (Hammer's Rosenöl I, 36). Aspriân sets his foot on the mouth of the wounded (4275). And some good giant traits come out in Sigenôt: when he breathes in his sleep, the boughs bend (60),² he plucks up trees in the fir-wood (73-4), prepares lint-plugs (schübel) of a pound weight to stuff into his wounds (113), *takes the hero under his armpit* and carries him off (110. 158. Hag. 9, Lassb.). A giantess in the Wolfdiet. *picks up horse and hero*, and, bounding like a squirrel, takes them 350 miles over the mountains to her giant cell; another in the folk-song (Aw. 1, 161) carries *man and horse* up a mountain five miles high, where are two ready boiled and one on the spit (a vestige of androphagi after all); she offers her daughter to the hero, and when he escapes, she beats her with a club, so that all the flowers and leaves in the wood quiver. Giant Welle's sister Rütze in the Heldenbuch takes for her staff a *whole tree*, root and branch, that two waggons could not have carried; another woman 'of wild kin' walks over all the trees, and requires two bullocks' hides for a pair of shoes, Wolfd. 1513. Giant Langbein (Danske viser 1, 26) is asleep in the wood, when the heroes wake him up (see Suppl.).

A good many giant-stories not yet discovered and collected

¹ The Romance giants are often porters and bridge-keepers, conf. the dorper in Fergût (supra, p. 535); yet also in Nib. 457, 4. 458, 1: 'rise portenære.'

² The same token of gianthood is in Vilks. saga, cap. 176, and in a Servian lay.

must still be living in the popular traditions of Norway and Sweden,¹ and even we in Germany may gather something from oral narration, though not much from books. The monk of St. Gall (Pertz 2, 756) has an Eishere (*i.e.* Egisheri, *terribilis*) of Thurgau, but he is a giant-like hero, not a giant.²

Of sacrifices offered to giants (as well as to friendly elves and home-sprites), of a worship of giants, there is hardly a trace. Yet in Kormakssaga 242 I find *blótrisi*, giant to whom one sacrifices; and the buttered stone (p. 546) may have been smeared for the giantess, not by her, for it was the custom of antiquity to anoint sacred stones and images with oil or fat, *conf.* p. 63. As to the 'gude lubbe' whose worship is recorded by Bp. Gebhard (p. 526), his gianthood is not yet satisfactorily made out. Fasolt, the giant of storm, was invoked in exorcisms; but here we may regard him as a demigod, like Thorgerðr and Irpa, who were adored in Scandinavia (see Suppl.).

The connexion pointed out between several of the words for giant and the names of ancient nations is similar to the agreement of certain heroic names with historic characters. Mythic traits get mysteriously intergrown with historic, and as Dietrich and Charles do duty for a former god or hero, Hungarians and Avars are made to stand for the old notion of giants. Only we must not carry this too far, but give its due weight to the fact that *iötunn* and *þurs*³ have in themselves an intelligible meaning.

¹ Hülphers 3, 47 speaks of 'löjlige berättelse om *fordna jättar*,' without going into them.

² It is quite another thing, when in the debased folktale Siegfried the hero degenerates into a giant (Whs. heldensage, pp. 301-16), as divine Oden himself (p. 155) and Thórr are degraded into *düvels* and *dolts*. A still later view (Altd. bl. 1, 122) regards *riese* and *recke* (hero) as all one.

³ Schafarik (Slov. star. 1, 258) sees nothing in them but Geta and Thyrsus; at that rate the national name *Thussagetæ* must include both.

CHAPTER XIX.

CREATION.

Now that we have treated of gods, heroes, elves, and giants, we are at length prepared to go into the views of ancient times on cosmogony. And here I am the more entitled to take the Norse ideas for a groundwork, as indications are not wanting of their having equally prevailed among the other Teutonic races.

Before the creation of heaven and earth, there was an immense chasm called *gap* (hiatus, gaping), or by way of emphasis *gap ginnunga* (chasm of chasms), corresponding in sense to the Greek *χάος*.¹ For, as *χάος* means both abyss and darkness, so *ginnunga-gap* seems also to denote the world of mist, out of whose bosom all things rose. How the covering and concealing 'hel' was likewise conceived of as 'nifl-hel' with yawning gaping jaws, has been shewn above, pp. 312-314.

Yet this void of space had two extremities opposed to one another, *muspell* (fire) the southern, and *nifl* (fog) the northern; from Muspellsheim proceed light and warmth, from Niflheim darkness and deadly cold. In the middle was a fountain *Hvergelmir*, out of which flowed twelve rivers named *elivágar*. When they got so far from their source, that the drop of fire contained

¹ *Xáos*, from *χαίρω*=OHG. *gīnan*, ON. *gīna*=Lat. *hiare*; conf. OHG. *ginunga*, hiatus. But we need not therefore read 'gap ginnunga,' for the ON. *ginna*, which has now only the sense of *allicere*, must formerly have had that of *findere*, *secare*, which is still found in OHG. *inginnan*, MHG. *enginnen* (see above, p. 403, Ganna): Otfried iii. 7, 27 says of the barleycorn, 'thoh findu ih melo thâr inne, inthiu ih es *biginne* (if I split it open); *inkinnan* (aperire), Graff 4, 209; *ingunnen* (sectus), N. Ar. 95. So in MHG., 'sîn herze wart ime engunnen' (fissum), Fundgr. 2, 268; *enginnen* (secare), En. 2792. 5722; *engunnen* (secuerunt), En. 1178. Nearly related is *ingeinan* (fissiculare), N. Cap. 136. From a literal 'splitting open' must have arisen the more abstract sense of 'beginning,' Goth. *duginnan*, AS. *onginnan*, OHG. *inkinnan*, *pikinnan*. Then *gīna hiare*, *gin hiatus*, further suggest *gin* (amplus), and *ginregin* (p. 320). Singularly Festus, in discussing *inchoare*, comes upon chaos, just as 'begin' has led us to *gīnan*. *Cohus*, from which some derive *inchoare*=*inchoare*, is no other than *chaos*. Fest. sub v. *cohum*. [Nearly all the above meanings appear in derivatives of the Mongol. root *khag*, *khog* to crack, etc., including *khoghôson* empty, chaos]. 'Beside *gīnan*, the OHG. has a *chinan* *hiscere* (Graff 4, 450), Goth. *keinan*, AS. *cine* (rima, chine, chink). The AS. has also a separate word *dwolma* for hiatus, chaos.—Extr. from ST PPL.

in them hardened, like the sparks that fly out of flame, they turned into rigid ice. Touched by the mild air (of the south), the ice began to thaw and trickle: by the power of him who sent the heat, the drops quickened into life, and a man grew out of them, *Ymir*, called *Örgelmir* by the *Hrímþurses*, a giant and evil of nature.

Ymir went to sleep, and fell into a sweat, then under his left hand grew man and wife, and one of his feet engendered with the other a six-headed son; hence are sprung the families of giants.

But the ice dripped on, and a cow arose, *Auðumbla*, from whose udder flowed four streams of milk, conveying nourishment to Ymir. Then the cow licked the salty ice-rocks, and on the evening of the first day a man's hand came forth, the second day the man's head, the third day the whole man; he was beautiful, large, strong, his name was *Buri*, and his son's name *Börr* (p. 349).¹ Börr took to him *Bestla*, the giant *Bölþorn's* daughter, and begat three sons, *Oðinn*, *Vili*, *Ve* (p. 162), and by them was the giant Ymir slain. As he sank to the ground, such a quantity of blood ran out of his wounds, that all the giants were drowned in it, save one, *Bergelmir*,² who with his wife escaped in a *lúðr* (*Sæm.* 35^b, *Sn.* 8), and from them is descended the (younger) race of giants (see *Suppl.*).³

The sons of Börr dragged the dead Ymir's body into the middle of *ginnunga-gap*, and created out of his *blood* the sea and water, of his *flesh* the earth, of his *bones* the mountains, of his *teeth* and *broken bones* the rocks and crags. Then they took his *skull* and made of it the sky, and the sparks from *Muspellsheim* that floated about free they fixed in the sky, so as to give light to all. The earth was round, and encircled by deep sea,⁴ on

¹ In the Zend system, the first man proceeds from the haunch of the primeval bull *Kayomer*.

² Ymir, *i.e.*, *Örgelmir*, begot *Thrudgelmir*, and he *Bergelmir*.

³ The meaning of *lúðr* has not been ascertained; elsewhere it stands for culeus, tuba, here it is supposed to be a mill-chest. The OHG. *ludara* f. means a cradle (*Graff* 2, 201) as well as pannus, involucrem (swaddling-band), and this would fit remarkably well, as some accounts of the Deluge do make the rescued child float in its cradle. True, Snorri speaks not of a child, but of a grown-up giant, who sits in the *lúðr* with his wife; this may be a later version. [*Slav. lút* is shallow basket, trough, tray.]

⁴ Snorri at all events conceived the earth to be round, he says p. 9: 'hon er kringlótt utan, ok þar utan um liggr hinn diupi siár.' So in the *Lucidarius*: 'disc

whose shore the giants were to dwell; but to guard the inland parts of the earth against them, there was built of Ymir's *brows* a castle, *Miðgarð*. The giant's *brain* was thrown into the air, and formed the clouds, Sn. 8, 9.

Sæmund's account 45^b (conf. 33^b) differs in some points:

or Ymir's *holdi* var iörð um scöput,
enn or *sveita* sær,
biörg or *beinom*, baðmr or *hári*,
enn or *hausi* himinn,
enn or hans *brám* gerðo blîð regin
miðgarð manna sonom,
enn or hans *heila* voro þau in harðmôðgo
ský öll um scöput.

Here the teeth are not made use of, but we have instead the formation of trees out of the giant's *hair*.

When all this was done, the sons of Börr went to the seashore, and found *two trees*, out of which they created two human beings, *Askr* and *Embla*. To these Oðinn gave soul and life, Vili wit and feeling (sense of touch), Ve countenance (colour?), speech, hearing and sight, Sn. 10. More exactly in Sæm. 3^b:

unz þrîr komo or þvî liði
öflgir ok âstgir æsir at sûsi (uproar).
fundo â landi litt megandi
Ask ok *Emblo* örlöglausa:
önd (spirit) þau ne âtto, ôð (mind) þau ne höfðo,
lâ (blood) ne læti, ne lito (colours) gôða.
önd gaf Oðinn, ôð gaf Hœnir,
lâ gaf Loðr ok litu gôða.

In this account the three âses are named Oðinn, Hœnir, Loðr (p. 241) instead of Oðinn, Vili, Ve (p. 162); they come to the roaring (of the sea, ad aestum, *παρὰ θίνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης*), and find *Askr* and *Embla* powerless and inert. Then

welt ist sinwel (spherical), und umbeflozen mit dem wendelmer, darin swebt die erde als daz *tutter* in dem *wizen* des *eiies* ist,' conf. Berthold p. 287, and Wackern. Basel MSS. p. 20. The creation of heaven and earth *out of the parts of an egg* is poetically painted in Kalewala, rune 1 (see Suppl.).—'Indian legend has likewise a creation out of the egg, heaven and earth being eggshells, Somadeva 1, 10. Conf. the birth of Helen and the Dioscuri out of an egg.'—Extr. from SUPPL.

Oðinn endowed them with spirit, Hœnir with reason, Loðr with blood and complexion (see Suppl.).

The creation of *dwarfs* is related in two passages which do not altogether agree. Sn. 15 tells us, when the gods sat in their chairs judging, they remembered that in the dust and the earth dwarfs had come alive, as maggots do in meat (see Suppl.). They were created and received life first of all in *Ymir's flesh*. By the decree of the gods these maggots now obtained understanding and human shape, but continued to live in the earth and in stones. Sæm. 2 says on the contrary, that the holy gods in their chairs consulted, who should make the nation of dwarfs out of *Brîmir's flesh* and his black *bones*; then sprang up *Mótsognir*, prince of all dwarfs, and after him *Durinn*, and they two formed a multitude of manlike dwarfs out of the earth.

Taking all these accounts together, it is obvious in the first place, that only the men and dwarfs are regarded as being really *created*, while the giants and gods come, as it were, of themselves out of chaos. To the production of men and dwarfs there went a formative agency on the part of gods; giants and gods, without any such agency, made their appearance under the mere action of natural heat and the licking of a cow. Giants and gods spring out of a combination of fire with water, yet so that the element converted into ice must recover its fluidity before it becomes capable of production. The giant and the cow drip out of the frost, Buri slowly extricates himself in three days from the thawing mass of ice. This *dripping* origin reminds us of some other features in antiquity; thus, Oðinn had a gold ring Draupnir (the dripper), from which every ninth night there dripped eight other rings of equal weight (Sæm. 84^a. Sn. 66). Sæm. 195^b speaks, not very lucidly, of a hausi Heiðdraupnis (cranio stillantis); Styrian legend commemorates a giant's rib from which a drop falls once a year (D.S. no. 140).¹ And Eve may be said to drip out of Adam's rib. With the giant's birth out of ice and rime we may connect the story of the snow-child (in the *Modus Liebinc*), and the influence, so common in our fairy-tales, of snow and blood on the birth of a long wished for child. All this seems allied to heathen notions of creation, conf.

¹ No doubt the familiar name Ribbentrop is founded on some such tradition.

Chap. XXX. Also I must call attention to the terms *eitrdropi* Sæm. 35^a, *eitrqvikja* Sn. 5, *qvikudropi* Sn. 6: it is the vivifying fiery drop, and we do bestow on fire the epithet 'living.' Eitr is our eiter, OHG. eitar, AS. âtor, coming from OHG. eit, AS. âd ignis; and its derivative sense of venenum (poison, φάρμακον) seems inapplicable to the above compounds.

It tallies with the views expressed at p. 316 on the gods having a beginning and an end, that in this system of creation too they are not described as existing from the first: the god appears in *ginnûngagap* after a giant has preceded him. It is true, Snorri 6 makes use of a remarkable phrase: 'svâ at qviknaði með krapti þess er til sendi hitann,' the quickening is referred to the might of him that sent the heat, as if that were an older eternal God who already ruled in the chaos. The statement would have more weight, were it forthcoming in the *Völuspâ* or any of the Eddic songs themselves; as it is, it looks to me a mere shift of Snorri's own, to account for the presence and action of the heat, and so on a par with the formulas quoted in pp. 22-3-4.¹ Buri, who is thawed into existence out of ice, to set limits to the rude evil nature of the giant that was there before him, shews himself altogether an ancestor and prototype of the heroes, whose mission it was to exterminate the brood of giants. From him are descended all the âses, Oðinn himself being only a grandson.

Again, there is no mistaking the distinct methods by which giants, gods and men propagate their kind. Only one giant had sprung out of ice, he has to beget children of himself, an office performed by his hands and feet together, as in other ways also the hand and foot are regarded as akin and allied to one another.² Ymir's being asleep during the time is like Adam's sleep while Eve was fashioned out of his rib; Eve therefore takes her rise in Adam himself, after which they continue their race jointly. How Buri begat Börr we are not informed, but Börr united himself to a giant's daughter, who bore him three sons, and from them sprang the rest of the âses. It was otherwise with men,

¹ We might indeed imagine that regin and ginregin ruled before the arrival of the âses, and that this force of heat proceeded from them. But the Edda must first have distinctly said so.

² Conf. Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 156-7. Brahma too makes a man out of his own arm, Polier 1, 168.

who were not created singly, like the giant or the god, but two at once, man and wife, and then jointly propagate their species.

While the huge mass of the giant's body supplied the gods with materials, so that they could frame the whole world out of his different parts, and the dwarfs swarmed in the same giant's flesh as worms; mankind are descended from two trees on the seashore, which the gods endowed with breath and perfect life. They have therefore no immediate connexion with giants.

In the *âses* we see a superior and successful second product, in contrast with the first half-bungled giant affair. On the *giants* an undue proportion of inert matter had been expended; in the *âses* body and soul attained a perfect equilibrium, and together with infinite strength and beauty was evolved an informing and creative mind. To *men* belongs a less full, yet a fair, measure of both qualities, while *dwarfs*, as the end of creation, form the antithesis to giants, for mind in them outweighs the puny body. Our Heldenbuch on the contrary makes the dwarfs come into being first, the giants next, and men last of all.

As the *giants* originated in the ice of streams that poured out of the fountain *Hvergelmir*, we may fairly assume some connexion between it and the names *Örgelmir*, *Thrudgelmir*, *Bergelmir*. I derive *gelmir* from *gialla* (stridere), and connect it with the OHG. *galm* (stridor, sonitus). *Hvergelmir* will therefore mean a roaring cauldron; and the same notion of uproar and din is likely to be present in the giants' names, which would support the derivation of *Ymir* from *ymja*, p. 532. The reading *Örgemlr* would indeed accord with the notion of great age associated with the giant nature (p. 524), but would sever the link between giants and the cauldron of chaos.

Thus far the Scandinavian theory: now to prove its general diffusion.

Though the word *ginnûngagap* has no exact parallel in OHG. or AS., it may for all that be the thing described in the following verses of the Wessobrunn Prayer:

Dat gafregin ih mit firahim firiwizzo meista (wisest men),
 dat ero ni was noh ûflhimil (earth was not, nor sky),
 noh paum (tree) nohheinig noh pereg (mountain) ni was,
 noh sunnâ ni scein [noh sterno ni cleiz (glistened)],

no mâno (moon) ni liuhta noh der mareosêo (sea).

dô dêr niwiht ni was enteo ni wenteo,

enti dô was der eino almahtico Cot (Almighty God alone).

The last line may sound completely christian, and the preceding ones may have nothing directly opposed to christian doctrine; yet the juxtaposition of earth and heaven, tree and mountain, sun [and star], moon and sea, also the archaic forms ero (terra), úfhimil (cœlum), mareosêo (mare, Goth. marisáivs), which must be thrown into the scale,—all have a ring of the Edda:

Vara sandr ne sær, ne svalar unuir,
iörð fanz æva ne upphiminn,
gap var ginnúnga, enn gras hvergi.
sól þat ne vissi hvar hon sali átti,
stiörnor þat ne visso hvar þær staði átto,
mâni þat ne vissi hvat hann megins átti.

The words ‘niwiht ni was enteo ni wenteo’ give in roundabout phrase exactly the notion of ginnúngagap.¹

These hints of heathenism have gained additional force, now that OHG. and OS. songs are found to retain the technical term *muspilli* = ON. *muspell*; the close connexion between *nifl*, *Niflheim*, and the *Nibelungen* so intergrown with our epos (p. 372) does not in any case admit of doubt. Now if these two poles of the Scandinavian chaos entered into the belief of all Teutonic nations, the notion of creation as a whole must have been as widely spread. It has been shewn that the Old-German opinion about giants, gods, men and dwarfs closely agreed with the Norse; I am now able further to produce, though in inverted order, the same strange connexion described in the Edda between a giant’s body and the world’s creation.

Four documents, lying far apart in respect of time and place (and these may some day be reinforced by others) transmit to us a notable account of the creation of the first man. But, while the Edda uses up the giant’s gutted and dismembered frame to make a heaven and earth, here on the contrary the whole world is made use of to create man’s body.

¹ Conf. also Ofr. ii. 1, 3: ‘êr sê ioh *himil* wurti, ioh *erda* ouh só herti,’ and the description of chaos in Cædmon 7, 8, particularly the term *heolstersceado* 7, 11; though there is little or nothing opposed to Bible doctrine. Conf. Aristoph. Aves 693-4.

The oldest version is to be found in the *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis* (Lond. 1839), in which a scribe of the 10th century has interpolated the following passage, an AS. translation being interlined with the Latin :

Octo pondera, de quibus factus est Adam. pondus limi, inde factus (sic) est caro; pondus ignis, inde rubens est sanguis et calidus; pondus salis, inde sunt salsae lacrimae; pondus roris, unde factus est sudor; pondus floris, inde est varietas oculorum; pondus nubis, inde est instabilitas mentium; pondus venti, inde est anhela frigida; pondus¹ gratiae, inde est sensus hominis.

Æhte pundo, of þæm âworden is Adam. pund lâmes, of þon âworden is flæsc; pund fîres, of þon reád is blól and hát; pund saltes, of þon sindon salto tehero; pund þeáwes, of þon âworden is swát; pund blóstmes, of þon is fâgung êgena; pund wolnes, of þon is onstydfullnisse þohta; pund windes, of þon is oroð cald; pund¹ gefe, of þon is þoht monnes.

A similar addition is made to a MS. of the Code of Emsig (Richt-hofen, p. 211):—‘God scôp thene êresta meneska, thet was Adam, fon achta wendem. thet bēnete fon tha stēne, thet flâsk fon there erthe, thet blól fon tha wetere, tha herta fon tha winde, thene thocta fon tha wolken, thene suêt fon tha dawe, tha lokkar fon tha gerse, tha âgene fon there sunna, and tha blêrem on (blew into him) thene helga ôm (breath), and tha scôp he Eva fon sîne ribbe, Adames liana.’ The handwriting of this document is only of the 15th cent., but it may have been copied from an older MS. of the Emsig Code, the Code itself being of the 14th cent.

¹ This ‘pound of grace’ comes in so oddly, that I venture to guess an omission between the words, of perhaps a line, which described the 8th material. The two accounts that follow next, after naming eight *material* ingredients, bring in the holy breath or spirit as something additional, to which this gift of ‘grace’ would fairly correspond. Another AS. version, given in SUPPL., from the Saturn and Solomon (Thorpe’s Anal. p. 95, ed. Kemble p. 180), is worth comparing: here ‘foldan pund’ becomes ‘flæsc, fyres pund blól, windes p. æðung, wolnes p. môðes unstaðelfastnes, gyfe p. fat and gefang, blóstmena p. eâgena missenlicnist, deawes p. swát, sealtas p. tearas.’—Here ‘gyfe’ is right in the middle of the sentence: can it be, that both ‘gefe’ and ‘gyfe’ are a corruption of Geofon the sea god, gifen the sea (supra, p. 239), which in christian times had become inadmissible, perhaps unintelligible? It would be strange if water, except as dew, were made no use of; and the ‘sea supplying thought’ would agree with the French account, which ascribes wisdom to him that has an extra stock of sea in him.—TRANS.

The third passage is contained in a poem of the 12th cent. on the four Gospels (Diemer 320, 6–20; conf. the notes to 95, 18. 27, and 320, 6):

Got mit sîner gewalt
 der wrchet zeichen vil manecvalt,
 der worhte den mennischen einen
 ûzzen von *aht teilen* :
 von dem leime gab er ime daz *fleisch*,
 der tow becêchenit den *sweihe* (sweat),
 von dem steine gab er im daz *pein* (bone),
 des nist zwîvil nehein (is no doubt),
 von den wrœen (words) gab er ime di *âdren* (veins),
 von dem grasc gab er ime daz *hâr*,
 von dem mere gab er ime daz *plût* (blood),
 von den wolchen (clouds) daz *mût* (mood, mind),
 dû habet er ime begonnen
 der *ougen* (eyes) von der sunnen.
 Er verlêh ime sînen âtem (his own breath),
 daz wir ime den behilten (keep it for him)
 unte sînen gesîn (and be his)
 daz wir ime imer wuocherente sîn (ever bear fruit).

Lastly, I take a passage from Godfrey of Viterbo's Pantheon, which was finished in 1187 (Pistorii Scriptor. 2, 53):—'Cum legimus Adam de limo terrae formatum, intelligendum est ex quatuor elementis. mundus enim iste major ex quatuor elementis constat, igne, aere, aqua et terra. humanum quoque corpus dicitur microcosmus, id est minor mundus. habet namque ex terra *carnem*, ex aqua humores, ex aere flatum, ex igne calorem. caput autem ejus est rotundum sicut coelum, in quo duo sunt *oculi*, tanquam *duo luminaria* in coelo micant. venter ejus tanquam mare continet omnes liquores. pectus et pulmo emittit voces, et quasi coelestes resonat harmonias. pedes tanquam terra sustinent corpus universum. ex igni coelesti habet visum, e superiore aere habet auditum, ex inferiori habet olfactum, ex aqua gustum, ex terra habet tactum. in *duritie* participat cum lapidibus, in *ossibus* vigorem habet cum arboribus, in *capillis* et *unguibus* decorem habet cum graminibus et floribus. *sensus* habet cum brutis animalibus. ecce talis est hominis substantia corporea.'—

Godfrey, educated at Bamberg, and chaplain to German kings, must have heard in Germany the doctrine of the eight parts; he brings forward only a portion of it, such as he could reconcile with his other system of the four elements; he rather compares particular parts of the body with natural objects, than affirms that those were created out of these.

Not one of the four compositions has any direct connexion with another, as their peculiarities prove; but that they all rest on a common foundation follows at once from the 'octo pondera, achta wendem, aht teilen,' among which the alleged correspondences are distributed. They shew important discrepancies in the details, and a different order is followed in each. Only three items go right through the first three accounts, namely, that lime (loam, earth) was taken for the flesh, dew for the sweat, clouds for the mind. But then the MHG. and Frisian texts travel much further together; both of them make bone spring out of stone, hair (locks) from grass, eyes from the sun, blood from the sea (water), none of which appear in the AS. Peculiar to the MHG. poem is the derivation of the veins from herbs (würzen), and to the AS. writer that of the blood from fire, of tears from salt, of the various colours in the eye from flowers,¹ of cold breath from wind, and of sense from grace; which last, though placed beyond doubt by the annexed translation, seems an error notwithstanding, for it was purely out of material objects that creation took place; or can the meaning be, that man's will is first conditioned by the grace of God? Fitly enough, tears are likened to salt (*salsae lacrimae*); somewhat oddly the colours of the eye to flowers, though it is not uncommon to speak of an opening flower as an eye. The creation of hearts out of wind is found in the Frisian account alone, which is also the only one that adds, that into this mixture of eight materials God blew his holy breath, and out of Adam's rib created his companion Eve [the MHG. has: 'imparted his breath'].²

¹ Variegated eyes are the *oculi varii*, Prov. *vairs* huelhs (Rayn. sub v. var), O.Fr. *vairs* iex (Roquef. sub v.). We find in OHG. *bluomfêh*, and 'gevêhet nâh tien bluomon,' Graff 3, 426; the AS. *fâgung* above.

² Well, here is already our *fifth* version, from a Paris MS. of the 15th century (Paulin Paris, MSS. français de la bibl. du roi 4, 207): 'Adam fu formé ou champ damacien, et fu fait si comme nous trouvons de huit parties de choses: du limon de la terre, de la mer, du soleil, des nues, du vent, des pierres, du saint esprit, et de la clarté du monde. De la terre fu la char, de la mer fu le sang, du soleil furent les

If now we compare all the statements with those taken from the Edda, their similarity or sameness is beyond all question: blood with sea or water, flesh with earth, bone with stone, hair with trees or grass, are coupled together in the same way here. What weighs more than anything with me is the accordance of 'brain and clouds' with 'thoughts and clouds.' The brain is the seat of thought, and as clouds pass over the sky, so we to this day have them flit across the mind; 'clouded brow' we say of a reflective pensive brooding one, and the Grímnismál 45^b applies to the clouds the epithet *harðmôðagr*, hard of mood. It was quite in the spirit of the Edda to make the skull do for the sky, and the eyebrows for a castle; but how could sky or castle have furnished materials for the human frame? That the striking correspondence of the sun to the *eye* should be wanting in the Edda, is the more surprising, as the sun, moon and stars are so commonly spoken of as *eyes* (Superst. 614), and antiquity appears even to have seen *tongues* in them, both of which points fall to be discussed in Chap. XXII.; meanwhile, if these enumerations are found incomplete, it may be that there were plenty more of such correspondences passing current. If Thôrr flung a toe into the sky as a constellation, there may also have been tongues that represented stars.

The main difference between the Scandinavian view and all the others is, as I said before, that the one uses the microcosm as material for the macrocosm, and the other inversely makes the universe contribute to the formation of man. There the whole of nature is but the first man gone to pieces, here man is put together out of the elements of nature. The first way of thinking seems more congenial to the childhood of the world, it is all

yeux, des nues furent les pensées, du vent furent les allaines, des pierres furent les os, du saint esprit fu la vie, la clarté du monde signifie Crist et sa créance. Saichez que se il y a en l'omme plus de limon de la terre, il sera paresceux en toutes manières; et se il y a plus de la mer, il sera sage; et se il y a plus de soleil, il sera beau; et se il y a plus de nues, il sera pensis; et se il y a plus du vent, il sera ireux; et se il y a plus de pierre, il sera dur, avar et larron; et se il y a plus de saint esprit, il sera gracieux; et se il y a plus de la clarté du monde, il sera beaux et amez.—These eight items are again somewhat different from the preceding, though six are the same: earth, sea, cloud, wind, stone and sun; the Holy Ghost and the light of the world are peculiar, while veins, hair, tears, and motley eyes are wanting. The 'champ damascien' is 'ager plasmationis Adæ, qui dicitur *ager damascenus*,' conf. Fel. Fabri Evagator, 2, 341. [Is 'du monde' the mistranslation of a Germ. 'des mondes,' the moon's? Like the sun, it bestows 'beauty,' and that has nothing to do with Christ, who is however 'the light of the world.'—Tr.]

in keeping to explain the sun as a giant's eye, the mountains as his bones, the bushes as his hair; there are plenty of legends still that account for particular lakes and marshes by the gushing blood of a giant, for oddly-shaped rocks by his ribs and marrow-bones; and in a similar strain the waving corn was likened to the hair of Sif or Ceres. It is at once felt to be more artificial for sun and mountain and tree to be put into requisition to produce the human eye and bones and hair. Yet we do speak of eyes being sunny, and of our flesh as akin to dust, and why may not even the heathens have felt prompted to turn that cosmogonic view upside down? Still more would this commend itself to Christians, as the Bible expressly states that man was made of earth or loam,¹ without enlarging on the formation of the several constituent parts of the body. None of the Fathers seem to be acquainted with the theory of the eight constituents of the first man; I will not venture to decide whether it was already familiar to heathen times, and maintained itself by the side of the Eddic doctrine, or first arose out of the collision of this with christian teaching, and is to be regarded as a fuller development of the Adamic dogma. If Adam was interpreted to mean clay, it was but taking a step farther to explain, more precisely, that the flesh only was borrowed from earth, but the bones from stones, and the hair from grass. It is almost unscriptural, the way in which the MHG. poetizer of Genesis (Fundgr. 2, 15) launches out into such minutiae:—‘Duo Got zeinitzen stucchen den man zesamene wolte rucchen, duo nam er, sôsich wâne, einen *leim* zâhe (glutinous lime), dâ er wolte daz daz lit zesamene solte (wished the limbs to come together), streich des unterzuiskén (smeared it between), daz si zesamene mohten haften (stick). denselben *letten* (clay) tet er ze âdaren (made into veins), uber ieglich lit er zôch denselben *leim* zâch, daz si vasto ehlebeten, zesamene sich habeten. ûz *hertem leime* (hard lime) tet er daz gebeine, uz *prôder erde* (crumbly earth) hiez er daz fleisk werden, ûz *letten* deme zûhen machet er die âdare. duo er in allen zesamene gevuocte, duo bestreich er in mit einer *slôte* (bedaubed him with a slime), diu selbe *slôte* wart ze dere hûte (became the skin). duo er daz pilede (figure) êrlich

¹ ‘Die *leiminen*,’ the loamen folk, Geo. 3409, is said of men, as we say ‘e luto, ex meliori luto ficti.’

gelegete fure sich, duo stnont er ime werde obe der selben erde. sînen geist er in in blies, michelen sin er ime firliez, die âdare alle wurden pluotes folle, ze fleiske wart diu *erde*, ze peine der *leim herte*, die âdare pugen sich swâ zesamene gie daz lit (blew his spirit in, imparted mickle sense, the veins filled with blood, the earth became flesh, the hard lime bone, etc.).'—These distinctions between lime, clay, earth and slime have a tang of heathenism; the poet durst not entirely depart from the creation as set forth by the church, but that compounding of man out of several materials appears to be still known to him. And traces of it are met with in the folk-poetry.¹

It is significant how Greek and, above all, Asiatic myths of the creation coincide with the Norse (and what I believe to have been once the universal Teutonic) view of the world's origin out of component parts of the human body: it must therefore be of remote antiquity. The story lasts in India to this day, that Brahmâ was slain by the other gods, and the sky made out of his skull: there is some analogy to this in the Greek notion of Atlas supporting on his head the vault of heaven. According to one of the Orphic poets, the body of Zeus is understood to be the earth, his bones the mountains, and his eyes the sun and moon.² Cochín-Chiuese traditions tell, how Buddha made the world out of the giant Banio's body, of his skull the sky, of his eyes the sun and moon, of his flesh the earth, of his bones rocks and hills, and of his hair trees and plants. Similar macrocosms are met with in Japan and Ceylon; Kalmuk poems describe how the earth arose from the metamorphosis of a mountain-giantess, the sea from her blood (Finn Magn. Lex., 877-8, and Suppl.).

But Indian doctrine itself inverts this macrocosm, making the sun enter into the eye, plants into the hair, stones into the bones, and water into the blood of created man, so that in him the

¹ The giants mould a man out of *clay* (leir), Sn. 109. The Finnish god Ilmarinen hammers himself a wife out of *gold*, Rune 20. Pintosmauto is baked of sugar, spice and scented water, his hair is made of gold thread, his teeth of pearls, his eyes of sapphires, and his lips of rubies, Pentam. 5, 3. In a Servian song (Vuk no. 110), two sisters spin themselves a brother of red and white silk, they make him a body of boxwood, eyes of precious stones, eyebrows of sea-urchins, and teeth of pearls, then stuff sugar and honey into his mouth: 'Now eat that, and talk to us (to nam yèdi, pa nam probesèdi)!' And the myth of Pygmalion is founded on bringing a stone figure to life (see Suppl.).

² Ὀμματα δ' ἥελιος τε καὶ ἀντίωσα σελήνη. Euseb. Προπαρασκ. εὐαγγ. 3, 9. Lobeck, De microc. et macroc. p. 4.

whole world is mirrored back. According to a Chaldean cosmogony, when Belus had cut the darkness in twain, and divided heaven from earth, he commanded his own head to be struck off, and the blood to be let run into the ground; out of this arose man gifted with reason. Hesiod's representation is, that Pandora was formed by Hephæstus out of earth mingled with water, and then Hermes endowed her with speech, "Ἔργα 61-79. The number of ingredients is first reduced to earth and blood (or water), then in the O. T. to earth alone.

And there are yet other points of agreement claiming our attention. As Ymir engendered man and wife out of his hand, and a giant son out of his foot, we are told by the Indian Manus, that Brahmâ produced four families of men, namely from his mouth the first brahman (priest), from his arm the first kshatriya (warrior), from his thigh the first vizh (trader and husbandman),¹ from his foot the first sūdra (servant and artizan). And so, no doubt, would the Eddic tradition, were it more fully preserved, make a difference of rank exist between the offspring of Ymir's hand and those of his foot; a birth from the foot must mean a lower one. There is even a Caribbean myth in which Lugoo, the sky, descends to the earth, and the first parents of mankind come forth from his navel and thigh, in which he had made an incision.² Reading of these miraculous births, who can help thinking of Athena coming out of Zeus's head (τριτογένεια), and Dionysus out of his thigh (μηροῦραφής)? As the latter was called διμήτωρ (two-mothered), so the unexplained fable of the nine mothers of Heimdallr (p. 234) seems to rest on some similar ground (see Suppl.).

From these earlier creations of gods and giants the Edda and, as the sequel will shew, the Indian religion distinguish the creation of the *first human pair*. As with Adam and Eve in Scripture, so in the Edda there is presupposed some material to be quickened by God, but a simple, not a composite one. Trê means both tree and wood, askr the ash-tree (fraxinus); the relation of *Askr* to the Isco of heroic legend has already been discussed, p. 350. If by the side of *Askr*, the man, there stood

¹ E femoribus natus = ūravya, ūruja, Bopp's Gloss. 54^a.

² Majer's Mythol. taschenbuch 2, 4.

an *Esckja*, the woman, the balance would be held more evenly; they would be related as Meshia and Meshiane in the Persian myth, man and woman, who likewise grew out of plants. But the Edda calls them *Askr* and *Embla*: *embla*, *emla*, signifies a busy woman, OHG. *emila*, as in *fiur-emila* (*focaria*), a cinderella (Graff 1, 252), from *amr*, *ambr*, *aml*, *ambl* (*labor assiduus*), whence also the hero's name *Amala* (p. 370). As regards *Askr* however, it seems worthy of notice, that legend makes the first king of the Saxons, *Aschanes* (*Askanius*), grow up out of the Harz rocks, by a fountain-head in the midst of the forest. Seeing that the Saxons themselves take their name from *sahs* (*saxum*, stone), that a divine hero bears the name of *Sahsnôt* (p. 203), that other traditions derive the word *Germani* from *germinare*, because the Germans are said to have grown on trees;¹ we have here the possibility of a complex chain of relationships. The Geogr. of Ravenna says, the Saxons removed from their ancient seats to Britain 'cum principe suo, nomine *Anchis*.' This may be Hengist, or still better his son *Oese*, whom I have identified with *Askr*.²

Plainly there existed primitive legends, which made the first men, or the founders of certain branches of the Teutonic nation, grow out of trees and rocks, that is to say, which endeavoured to trace the lineage of living beings to the half-alive kingdom of plants and stones. Even our *leut* (*populus*), OHG. *liut*, has for its root *liotan* (*crescere*, *pullulare*), OS. *liud*, *liodan*;³ and the sacredness of woods and mountains in our olden time is heightened by this connexion. And similar notions of the Greeks fit in with this. One who can reckon up his ancestors is appealed to with the argument (Od. 19, 163):

οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἔσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης ·

for not of fabled *oak* art thou, nor *rock*;⁴ and there must have

¹ D. S. no. 408. Aventin 18^b; conf. the popular joke, prob. ancient, on the origin of Swabians, Franks and Bavarians, Schm. 3, 524.

² In the Jewish language, both learned and vulgar, *Ashkenaz* denotes Germany or a German. The name occurs in Gen. 10, 3 and Jer. 51, 27; how early its mistaken use began, is unknown even to J. D. Michaëlis (*Spicil. geogr. Hebr.* 1, 59); it must have been by the 15th century, if not sooner, and the rabbis may very likely have been led to it by hearing talk of a derivation of the Germans from an ancestor *Askanius*, or else the Trojan one.

³ *Pōpulus* however is unconn. with *pōpulus* a poplar.

⁴ Such an 'e *queru aut saxo natus*, who cannot name his own father, is vul-

been fairy tales about it, which children told each other in confidential chat (*ὀαριζέμεναι ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἢ δ' ἀπὸ πέτρης*, Il. 22, 126.¹ *ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην*; Hes. Theog. 35). In marked unison with the myth of Askr is the statement of Hesiod, that Zeus formed the third or brazen race out of ash-trees (*ἐκ μελιᾶν*, Op. 147); and if the allusion be to the stout ashen shafts of the heroes, why, Isco or Askr may have branched them too. One remembers too those wood-wives and fays, who, like the Greek meliads and dryads, had their sole power of living bound up with some particular oak or ash, and, unlike the tree-born man, had never got wholly detached from the material of their origin. Then, a creation out of *stones* is recorded in the story of Deucalion, whom after the deluge Hermes bade throw stones behind his back: those that he threw, all turned into men, and those that his wife Pyrrha threw, into women. As in the Edda, after the great flood comes a new creation; only in this case the rescued people are themselves the actors.² Even the Jews appear to have known of a mythical creation out of stones, for we read in Matth. 3, 9: *ὅτι δύναται ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ* (see Suppl.).

The creation of *dwarfs* is described ambiguously in the Edda: according to one story they bred as worms in the proto-giant's flesh, and were then endowed by the gods with understanding and human shape; but by the older account they were created out of the flesh and bones of another giant Brîmir. All this has to do with the black elves alone, and must not be extended to the light ones, about whose origin we are left in the dark. And other mythologies are equally silent.

It is important and interesting to get a clear view of the gradation and sequence of the several creations. That in the Edda giants come first, gods next, and then, after an intervening deluge,

early spoken of as one 'whose father got drowned on the apple (or nut) tree.' Also, 'not to have sprung from an oak-stem,' Etner's Unw. doct. 585. 'Min gof ist au nûd abben noßbom aba choh,' 'and my dad didn't come off the nut-tree,' Tobler 337^b, who wrongly refers it to the Christmas-tree.

¹ Homer's phrase is: 'chat from oak or rock, as youth and maiden do.'—TRANS.

² As Deucalion and Pyrrha create the race of men, so (acc. to a myth in the Reinhartssage, whose source I never could discover) do Adam and Eve create that of beasts by smiting the sea with rods. Only, Adam makes the good beasts, Eve the bad; so in Parsee legend Ormuzd and Ahriman hold a creating match.

men and dwarfs are created, appears in surprising harmony with a theological opinion largely adopted throughout the Mid. Ages, according to which, though the O. T. begins with the work of the six days, yet the existence and consequently the creation of angels and the apostasy of devils had gone before, and then were produced heaven and earth, man and all other creatures.¹ Afterwards, it is true, there comes also a destructive flood, but does not need to be followed by a new creation, for a pious remnant of mankind is saved, which peoples the earth anew. The Muhammedan eblis (by aphæresis from dieblis, diabolus) is an apostate spirit indeed, but created after Adam, and expelled from Paradise. Our Teutonic giants resemble at once the rebel angels (devils) and the sinful men swept away by the flood; here deliverance was in store for a patriarch, there for a giant, who after it continues his race by the side of men. A narrative preserved in the appendix to our Heldenbuch offers some fragments of cosmogony: three creations follow one another, that of dwarfs leading the way, after whom come giants, and lastly men; God has called into being the skilful dwarfs to cultivate waste lands and mountain regions, the giants to fight wild beasts, and the heroes to assist the dwarfs against disloyal giants; this connexion and mutual dependence of the races is worthy of note, though on the manner of creating there is not a word. Lastly, the threefold *arrangement of classes* instituted by Heimdallr² may, I think, be regarded as a later act in the drama of creation, of which perhaps a trace is yet to be seen even in modern traditions (p. 234).³

Another thing I lay stress on is, that in the Edda man and woman (Askr and Embla) come into existence together, but the

¹ Conf. the poetical representations in Cædmon and Fundgr. 2, 11. 12; of course they rest on opinions approved or tolerated by the church. Scripture, in its account of the creation, looks only to the human race, leaving angels and giants out of sight altogether, though, as the narrative goes on, they are found existing.

² The Mid. Ages trace the origin of freemen to Shem, that of knights and serfs to Japhet and Ham; Wackern. Bas. MSS. 2, 20.

³ I have since lighted on a Muhammedan legend in Wolfg. Menzel's Mythol. forschung 1, 40: Eve had so many children, that she was ashamed, and once, when surprised by God, she hid some of them away. God then called the children to him, and divided all the goods and honours of the earth among them. Those that were hidden got none, and from them are descended beggars and fakirs. Unfortunately no authority is given, but the agreement with the German drama of the 16th cent. is undeniable, and makes me doubt the supposed connexion of the latter with the ON. fable. That the concealed children are not called up, is at variance with all German accounts.

Bible makes two separate actions, Adam's creation coming first, and Eve's being performed afterwards and in a different manner.¹ So, by Hesiod's account, there already existed men descended from the gods themselves, when the first woman Pandora, the all-gifted, fair and false, was formed out of earth and flood (p. 571). It is difficult to arrive at the exact point of view in the Hesiodic poems. In the Theogony, there ascend out of chaos first Gaia (earth) the giantess, then Erebus (corresp. to Niflheim) and Night; but Gaia by herself brought forth Uraeus (sky) and seas and mountains, then other children by Uranus, the last of them Kronus the father of Zeus and ancestor of all the gods. As the Edda has a Buri and Börr before Oðinn, so do Uranus and Kronus here come before Zeus; with Zeus and Oðinn begins the race of gods proper, and Poseidon and Hades complete the fraternal trio, like Vili and Ve. The enmity of gods and titans is therefore that of *âses* and giants; at the same time, there is just as much resemblance in the expulsion of the titans from heaven (Theog. 813) to the fall of the rebel angels into the bottomless pit; so that to the giant element in the titans we may add a dæmonic. When the 'Works and Days' makes the well-known five races fill five successive ages, the act of creation must needs have been repeated several times; on which point neither the poem itself nor Plato (Cratyl. 397-8, Steph.) gives sufficient information. First came the golden race of blissful daimones, next the silver one of weaker divine beings, thirdly, the brazen one of warriors sprung from ash-trees, fourthly, the race of heroes, fifthly, the iron one of men now living. The omission of a metal designation for the fourth race is of itself enough to make the statement look imperfect. Dimmest of all is the second race, which also Plato passes over, discussing only dæmons, heroes and men: will the diminutive stature of these shorter-lived genii warrant a comparison with the wights and elves of our own mythology? In the third race giants seem to be portrayed, or fighters of the giant sort, confronting as they do the rightful

¹ The rabbinic myth supposes a first woman, Lilith, made out of the ground like Adam. [The Bible, we know, has two different accounts of man's creation: the first (Elohistic) in Gen. 1, 27, 'male and female created he them; the second (Jehovistic) in Gen. 2, 7, 'formed man of the dust,' and in vv. 21, 22, 'took one of his ribs, . . . and the rib . . . made he a woman.' The first account seems to imply simultaneous creations.—TRANS.]

heroes of the fourth. The latter we might in Mosaic language call sons of Elohim, and the former sons of men; at the same time, their origin from the ash would admit of their being placed beside the first-created men of the Edda. The agreement of the myths would be more striking if we might bestow the name of *stone* race on the third, and shift that of *brazen*, together with the creation from the ash, to the fourth; stones being the natural arms of giants. Apollodorus however informs us it was the *brazen* race that Zeus intended to destroy in the great flood from which Deucalion and Pyrrha were saved, and this fits in with the Scandinavian overthrow of giants. The creation of Askr and Embla has its parallel in the stone-throwing of the Greek myth, and the race of heroes might also be called stone-created (see Suppl.).

It will be proper, before concluding, to cast a glance at the *Story of the Deluge*: its diffusion among the most diverse nations of the earth gives a valuable insight into the nature of these myths.¹

From the sons of God having mingled with the daughters of men sprang robbers and wrongdoers; and it repented Jehovah that he had made man, and he said he would destroy everything on earth. But *Noah* found favour in his eyes, and he bade him build a great ark, and enter therein with his household. Then it began to rain, until the waters rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountains, and all that had flesh and breath perished, but the ark floated on the flood. Then Jehovah stayed the rain, the waters returned from off the earth, and the ark rested on the mountains of *Ararat*. But Noah let out first a raven, then a dove, which found no rest for her foot and returned into the ark; and after seven days he again sent forth a dove, which came back with an olive leaf in her mouth; and after yet other seven days he sent forth a dove, which returned not any more.² Then Noah came out on the dry earth, and offered a clean burnt-offering, and

¹ Ulph. renders *κατακλυσμὸς* by *midjasveipáins*, sveipan meaning no doubt the same as *κλύζειν*, to flush, rinse, conf. AS. *swápan* *verrere*. Diluvium is in OHG. *unmezfluoet* or *sintfluoet* (like *sinwáki* gorges, MHG. *sinwege*); not so good is the OHG. and MHG. *sintvluot*, and our *sindfluth* (*sin-flood*) is a blunder.

² Sailors let birds fly, Pliny 6, 22. Three ravens fly as guides, *Landnámabók* 1, 2.

Jehovah made a covenant with man, and set his bow in the cloud for a token of the covenant.

After this beautiful compact picture in the O. T., the Eddic narrative looks crude and unpolished. Not from heaven does the flood rain down, it swells up from the blood of the slain giant, whose carcass furnishes material for creating all things, and the human race itself. The insolence and violence of the annihilated giants resemble those of the sons of Elohim who had mingled with the children of men; and Noah's box (*κιβωτός*) is like *Bergelmi's* *lûðr*. But the epic touches, such as the landing on the mountain, the outflying dove, the sacrifice and rainbow, would surely not have been left out, had there been any borrowing here.

In the Assyrian tradition,¹ Kronos warns *Sisuthros* of the coming downpour, who thereupon builds a ship, and embarks with men and beasts. Three days after the rain has ceased, birds are sent out, twice they come flying back, the second time with slime on their feet, and the third time they staid away. *Sisuthros* got out first with his wife and daughter and pilot, they prayed, sacrificed, and suddenly disappeared. When the rest came to land, a voice sounded in the air, saying the devout *Sisuthros* had been taken up to the gods; but they were left to propagate the human race. Their vessel down to recent times lay on the mountains of *Armenia*.² Coins of *Apamēa*, a city in *Phrygia*, show an ark floating on the water, with a man and woman in it; on it sits a bird, another comes flying with a twig in its claws. Close by stand the same human pair on firm land, holding up their right hands. Beside the ark appear the letters *NΩ* (*Noah*), and this *Apamēa* is distinguished by the by-name of *κιβωτός*.³

According to Greek legend, Zeus had determined to destroy mankind; at the prompting of Prometheus, *Deucalion* built an ark, which received him and *Pyrrha* his wife. Zeus then sent a mighty rain, so that *Hellas* was flooded, and the people perished. Nine days and nights *Deucalion* floated on the waters, then landed on *Parnassus*, and offered sacrifice to Zeus; we have seen how this couple created a new generation by casting stones. *Plutarch* adds, that when *Deucalion* let a dove out of the ark, he could tell

¹ *Buttmann* On the myth of the Deluge, p. 21.

² *Conf.* the *Annolied* 308 seq., which brings the *Bavarians* from *Armenia*.

³ All this in *Buttmann*, pp. 24-27.

the approach of storm by her flying back, and of fair weather by her keeping away. Lucian (*De dea Syria*, cap. 12. 13) calls him *Δευκαλίωνα τὸν Σκύθρα* (the Scythian); if that sprang out of *Σισύθρα*,¹ it may have long had this altered form in the legend itself. Some branches of the Greek race had their own stories of an ancient flood, of which they called the heroes *Ogyges* and *Ogygos*;² but all these accounts are wanting in epic details.³

A rich store of these opens for us in the Indian *Mahâbhârata*.⁴ King *Manus* stood on a river's bank, doing penance, when he heard the voice of a little fish imploring him to save it. He caught it in his hand and laid it in a vessel, but the fish began to grow, and demanded wider quarters. *Manus* threw it into a large lake, but the fish grew on, and wished to be taken to *Gangâ* the bride of the sea. Before long he had not room to stir even there, and *Manus* was obliged to carry him to the sea; but when launched in the sea, he foretold the coming of a fearful flood, *Manus* was to build a ship and go on board it with the seven sages, and preserve the seeds of all things, then he would shew himself to them horned. *Manus* did as he was commanded, and sailed in the ship; the monster fish appeared, had the ship fastened to his horn by a rope, and towed it through the sea for many years, till they reached the summit of the *Himavân*, there he bade them moor the ship, and the spot to which it was tied still bears the name of *Naubandhanam* (ship-binding). Then spake the fish: I am *Brahmâ*, lord of created things, a higher than I there is not, in the shape of a fish have I delivered you;

¹ CKTΘEA from CICTΘEA is Buttman's acute suggestion; but he goes farther, taking this *Sisythes* or *Sisuthos* to be *Sesothris*, *Sothis*, *Seth*; and *Noah* to be *Dionysos*, and a symbol of water.

² Buttman, p. 45 seq., who connects it with *Okeanos* and *Ogenos*.

³ It is remarkable, that in a beautiful simile, therefore without names or places, *Homer* depicts a kind of *Deluge*, *Il.* 16, 384:

ὡς δ' ὑπὸ λαίλαπι πᾶσα κελαινὴ βέβριθε χθῶν
 ἤματ' ὀπωρινῶ, ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ
 Ζεὺς, ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἀνδρεσσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήμη,
 οἳ βίη εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιάς κρίνωσι θέμιστας,
 ἐκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ἔπιπυ οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.
 μινύθει δέ τε ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων.

Even as crouches the darkening land, overcrowded by the tempest, All on a summer's day, when Jove doth the down-rushing water Suddenly pour, and wreak his wrath on the proud men, Men of might, who sit dealing a crooked doom in the folk-mote, Forcing justice aside, unheeding of gods and their vengeance; (rivers swell, etc.) and the works of man are all wasted.

⁴ Bopp's *Die sündflut*, Berl. 1829.

now shall Manus make all creatures, gods, asuris and men, and all the worlds, things movable and immovable. And as he had spoken, so it was done.

In the Bhâgavatam, *Satyâvratas* (supra, p. 249) takes the place of Manus, Vishnus that of Brahmâ, and the facts are embellished with philosophy.

The Indian myth then, like the Teutonic, makes the Deluge precede the real creation, whereas in the Mosaic account Adam lives long before Noah, and the flood is not followed by a new creation. The seven rishis in the ship, as Bopp remarks, are of divine rather than human nature, sons of Brahmâ, and of an older birth than the inferior gods created by Manus or their enemies the asuris (elsewhere daityas and dânavas = titans, giants). But it is a great point gained for us, that *Manus* (after whom manushyas, homo, is named) comes in as a creator; so that in our German *Mannus* (whence manna and manniskja, homo) we recognise precisely Börr and his creator sons (p. 349). Askr and Embla are simply a reproduction of the same idea of creation, and on a par with Deucalion and Pyrrha, or Adam and Eve.

I must not pass over the fact, that the first part of the Indian poem, where Brahmâ as a fish is caught by Manus, and then reveals to him the future, lingers to this day in our nursery tale of the small all-powerful turbot or pike, who gradually elevates a fisherman from the meanest condition to the highest rank; and only plunges him back into his pristine poverty, when, urged by the counsels of a too ambitious wife, he desires at last to be equal with God. The bestowal of the successive dignities is in a measure a creation of the different orders.¹

One more story of the Deluge, which relates the origin of the Lithuanians, deserves to be introduced.² When Pranzimas the most high god looked out of a window of his heavenly house (like Wuotan, p. 135) over the world, and perceived nothing but war and wrong among men, he sent two giants Wandû and Weyas (water and wind) upon the sinful earth, who laid all things waste for twenty nights and days. Looking down once

¹ Conf. the capture of the soothsaying marmennil, p. 434.

² Dzieje starożytne narodu Litewskiego, przez Th. Narbutta. Wilno 1835. 1, 2.

more, when he happened to be eating celestial nuts, Pramžimas dropt a nutshell, and it lighted on the top of the *highest mountain*, to which beasts and several human pairs had fled for refuge. They all climbed into the shell, and it drifted on the flood which now covered all things. But God bent his countenance yet a third time upon the earth, and he laid the storm, and made the waters to abate. The men that were saved dispersed themselves, only one pair remained in that country, and from them the Lithuanians are descended. But they were now old, and they grieved, whereupon God sent them for a comforter (linxmine) the rainbow, who counselled them to leap over the earth's bones : nine times they leapt, and nine couples sprang up, founders of the nine tribes of Lithuania. This incident reminds us of the origin of men from the stones cast by Deucalion and Pyrrha ; and the rainbow, of the Bible account, except that here it is introduced as a person, instructing the couple what to do, as Hermes (the divine messenger) did Deucalion. It were overbold perhaps to connect the nutshell with that nut-tree (p. 572-3), by which one vaguely expresses an unknown extraction.

Not all, even of the stories quoted, describe a universal deluge desolating the whole earth : that in which Deucalion was rescued affected Greece alone, and of such accounts of partial floods there are plenty. *Philemon* and *Baucis* in Phrygia (where Noah's ark rested, p. 577), had given shelter to the wayfaring gods, and being warned by them, fled up the mountain, and saw themselves saved when the flood rose over the land (Ovid. *Met.* 8, 620) ; they were changed into trees, as Askra and Embla were trees. A Welsh folktale says, that in Brecknockshire, where a large lake now lies, there once stood a great city. The king sent his messenger to the sinful inhabitants, to prove them ; they heeded not his words, and refused him a lodging. He stept into a miserable hut, in which there only lay a child crying in its *cradle* (conf. *lûdara*, p. 559n.) ; there he passed the night, and in going away, dropt one of his gloves in the cradle. He had not left the city long, when he heard a noise and lamentation ; he thought of turning back to look for his glove, but the town was no longer to be seen, the waters covered the whole plain, but lo, in the midst of the waves a *cradle* came floating, in which there lay both child and glove. This child he took to the king, who had it reared as

the sole survivor of the sunken city.¹ Conf. the story of *Dold* at the end of Ch. XXXII. Another and older narrative, found even in the British Triads, comes much nearer to those given above: When the lake of Llion overflowed and submerged all Britain, the people were all drowned save *Dwyvan* and *Dwyvach*, who escaped in a naked (sailless) ship, and afterwards repeopled the land. This ship is also named that of *Nevydd nâv neivion*, and had on board a male and female of every creature; again it is told, that the oxen of *Hu Gadarn* dragged the *avanc* (beaver) ashore out of the Llion lake, and it has never broken out since.²

Of still narrower limits are our German tales, as that of the dwarf seeking a lodging at Ralligen on L. Thun (no. 45), which is very like the Philemon-myth; of Arendsee (no. 111), where again only a husband and wife are saved; of Seeburg (no. 131); and Frauensee (no. 239). A Danish folktale is given by Thiele 1, 227. Fresh and graceful touches abound in the Servian lay of the three angels sent by God to the sinful world, and the origin of the Plattensee or Balatino yezero, Vuk 4, 8-13 (2nd ed. 1, no. 207).³

There is above all a dash of German heathenism about the lakes and pools said to have been formed by the streaming blood of giants (Deut. sag. no. 325), as the destructive Deluge arose from *Ymir's* blood.

It appears to me impossible to refer the whole mass of these tales about the great Flood and the Creation of the human species to the Mosaic record, as if they were mere perversions and distortions of it; the additions, omissions and discrepancies peculiar to almost every one of them are sufficient to forbid that. And I have not by a long way exhausted this cycle of legends (see Suppl.): in islands of the Eastern Archipelago, in Tonga and New Zealand, among Mexicans and Caribs there start up accounts, astonishingly similar and yet different, of creation and the first human pair, of a flood and deliverance, and the murder of a brother.⁴

¹ Edw. Davies's *Brit. Mythol.* 146-7.

² *Ibid.* 95. 129. Villemarqué, *Contes bretons* 2, 294. *Mabinogion* 2, 341. 381.

³ Sole example of a Deluge-story among Slavs, by whom cosmogonic ideas in general seem not to have been handed down at all.

⁴ W. von Humboldt's *Kawisprache* 1, 240. 3, 449. *Majer's Mythol. taschenb.* 2, 5. 131.

CHAPTER XX.

ELEMENTS.

From gods, half-gods and heroes, from the whole array of friendly or hostile beings that, superior to man in mind or body, fill up a middle space betwixt him and deity, we turn our glance to simple phenomena of nature, which at all times in their silent greatness wield an immediate power over the human mind. These all-penetrating, all-absorbing primitive substances, which precede the creation of all other things and meet us again everywhere, must be sacred in themselves, even without being brought into closer relation to divine beings. Such relation is not absent in any mythology, but it need not stand in the way of the elements receiving a homage to some extent independent of it and peculiar to themselves.

On the other hand, it is not the religion, properly speaking, of a nation, that ever springs from the soil of this elemental worship; the faith itself originates in a mysterious store of supersensual ideas, that has nothing in common with those substances, but subjugates them to itself. Yet faith will tolerate in its train a veneration of elements, and mix it up with itself; and it may even chance, that when faith has perished or is corrupted, this veneration shall keep its hold of the people longer. The multitude will give up its great divinities, yet persist for a time in the more private worship of household gods; even these it will renounce, and retain its reverence for elements. The history of the heathen and christian religions shews, that long after the one was fallen and the other established, there lived on, nay there live still, a number of superstitious customs connected with the worship of elements. It is the last, the all but indestructible remnant of heathenism; when gods collapse, these naked substances come to the front again, with which the being of those had mysteriously linked itself (see Suppl.).

To this effect I have already expressed myself (pp. 82-84) in

speaking of a worship of nature by our ancestors, which is indeed supported by early testimonies, but these are often perverted into an argument against the heathen having had any gods. The gods stood and fell from other causes.

Water the limpid, flowing, welling up or running dry; Fire the illuminating, kindled or quenched; Air unseen by the eye, but sensible to ear and touch; Earth the nourishing, out of which everything grows, and into which all that has grown dissolves;—these, to mankind from the earliest time, have appeared sacred and venerable; ceremonies, transactions and events in life first receive their solemn consecration from them. Working as they do with never-resting activity and force on the whole of nature, the childlike man bestows on them his veneration, without any particular god necessarily intervening, though he too will commonly appear in combination with it. Even to-day the majesty and might of these eldest born of things awakes our admiration; how could antiquity have forborne its astonishment and adoration? Such a worship is simpler, freer and more dignified than a senseless crouching before pictures and idols.

All the elements are cleansing, healing, atoning, and the proof by ordeal rests mainly upon them; but man had to secure them in their purest form and at the most seasonable times.

We will consider them one by one.

1. WATER.¹

Passages proving that the Alamanns and Franks worshipped *rivers* and *fountains* are cited at pp. 100-1 and in the Appendix.²

¹ Goth. *vatô*, ON. *vatn*, OHG. *wazar*, OS. *watar*, AS. *wæter*, Dan. *vand*, Slav. *vodá*, Lith. *wandū*, Lett. *uhdens*, Gr. *ῥῆμα*; then, corresp. in form to Lat. *aqua*, but meaning fluvius, Goth. *ahva*, OHG. *aha*, AS. *ea*, ON. *á*; the Goth. *vêys*, OHG. *wac wâges* = fluctus, flow.

² When here and elsewhere I use Bp. Burchard's Coll. of Decrees as authority for German superstitions, I do not forget that in most cases (not all) it is drawn from councils not held in Germany, but in Gaul, Italy or Spain. Yet, if we consider that German nations had been spreading themselves all over those countries down to the 8-9th cent., that the AS. and Lombard Laws, to say nothing of Capitularies, declaim equally with those Decrees of Council against water, tree and stone worship, that Agathias and Gregory of Tours expressly charge the Alamanns and Franks with such worship; these superstitions are seen to be something common to the Italian, Gallic and German nationalities, of which none of them can be acquitted. Some have tried to make out from Agathias, that our forefathers had a mere nature-worship, and no gods. It would be about as uncritical to do what is to some extent the reverse, and suspect Agathias and Gregory of having adopted their assertions out of church-prohibitions that were never meant for Germany at

The people *prayed* on the river's bank; at the fountain's brink they *lighted candles* and laid down *sacrificial gifts*. It is called 'fontibus venerationem exhibere, ad fontanas adorare (conf. Legg. Liutpr. 6, 30), ad fontes votum facere, reddere, exsolvere, orare ad fontes, offerre ad fontes, munus deferre, ad fontes luminaria facere, candelam deferre.' This last no doubt was done only or chiefly at night, when the flame reflected from the wave would excite a religious awe.¹ The Saxons also were fonticolæ: *wyllas* and *flôtwater* are named in the AS. laws as objects of reverence. Beside the passage from Cnut (p. 102), the Poenitentiale Egberti says 2, 22: 'gif hwile man his ælnessan gehâte oððe bringe tô hwilcon *wylle*'; 4, 19: 'gif hwâ his wæccan æt ænigum *wylle* hæbbe (vigilias suas ad aliquem fontem habeat)'; the Canones Edgari § 16 forbid *wilweorðunga* (well-worship). I am not sure that a formal worship of water in Scandinavia is implied in the saga quoted above (p. 102), where *vötn* is mentioned; but that water was held sacred is a thing not to be doubted. A lay in the Edda has near the beginning the remarkable words: 'hnigo *heilög vötn* af himinfjöllom,' fell holy waters from heaven's hills. The Sclaveni as early as Procopius (B. Goth. 3, 14) *σέβουσι ποταμούς* (worship rivers); and as late as Helmold (1, 47) it is said of the Slavs at Faldera: *lucorum et fontium ceterarumque superstitionum multiplex error apud eos habetur* (see Suppl.).

Above all was the place honoured, where the wondrous element leaps up from the lap of earth; a spring is in our older speech *ursprinc* (-ges), and also *prunno*.²

Often enough the first appearing of a spring is ascribed to divine agency or a miracle: Wuotan, Balder, Charles the Great, each made the reviving fountain flow out of earth for his fainting host (p. 226). Other springs are charmed out of the rock when struck by a *staff* or a *horse's hoof*; ³ a saint plants a bough in

all. Into secular codes such prohibitions seem to have found their way first through the Capitularies; the older codes had no penalties for idolatry, only the AS. *dómas* of Wihtræd cap. 13 impose them on *deofolgild* in general.

¹ At Christmas people look into their wells with candles.

² From *prinnan* (ardere), as *sôt*, another word for well, comes from *siodan* (fervere), *welle* (fluctus) from *wallan* (fervere), *sual* (subfrigidus) from *suëlan* (ardere), conf. Gramm. 2, 29. 34; *sprudeln* to bubble up is from *sprühen* to fly off as sparks do. In such words fire and water get wedded together.

³ The Heliconian horse-fount (*ἱπποκρήνη*) was struck open by Pegasus: '*novi*

the ground, and water bubbles up. But there are two theories even more generally received: that the water of sacred brooks and rivers is in the first instance poured by gods and superior beings out of *bowls* or *urns*; and that springs and wells are guarded by *snakes* or *dragons* lying near them (see Suppl.).

Water drawn at a holy season, at midnight, before sunrise, and in solemn silence, bore till a recent time the name of *heilawâc*, *heilwâc*, *heilwæge*. The first form, retaining the connecting vowel after a long syllable, proves the antiquity of the word, whose sacred meaning secured it against change. MS. 2, 149^b: 'man seit (saith) von *heilwâge* uns vil, wie heil, wie guot ez sî, wie gar vollekomen der êren spil, wie gar sîn kraft verheilet swaz wundes an dem man versêret ist,' how good for healing wounds, etc. Martina 116: 'Got, du fröude flüzzic *heilawâc*,' and in a like sense 248. 283. Applied to Christ and his cross, Mar. 224: 'der boum ist gemeizzen, dâ daz *heilwæge* von bechumet, daz aller werlte gefrumet,' the tree whence cometh h. And more generally, 'ein *heilwâge*,' Diut. 1, 352; much later, in Anshelm's Chron. of Bern 1, 308, '*heilwag*' among other charms and magic appliances. Lastly, in Phil. von Sittewald (Strasb. 1677) 1, 483: 'running spring-water, gathered on holy Christmas night, while the clock strikes twelve, and named *heilwag*, is good for pain of the navel,' Superst. 804. In this *heilawâc* we discover a very early mingling of heathen customs with christian. The common people believe to this very day, that at 12, or between 11 and 12, on Christmas or Easter night, *spring-water changes into wine* (Superst. 54. 792),¹ Wieselgren p. 412; and this belief rests on the supposition that the first manifestation of the Saviour's divinity took place at the marriage in Cana, where he *turned water into wine*. Now at Christmas they celebrated both his birth (epiphany, theophany, p. 281) and his baptism, and combined with these the memory of that miracle, to which was

fontis Dura medusei quem præpetis ungula rupit, Ov. Met. 5, 257 seq. So the vein of gold in a hill is laid open by a blow from a hoof. Rhea opens a spring in Arcadia with her staff:

ἀντανύσσασα θεὰ μέγαν ὑψόθι πῆχυν
πληξεν ὕρος σκῆπτρω· τὸ δὲ οἱ δίχα πούλν διέστη,
ἐκ δ' ἔχεεν μέγα χεῦμα. Callimach. hy. Jov. 28.

¹ Zehn chen eines weibes (her ten marriages), Leipz. 1735, p. 235.

given a special name, *bethphania*.¹ As far back as 387, Chrysostom preaching an Epiphany sermon at Antioch says that people at that festival *drew running water at midnight, and kept it a whole year*, and often two or three (no doubt for thaumaturgic uses), and it remained fresh and uncorrupted.² Superstitious Christians then believed two things, a hallowing of the water at midnight of the day of baptism, and a turning of it into wine at the time of the *bethphania*: such water the Germans called *heilawâc*,³ and ascribed to it a wonderful power of healing diseases and wounds, and of never spoiling (see Suppl.).

Possibly even in Syria an old pagan drawing of water became veiled under new christian meanings. In Germany other circumstances point undisguisedly to a heathen consecration of water: it was not to be drawn at midnight, but in the morning *before sunrise, down stream and silently* (Superst. 89. 775), usually on *Easter Sunday* (775-6) to which the above explanations do not so well apply; this water does not spoil, it restores youth, heals eruptions, and makes the young cattle strong.⁴ Magic water, serving for unchristian divination, is to be *collected before sunrise on a Sunday* in one glass from three flowing springs; and a taper is lighted before the glass, as before a divine being (Superst. H. c. 55-57).⁵ Here I bring in once again the Hessian

¹ The first manifestation of Christ was his birth, the second his baptism (Candlemas), the third the marriage in Cana: 'Tertia apparitio fuit postea similiter eodem die anno revoluto, cum esset 30 annorum et 13 dierum, sive quando manifestavit se esse Deum *per mutationem aquae in vinum*, quod fuit primum miraculum apertum, quod Dominus fecit in Cana Galilaeae, vel simpliciter primum quod fecit. Et haec apparitio dicitur *bethphania* a βήτω, quod est domus, et φάνειν, quod est apparitio, quia ista apparitio facta fuit in domo in nuptiis. De his tribus apparitionibus fit solemnitas in hac die.' Durantis Ration. div. offic. 6, 16. The church consolidated the three manifestations into one festival.

² Tom. 2 (ed. Montfaucon, Paris 1718), p. 369: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μεσονυκτίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην ἅπαντες ὑδρευσάμενοι οἰκαδε τὰ νάματα ἀποτίθενται, καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὀλόκληρον φυλάττουσι, ἅτε δὴ σήμερον ἀγιασθέντων τῶν ὑδάτων· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον γίνεται ἐναργές, οὐ διαφθειρομένης τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκείνων φύσεως τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὀλόκληρον καὶ δῶα καὶ τρία ἔτη τοῦ σήμερον ἀντληθέντος ἀκεραίου καὶ νεαροῦ μένοντος, καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον τοῖς ἄρτι τῶν πηγῶν ἐξαρπασθεῖσιν ὑδάσιν ἀμιλλωμένον.

³ And also *heilawîn*? Frauenlob MS. 2, 213^b on the 'garden that bears *heilwîn*.' Altd. bl. 2, 294.

⁴ Jul. Schmidt's Reichenf. p. 121. At Cassel I have heard bathing in the 'drusel' water commended as wholesome, but you must draw with the current, not against. Probably the right time for it is Walburgis or Midsummer.

⁵ The rite, like others cited by Hartlieb (who wrote in 1455), may be of classic origin. In *γαστρομαντεία*, i.e. divining by a bellied jar (*γάστρη*) filled with water, there also occurs the *torch* and the *innocent boy* (Hartl.'s 'ain rain kind'). Potter's Antiq., 1, 764. Fabricii Bibliogr. antiq., ed. 3, p. 600.

custom mentioned at p. 58: on Easter Monday youths and maidens walk to the Hollow Rock in the mountains, draw *water from the cool spring in jugs to carry home*, and throw flowers in as an offering. Apparently this water-worship was Celtic likewise; the water of the rock-spring Karnant makes a broken sword *whole again*, but

du muost des urspringes hân
underm velse, é in beschin der tac (ere day beshine it).

Parz. 254, 6. Tit. 5456. 5732.¹ Curious customs shew us in what manner young girls in the Pyrenees country *tell their own fortunes in spring water* on May-day morning.

We need not suppose that the peculiar properties of medicinal springs are the point here; no, it is the normal efficacy of the refreshing, strengthening, re-animating element.² Many places in Germany are called Heilbrunn, Heilborn, Heiligenbrunn, from the renewing effect of their springs, or the wonderful cures that have taken place at them. Heilbronn on the Neckar is called *Heilaeprunno* in the oldest documents.³ But certain springs and wells may have stood in especial repute. Of high renown are the ON. *Mimisbrunnr* and *Urðarbrunnr* (p. 407), which Sn. 17 calls 'brunnr *mjöc heilagr*.' A Danish folksong (1, 318) tells of a *Maribokilde*, by whose clear waters a body hewn in pieces is *put together* again. Swedish lays celebrate *Ingemos källa* (Vis. 1, 244-5). We remember that old Frisian fount of Forseti, 'whence none drew water save *in silence*,' pp. 229, 230 (see Suppl.). Sacrifices were offered at such springs. Of the salutary effect of *hot* and *chalybeate* springs people must have been aware from immemorial time, witness the *Aquae Mattiacae* in the Roman time and those

¹ The *hardening* and *repairing of swords in water* (sverð herða, Sæm. 136^b) was certainly believed in by the Germans too. The *Vilkinasaga*, cap. 40 p. 100, says: when dwarf Alberich had fashioned Nairling, he searched nine kingdoms before he found the water in which the sword could be tempered; at last he arrived at the water *Treya*, and there it was tempered. Our *Eckenlied*, str. 81, agrees with this, but is still more precise: 'dannoch was ez nilt vollebräht, dô fuorten'z zwei wildiu getwerc wol durch niun küncerfehe, biz daz si kâmen zuo der *Drâl*, diu dâ ze *Troige* rinnet, daz swert daz was sô liehtgemâl: *si harten'z in der Drâl*e, des wart ez alsô fin' (dwarfs bring it to the *Drâl*, that runs by *Troige*, etc.). Who can doubt any longer of real German lays forming the groundwork of the *Vilk.* saga?

² A mau bitten by an adder will not die, if he can *leap over the nearest water* before the adder does so. Lenz's *Schlangenkunde*, p. 208.

³ Böhmer's *Reg. Karolor.* nr. 740 (an. 841); *Ecc. Fr. orient.* 2, 893; 'der Necker vliuzet für Heilicbrunnen (flows past Holy-well),' MS. 2, 68^b.

'*aquae calidae*' near Luxeuil (p. 83). When the Wetterau people begin a new jug of chalybeate, they always spill the first drop or two on the ground, they say 'to clear the dust away,' for the jugs stand open, but it may have been once a libation to the fountain-sprite.¹ Not only medicinal, but *salt* springs were esteemed holy: ancient accounts of these will be presented in a later chapter. The Mid. Ages cherished the notion of a *jungbrunnen*:² whoever bathes in it is both cured of diseases and guarded from them; in it Rauchs shed her shaggy skin, and became the beautiful Sigemine (p. 433-4); such a spring has sometimes the power even to change the bather's sex (see Suppl.).³

In a spring near Nogent men and women bathed on St. John's eve (Superst. L. 33); Holberg's comedy of *Kilde-reisen* is founded on the Copenhagen people's practice of pilgriming to a neighbouring spring on *S. Hans aften*, to heal and invigorate themselves in its waters. On Midsummer eve the people of Östergötland journeyed according to ancient custom to Lagman's *bergekälla* near Skeninge, and drank of the well (Broocman I, 187. 2, 676). In many parts of Germany some clear fountain is

¹ Where the Heathens ascribed the miraculous power of a spring to their wood or water sprites, the Christians afterwards transferred it to their saints. I take an instance from the *Miracula S. Agili*, written in the 12th century: Marvellous cures were wrought at the *brook of St. Agilus*. Sed interim quorundam vesaniae occurrere libet, qui in digito Dei nequaquam haec fieri aestimantes, *daemoniacae*, pro nefas, attribuunt *potestati*. Cumque miracula diffiteri nequeunt, id solum in causam calumniae adsumunt, quod in *agresti* fiunt loco, ubi nullus Dei cultus, ubi nullae sanctorum memoriae. O prudentiam! verentur homines sublimi ingenio, ne ad ludibrium mortalium a *faunis*, *nymphis* vel *satyris*, ceterisque *ruris numinibus*, res geratur ejusmodi. Nam ut de fabulis taceam, apud quos historiographorum veterum seu modernorum legitur daemones visum coecis, mentem amentibus, manus debilibus, gressum claudicantibus restaurasse? (Acta Bened. sec. 2, p. 333.) The Swedish people ascribe the healing power of some springs to *white snakes*. In 1809 there flocked thousands from Halland and Vestergötland to the wonder-working *Helsjö*, a small lake near Rampegårde; they said, some children tending cattle on the shore had often during the year seen a beautiful maiden sit on the bank, holding a snake in her hand and shewing it to them. It is only every hundredth year that this *water-maiden* with the snake appears (Bexell's Halland 2, 320; 3, 303). Multitudes from Norway and Halland visited a spring named *S. Olafskiälla*, dropt money-offerings in, and carried on other superstition (Ödman's Bahuslän p. 169). In christian times healing fountains are believed to spring up near the tombs of holy men, Bex. Hall. 3, 69; or from under a saint's body, Flodoard. remsens. 2, 3. I think it is with the hot baths at Aix that we must connect the *water-maiden* with whose myth Charles the Great is mixed up, p. 435.

² Synonymously the OHG. *quecprunno*, MHG. *quecprunne*, Parz. 613, 9. Fragm. 18, 267.

³ Conf. the passages quoted in Mus. für altd. lit. 1, 260-3 from Montevilla, from the Titurel and from H. Sachs.

visited at Whitsuntide, and the water drunk in jugs of a peculiar shape. Still more important is Petrarch's description of the annual bathing of the women of Cologne in the Rhine: it deserves to be quoted in full,¹ because it plainly proves that the cult prevailed not merely at here and there a spring, but in Germany's greatest river. From the Italian's unacquaintance with the rite, one might infer that it was foreign to the country whence all church ceremonies proceeded, and therefore altogether unchristian and heathenish. But Petrarch may not have had a minute knowledge of all the customs of his country; after his time at all events we find even there a lustration on St. John's day [described as an ancient custom then dying out]. Benedict de Falco's *Descrizione de luoghi antiqui di Napoli* (Nap. 1580) has the statement: 'in una parte popolosa della citta giace la chiesa consecrata a S. Giovan battista, chiamata S. Giovan a mare. Era una *antica usanza*, hoggi non al tutto lasciata, che *la vigilia di S. Giovane*, verso la sera e 'l securo del di, *tutti huomini e donne andare al mare, e nudi lavarsi*; persuasi purgarsi de loro peccati, alla focchia degli antichi, che peccando andavano al Tevere lavarsi.' And long before Petrarch, in Augustine's time, the rite was practised in Libya, and is de-

¹ Franc. Petrarchae De rebus familiar. epistolae, lib. i. ep. 4: Aquis digressum, sed prius, unde ortum oppidi nomen putant, aquis bajano more tepentibus ablutum, excepti Agrippina Colonia, quae ad sinistram Rheni latus sita est, locus et situ et flumine clarus et populo. Mirum in terra barbarica quanta civilitas, quae urbis species, quae virorum gravitas, quae munditiae matronarum. Forte *Johannis baptistae vigilia* erat dum illuc applicui, et jam ad occidentem sol vergebat: confestim amicorum monitu (nam et ibi amicos prius mihi fama pepererat quam meritum) ab hospitio traducor ad fluvium insigne spectaculum visurus. Nec fallebar; *omnis enim ripa praeclearo et ingenti mulierum agmine tegebatur*. Obstupui, dii boni, quae forma, quae facies, quis habitus! amare potuisset quisquis eo non praeoccupatum animum attulisset. In loco paulum altiore constiteram, unde in ea quae gerebantur intenderem. Incredibilis sine offensione concursus erat, vicissimque alacres, pars *herbis odoriferis incinctae, reductisque post cubitum manicis, candidas in gurgite manus ac brachia lavabant*, nescio quid blandum peregrino murmure colloquentes. [A few lines omitted.] Unum igitur ex eo [amicorum] numero admirans et ignarus rerum percunctatus vergiliano illo versiculo: 'Quid vult concursus ad annem, quidve petunt animae?' responsum accepi: *pervetustum gentis ritum esse, vulgo persuasum, praesertim femino, omnem totius anni calamitatem imminentem fluviali illius diei ablutione purgari*, et deinceps laetiora succedere; itaque *lustrationem esse annuam, inexhaustoque semper studio cultam colendamque*. Ad haec ego subridens: 'O nimium felices' inquam '*Rheni* accolae, quoniam ille miserias purgat, nostras quidem nec *Padus* nunquam purgare valuit nec *Tiberis*. Vos vestra mala Britannis Rheno vectore transmittitis; nos nostra libenter Afris atque Illyriis mitteremus, sed nobis (ut intelligi datur) pigriora sunt flumina.' Commoto risu, sero tandem inde discessimus. [A few lines omitted.] The letter is of 1330, and addressed to Card. Colonna. We find it quoted so early as by Kaisersberg (Omeiss 35c).

nounced by that Father as a relic of paganism: 'natali Johannis, de solemnitate superstitiosa pagana, Christiani *ad mare veniebant, et se baptizabant*' (Opp., Paris 1683, tom. 5, p. 903); and again: 'ne nullus in festivitate S. Johannis in *fontibus aut paludibus aut in fluminibus, nocturnis aut matutinis horis se lavare* praesumat, quia haec infelix consuetudo adhuc de Paganorum observatione remansit' (Append. to tom. 5 p. 462). Generally sanctioned by the church it certainly was not, yet it might be allowed here and there, as a not unapt reminder of the Baptizer in the Jordan, and now interpreted of him, though once it had been heathen. It might easily come into extensive favour, and that not as a christian feast alone: to our heathen forefathers St. John's day would mean the festive middle of the year, when the sun turns, and there might be many customs connected with it. I confess, if Petrarch had witnessed the bathing in the river at some small town, I would the sooner take it for a native rite of the ancient Germani; at Cologne, the holy city so renowned for its relics, I rather suspect it to be a custom first introduced by christian tradition (see Suppl.).¹

There are lakes and springs whose waters periodically *rise* and *fall*: from either phenomenon mischief is prognosticated, a death, war, approaching dearth. When the reigning prince is about to die, the river is supposed to stop in its course, as if to indicate its grief (Deut. sag. no. 110); if the well runs dry, the head of the family will die soon after (no. 103). A spring that either *runs over* or *dries up*, foreboding dearth, is called *hungerquelle, hungerbrunnen* (Stald. 2, 63). Wössingen near Durlach has a *hungerbrunnen*, which is said to flow abundantly when the year is going to be unfruitful, and then also the fish it produces are small.²

¹ In Poland and Silesia, and perhaps in a part of Russia, girls who have overslept matin-time on *Easter Monday* are *soused with water* by the lads, and flogged with birch twigs; they are often pulled out of bed at night, and dragged to a *river* or *cistern*, or a *trough filled with water*, and are ducked. The Silesians call this *schmagostern* (even Estor's Oberhess. idiot. has *schmakustern*=giving the rod at Easter); perh. from Pol. *smić*, Boh. *smyti*, so that *smigust* would be rinsing [SUPPL. says, 'better from *smagać* to flog']. The Poles say both *smić* and *dyngować*, *dyngus*, of the splashing each other with water (conf. Hanusch, p. 197), and the time of year seems to be St. John's day as well as Easter. In the Russian gov. of Archangel, the people *bathe in the river* on June 23, and sprinkle *kupálitsa* (*ranunculus acris*), *Karamzin* I, 73-4 [the same is also a surname of St. Agrippina, on whose day, June 24, river-bathing (*kupálunia*) commences]. Everywhere a belief in the sacredness of the Easter-bath and St. John's-bath.

² Mone's *Anz.* 3, 221. 340, who gives a forced and misleading explanation of the

Such a hunger-spring there was by Halle on the Saale; when the peasants came up to town, they looked at it, and if it ran over, they said: 'this year, things 'll be dear.' The like is told of fountains near Rosia in the Siennese, and near Chateaudun in the Orleanese. As Hunger was personified, it was easy to make him meddle with springs. A similar Nornborn was noticed, p. 405. I insert Dietmar of Merseburg's report (1, 3) of lake Glomazi in the Slav parts of the Elbe valley: 'Glomazi¹ est fons non plus ab Albi quam duo milliaria positus, qui unam de se paludem generans, mira, ut incolae pro vero asserunt oculisque approbatum est a multis, saepe operatur. Cum bona pax indigenis profutura suumque haec terra non mentitur fructum, *tritico et avena ac glandine* refertus, laetos vicinorum ad se crebro *confluentium* efficit animos. Quando autem saeva belli tempestas ingruerit, *sanguine et cinere* certum futuri exitus indicium praemonstrat. Hunc omnis incola plus quam ecclesias, spe quamvis dubia, *veneratur et timet.*'² But apart from particular fountains, by a mere *gauging of water* a season of dearth or plenty, an increase or decrease of wealth may be divined, according as the water poured into a vessel *rises* or *falls* (Superst. F, 43; and no. 953 in Praetor's Saturnalien p. 407). This looks to me like a custom of high antiquity. Saxo Gram. p. 320 says, the image of the god Svantovit in Rügen held in its right hand a horn: 'quod sacerdos sacrorum ejus peritus annuatim mero perfundere consueverat, ex *ipso liquoris habitu sequentis anni copias prospecturus*. . . . Postero die, populo prae foribus excubante, detractum simulacro poculum curiosius speculatus, si quid *ex inditi liquoris mensura substractum* fuisset, ad *sequentis anni inopiam* pertinere putabat. Si *nihil* ex consuetae foecunditatis habitu *diminutum* vidisset, ventura agrorum ubertatis tempora praedicabat.' The wine was emptied out, and water poured into the horn (see Suppl.).

word. Another name is *schündlebach* (beck that brings shame, confusion): such a one was pointed out to me on the plain near Cassel, and Simpliciss. 5, 14 mentions the *schündlibach* by Oberneheim, which only runs when misfortune befalls the land. [SUPPL. adds the MHG. *schantbach*, Weisth. 1, 760, and 'der *schanden bechelin*,' Frauenlob p. 186]. So, when the *Lutterborn* by Herbershausen (Helperhusen) near Göttingen runs, it is a dear season; but when the spider builds in Helperhouse mill, and the swallow in the millwheel, the times are good.

¹ Al. 'Glomuzi, Zlumiei'; now the Lommatsch district.

² Capitul. an. 794 (Pertz 3, 74): 'experimento dilectimus, in anno quo illa valida famis irrepsit, *ebullire vacuas annonas* (empty ears), a daemonibus devoratas.'

Whirlpools and *waterfalls* were doubtless held in special veneration; they were thought to be put in motion by a superior being, a river-sprite. The Danube whirlpool and others still have separate legends of their own. Plutarch (in his *Cæsar*, cap. 19) and Clement of Alex. (*Stromat.* 1, 305) assure us that the German prophetesses watched the eddies of rivers, and by their whirl and noise explored the future. The Norse name for such a vortex is *fors*, Dan. *fos*, and the Isl. sög. 1, 226 expressly say, ‘blötaði *forsin* (worshipped the f.)’ The legend of the river-sprite *fossegrim* was touched upon, p. 493; and in such a *fors* dwelt the dwarf *Andvari* (*Sæm.* 180. *Fornald. sög.* 1, 152). But *animal* sacrifices seem to have been specially due to the whirlpool (*δίνος*), as the black lamb (or goat) to the *fossegrim*; and the passages quoted from *Agathias* on pp. 47, 100, about the *Alamanns* offering horses to the rivers and ravines, are to the same purpose. The *Iliad* 21, 131 says of the *Skamander*:

ᾧ δὴ δηθὰ πολεῖς ἱερεύετε ταύρους,
ζωοὺς δ' ἐν δίνησι καθίετε μώνυχας ἵππους·

(Lo, to the river this long time many a bull have ye hallowed, Many a whole-hoofed horse have ye dropped alive in his eddies); and *Pansan.* viii. 7, 2: τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καθίεσαν ἐς τὴν Δεινὴν (a water in Argolis, conn. with *δίνος*) τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἵππους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι κεκοσμένους χαλινοῖς. *Horace*, *Od.* 3, 13: O fons *Bandusiae*, non sine floribus cras donaberis haedo (see *Suppl.*).

It is pretty well known, that even before the introduction of Christianity or christian baptism, the heathen Norsemen had a hallowing of new-born infants by means of water; they called this *vatni ansa*, sprinkling with water. Very likely the same ceremony was practised by all other *Tentons*, and they may have ascribed a peculiar virtue to the water used in it, as Christians do to *baptismal water* (*Superst. Swed.* 116). After a christening, the *Esthonians* will bribe the clerk to let them have the water, and then *splash it up* against the walls, to secure honours and dignities for the child (*Superst. M.* 47).

It was a practice widely prevalent to turn to strange superstitious uses the *water of the millwheel* caught as it glanced off the paddles. *Old Hartlieb* mentions it (*Superst. H.* c. 60), and vulgar opinion approves it still (*Sup. I.* 471. 766). The *Servians* call

such water *omaya*, rebound, from *omanuti*, *omakhnuti*, to rebound. Vuk, under the word, observes that women go early on St. George's day (Apr. 23), to catch it, especially off a small brook-mill (*kashitchara*), and bathe in it. Some carry it home the evening before, and sprinkle it with all manner of broken greens: they think all evil and harm will then *glance off* their bodies *like the water off the millwheel* (Vuk sub v. Jurjev dan). Similar, though exactly the reverse, is the warning not to *flirt the water* off your hands after washing in the morning, else you *flirt away* your luck for the day (Sup. I, 21).

Not only brooks and rivers (p. 585), but *rain* also was in the childlike faith of antiquity supposed to be let fall out of bowls by gods of the sky; and riding witches are still believed to carry *pitchers*, out of which they pour storm and hail upon the plains, instead of the rain or dew that trickled down before.¹

When the heavens were shut, and the fields languished in drought, the granting of *rain* depended in the first instance on a deity, on Donar, or Mary and Elias, who were supplicated accordingly (pp. 173-6).² But in addition to that, a special charm was resorted to, which infallibly procured 'rainwater,' and in a measure compelled the gods to grant it. A little girl, *completely undressed* and led outside the town, had to dig up *henbane* (*bilsenkraut*, OHG. *pilisa*, *hyoscyamus*) with the little finger of her right hand, and tie it to the little toe of her right foot; she was then solemnly conducted by the other maidens to the nearest river, and *splashed with water*. This ceremony, reported by Burchard of Worms (Sup. C, 201^b) and therefore perhaps still in use on the Rhine or in Hesse in the 11th cent., comes to us with the more weight, as, with characteristic differences which put all direct borrowing out of the question, it is still in force among Servians and Mod. Greeks. Vuk, under the word 'dodole,' describes the Servian custom. A girl, called the *dodola*, is *stript naked*, but so *wrapt up in grass, herbs and flowers*, that nothing of

¹ The Peruvians believe in a *rain-goddess*, who sits in the clouds with a *pitcher of water*, ready to pour it out at the right time; if she delays, her *brother* with thunder and lightning smites the pitcher in pieces. Garcilaso de la Vega's *Hist. Incarum peruanorum* 11, 27; conf. Talvj's *Characteristik der volkslieder*, p. 126.

² I will here add, from Anton's *Coll. on the Slavs*, the substance of a Wallachian song, which the children sing when the corn is endangered by drought: '*Papatuga* (father Luga), climb into heaven, open its doors, and send down rain from above, that well the rye may grow!'

her person is to be seen, not even the face.¹ Escorted by other maidens, *dodola* passes from house to house, before each house they form a ring, she standing in the middle and dancing alone. The goodwife comes out and *empties a bucket of water* over the girl, who keeps dancing and whirling all the while; her companions sing songs, repeating after every line the burden 'oy dodo, oy dodo le!' The second of these rain-hymns (*piesme dodolske*) in Vuk's Coll. nos. 86-88 (184-8 of ed. 2) runs thus :

To God doth our doda call, oy dodo oy dodo le!
 That dewy rain may fall, oy dodo oy dodo le!
 And drench the diggers all, oy dodo oy dodo le!
 The workers great and small, oy dodo oy dodo le!
 Even those in house and stall, oy dodo oy dodo le!

And they are sure that rain will come at once. In Greece, when it has not rained for a fortnight or three weeks, the inhabitants of villages and small towns do as follows. The children choose one of themselves who is from eight to ten years old, usually a poor orphan, whom they *strip naked* and *deck from head to foot with field herbs and flowers*: this child is called *πυρπηροῦνα*. The others lead her round the village, singing a hymn, and every housewife has to *throw a pailful of water over the pyrperuna's head*, and hand the children a *para* ($\frac{1}{4}$ of a farthing). The Mod. Greek hymn is in Theod. Kind's *τραγῳδία τῆς νέας Ἑλλάδος*, Leipz. 1833, p. 13. Passow, nos. 311-3, p. 627. Neither Greek nor Slavic will explain why the rain-girl should be called *dodola* (caressingly *doda*) and *πυρπηροῦνα*.² Burchard very likely could have given us a German designation equally inscrutable. But the meaning of the performance is clear: as the water from the bucket on the *dodola*, so is rain out of heaven to stream down on the earth; it is the mystic and genuinely symbolic association of means with end. Just so the rebound off the millwheel was to send evil flying, and the lustration in the stream to wash away all

¹ Is this covering merely to protect the maiden's modesty, or has it some further reason? We shall see that personations of spring and summer were in like manner enveloped in foliage.

² Kind, pp. 86-7, gives some variant forms, but all the explanations appear to me farfetched. Both the Greek and the Servian names have the reduplication so characteristic of folk-words. [Slav. *dozhd* is rain, and *zhd* represents either *gd* or *dd*; if this be the root, *dodo-la* may be a dimin.]

future illnesses. Celtic tradition, without bringing in girl or child, makes the *pouring out of water* in seasons of great drought evoke the wished-for rain. The huntsmen go to the fountain of Barenton in the forest of Breziliande, scoop up the water in their horns, and *spill it on the stones*; immediately the rain-clouds rise and refresh the land.¹ The custom, with an addition of church ceremonial, is kept up to this day. Led by the clergy, amid chanting and pealing of bells, with five great banners borne in front, the parish walks in procession to the spring, and the head of the commune *dips his foot* crosswise in the fountain of Barenton; they are then sure of its raining before the procession arrives home again.² The mayor's foot alone is wetted instead of the child, or a little water only is poured out as a beginning of that which is to fall in masses from the sky. The scanty offering brings the great bounty to our door. In Spain, when hot weather lasts long, an image of the Virgin arrayed in mourning (*imagen cubierta de luto*) is solemnly escorted through the villages, to obtain the blessing of rain,³ as in the Liège procession (pp. 174-5), with which again that described by Petronius agrees (p. 175); only here the symbolic libation is left out. But of those herbs that were tied round the child, some most likely were of magic power; such a use of henbane is otherwise unknown to me. Lastly, the Bavarian *waterbird* seems identical with *do-dola* and *pyrperuna*. The man who is the last to drive out on Whitmonday⁴ is led by the other workmen into the nearest wood, and *tied round and round with leaves and twigs or rushes*; then they ride in triumph through the village, and everybody that has young legs follows the procession to the pond or brook, where the *waterbird* is solemnly tumbled off his horse into the water (Schm. 1, 320). In Austria too the village lads elect a Whitsun king, *dress him up in green boughs, blacken his face and pitch him into the brook* (Denis, Leseifr. 1, 130). In these two cases the 'votis vocare

¹ Roman de Rou, v. 11514 (the passage extracted in the notes to Iwein, pp. 262-3).

² Revue de Paris, tome 41, pp. 47-58. Villemar adds, that children throw pins into the fountain, while they call out: 'ris done, fontaine de Berendon, et je te donnerai une épingle!' and the fay of the fountain is supposed to be made friendly by the gift. Conf. 'libamina lacui exhibere', p. 596.

³ Don Quixote 1, 52 (Ideler 2, 435). And in other places it was the custom in time of drought, to carry the bodies of saints about, Flodoard. rem. 4, 41.

⁴ As the girl who oversleeps herself on Easter morning is ducked (p. 590).

imbrem' has dropt out altogether, and been replaced by a mere Whitsun drollery at the cost of the laziest man;¹ but I have little doubt that the same purpose lies at the bottom of the custom (see Suppl.).

Of goddesses, no doubt the bath-loving *Nerthus* and *Holda* are the most nearly connected with water-worship (*Holda* lives in wells, pp. 268, 487); and to them must be added swan-maidens, merminnes (p. 433), water-holdes, spring-holdes (p. 268), water-muhmes and nixies. To all of them particular rivers, brooks, pools and springs can be consecrated and assigned as their abode; *Oegir* (p. 237) and *Rân* (pp. 311, 497) ruled in the sea, and the waves are called their daughters: all this gives a new stamp to the veneration of the element. Of this very natural, but not essential, combination of simple rude water-worship with a faith in higher beings, I will give a few more specimens.

As those who cross a river by ferry or by bridge have to dread the power of the dæmon that dwells in it (p. 497), so vulgar opinion in Sweden (Sup. K, 40) holds it advisable, in crossing any water in the dark, to *spit three times*, as a safeguard against evil influences.² Precautions are also taken in drawing water from a well: before drawing any, the Greeks at Mykono *salute three times* in honour of *Teloni* (fountain-sprite).³ For a thief to throw in the water a little of what he has stolen (Sup. I, 836), means sacrificing to the water-sprite. The *Vita S. Sulpicii Biturig.* (died 644) relates (*Acta Bened. sec. 2*, p. 172): 'gurges quidam erat in Virisionensium situs agello (*Vierzon*, in *Biturigibus*) aquarum mole copiosus, utpote *daemonibus consecratus*; et si aliquis causa qualibet ingrederetur eundem, repente *funibus daemoniacis* circumplexus amittebat crudeliter vitam.' A more decisive testimony to the worship of water itself is what Gregory of Tours tells of a lake on Mt. Helanus (*De gloria confess.*, cap. 2): 'Mons erat in Gabalitano territorio (*Gevaudan*) cognomento Helanus, lacum habens magnum. Ad quem certo tempore multitudo rusticorum, *quasi libamina lacui illi exhibens*,

¹ Sup. I, 342: the lazy maid, on carrying home her first grass, is ducked or splashed, to prevent her going to sleep over grass-cutting.

² The spirits cannot abide *spitting* (p. 514).

³ *Villoison* in *Maltebrun*, *Annales de voy.* 2, 180. *Artemidorus's Oneirocrit.* 2 27 (*Reiff* 1, 189) admits well-nymphs: *νύμφαι τε γάρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ φρέατι*. *Fauriel*: τὸ στοιχείων τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

linteramina projiciebat ac pannos qui ad usum vestimenti virilis praebeantur: nonnulli lanae vellera, plurimi etiam formas casei¹ ac cerae vel panis, diversasque species unusquisque juxta vires suas, quae dinumerare perlongum puto. Veniebant autem cum plaustris potum cibumque deferentes, *mactantes animalia et per triduum epulantes*. Quarta autem die cum discedere deberent, anticipabat eos *tempestas* cum tonitruo et coruscatione valida; et in tantum imber ingens cum lapidum violentia descendebat, ut vix se quisquam eorum putaret evadere. Sic fiebat *per singulos annos*, et involvebatur insipiens populus in errore.'—No god or spirit shews his face here, the yearly sacrifice is offered to the lake itself, and the feast winds up with the coming *tempest*. Gervase of Tilbury (in Leibnitz 1, 982) tells of a lake on Mt. Cavagum in Catalonia: 'in cujus summitate *lacus* est aquam continens subnigram et in fundo imperscrutabilem. Illic *mansio* fertur esse *daemonum* ad modum palatii dilatata et janua clausa; facies tamen ipsius mansionis sicut ipsorum daemonum vulgaribus est incognita ac invisibilis. In lacum si quis aliquam lapideam aut aliam solidam projecerit materiam, statim *tanquam offensis daemonibus tempestas erumpit*.'² Then comes the story of a girl who is carried off by the watersprites, and kept in the lake seven years.

Lakes cannot endure to have their depth gauged. On the *Mummelsee*, when the sounders had let down all the cord out of nine nets with a plummet without finding a bottom, suddenly the raft they were on began to sink, and they had to seek safety in a rapid flight to land (Simplic. 5, 10). A man went in a boat to the middle of the *Titisee*, and payed out no end of line after the plummet, when there came out of the waves a terrible cry: 'Measure me, and I'll eat you up!' In a great fright the man desisted from his enterprise, and since then no one has dared

¹ Formages, whence fromages.

² This raising of a storm by *throwing stones into a lake or wellhead* is a Teutonic, a Celtic and a Finnish superstition, as the examples quoted shew. The watersprite avenges the desecration of his holy stream. Under this head come the stories of the *Mummelsee* (Deut. sag. no. 59. Simplic. 5, 9), of the *Pilatussee* (Lothar's Volkssag. 232. Dobenek 2, 118. Gutschlaff p. 288. Mone's Anz. 4, 423), of L. Camarina in Sicily (Camarinam movere), and above all, of Berenton well in Breziliande forest, Iwein 553-672, where however it is the well-water poured on the well-rock that stirs up the storm: conf. supra, p. 594, and the place in Pontus mentioned by Beneke, p. 269. The lapis manalis also conjured up rain, O. Müller's Etr. 2, 97.

to sound the depth of the lake (Mone's Anz. 8, 536). There is a similar story in Thiele 3, 73, about Huntsöe, that some people tried to fathom its depth with a ploughshare tied to the line, and from below came the sound of a spirit-voice: 'i maale vore vægge, vi skal maale jeres lögge!' Full of terror they hauled up the line, but instead of the share found an old horse's skull fastened to it.¹

It is the custom in Esthonia for a newly married wife to drop a present *into the well* of the house; it is a nationality that seems particularly given to worshipping water. There is a detailed account of the *holy Wöhhandä*, a rivulet of Livonia. It rises near Ilmegerve, a village of Odenpä district in Esthonia, and after its junction with the Medda, falls into L. Peipus. The source is in a *sacred grove*, within whose bounds no one dares to cut a tree or break a twig: whoever does it is sure to die that year. Both brook and fountain are kept clean, and are put to rights once a year; if anything is thrown into the spring or the little lake through which it flows, the weather turns to *storm* (see Suppl.).

Now in 1641 Hans Ohm of Sommerpahl, a large landowner who had come into the country in the wake of the Swedes, built a mill on the brook, and when bad harvests followed for several years, the Ehsts laid it all to the desecration of the *holy stream*, who allowed no obstructions in his path; they fell upon the mill, burnt it down, and destroyed the piles in the water. Ohm went to law, and obtained a verdict against the peasants; but to rid himself of new and grievous persecutions, he induced pastor Gutsclaff, another German, to write a treatise² specially combating this superstition. Doubtless we learn from it only the odious features of the heathenish cult. To the question, how good or bad weather could depend on springs, brooks and lakes, the Ehsts replied: 'it is our ancient faith, the men of old have so taught us (p. 25, 258); mills have been burnt down on this

¹ The people about L. Baikal believe it has no bottom. A priest, who could dive to any depth, tried it, but was so frightened by the *lös* (dragons, sea-monsters), that, if I remember rightly, he died raving mad.—TRANS.

² A short account of the holy brook (falsely so called) Wöhhandä in Liefland, whereby the ungodly burning of Sommerpahl mill came to pass. Given from Christian zeal against unchristian and heathenish superstition, by Joh. Gutsclaff, Pomer. pastor at Urbs in Liefland. Dorpt 1644 (8vo, 407 pp. without the Dedic. and Pref.). An extract in Kellgren (Suomi 9, 72-92).

brook before now (p. 278), he will stand no crowding.' The Esth. name is 'põha yögge,' the Lettic 'shvétì ubbe,' *i.e.* holy brook. By means of it they could regulate the weather, and when they wanted *rain*, they had only to *throw* something in (p. 25). Once, when three oxen were drowned in the lake, there followed snow and frost (p. 26). At times there came up out of the brook *a carl with blue and yellow stockings*: evidently the spirit of the brook.

Another Esthonian story is about *L. Eim* changing his bed. On his banks lived wild and wicked men, who never mowed the meadows that he watered, nor sowed the fields he fertilized, but robbed and murdered, so that his bright wave was befouled with the blood of the slain. And the lake mourned; and one evening he called his fish together, and mounted with them into the air. The brigands hearing a din cried: 'the Eim has left his bed, let us collect his fish and hidden treasure.' But the fish were gone, and nothing was found at the bottom but snakes, toads and salamanders, which came creeping out and lodged with the ruffian brood. But the Eim rose higher and higher, and swept like a white cloud through the air; said the hunters in the woods: 'what is this murky weather passing over us?' and the herdsmen: 'what white swan is flying in the sky?' All night he hung among the stars, at morn the reapers spied him, how that he was sinking, and the white swan became as a white ship, and the ship as a dark drifting cloud. And out of the waters came a voice: 'get thee hence with thy harvest, I come to dwell with thee.' Then they bade him welcome, if he would bedew their fields and meadows, and he sank down and stretched himself in his new couch. They set his bed in order, built dikes, and planted young trees around to cool his face. Their fields he made fertile, their meadows green; and they danced around him, so that old men grew young for joy.¹

¹ Fr. Thiersch in *Taschenbuch für liebe und freundschaft* 1809, p. 179. Must not *Eim* be the same as *Embach* (mother-beck, fr. emma mother, conf. õim mother-in-law) near Dorpat, whose origin is reported as follows? When God had created heaven and earth, he wished to bestow on the beasts a king, to keep them in order, and commanded them to dig for his reception a deep broad beck, on whose banks he might walk; the earth dug out of it was to make a hill for the king to live on. All the beasts set to work, the hare measured the land, the fox's brush trailing after him marked the course of the stream; when they had finished hollowing out the bed, God poured water into it out of his golden bowl (*Verhandl. der esthn. gesellschaft, Dorpat* 1840. 1, 40-42). The two stories differ as to the manner of preparing the new bed.

The Greeks and Romans personified their *rivers* into male beings; a bearded old man pours the flowing spring out of his urn (pp. 585. 593). Homer finely pictures the elemental strife between water and fire in the battle of the *Skamander* with Hephæstus: the river is a god, and is called *ἄραξ*, Od. 5, 445. 451. The Indian *Ganges* too is an august deity. Smaller streams and fountains had nymphs set over them.¹ In our language, most of the *rivers' names* are feminine (Gramm. 3, 384-6), there must therefore have been female watersprites. Twelve or eighteen streams are specified by name in Sæm. 43^b. Sn. 4. I single out *Leiptr*, by whose clear water, as by Styx or Acheron, oaths were sworn. Sæm. 165^a: 'at eno liosa *Leiptrar vatni*.' A dæmon of the Rhine is nowhere named in our native traditions, but the Edda calls the *Rîn* (fem.) *svinu*, *âskunna* (prudens, a diis oriunda, Sæm. 248^a). And in the bosom of the Rhine lie treasure and gold. The Goths buried their beloved king Alaric in the bed of a river near Consentia (Cosenza), which they first dug out of its course, and then led back over the corpse (Jornandes, cap. 30); the Franks, when crossing a river, offered sacrifice to it (p. 45).

But where the sacred water of a river sweeps round a piece of meadow land, and forms an *ea* (aue), such a spot is specially marked out for the residence of gods; witness Wunsches ouwe (p. 140), Pholes ouwa (p. 225).² Equally venerable were *islands* washed by the pure sea wave, Fosetesland (p. 230), and the island of Nerthus (p. 251).

In the *sea* itself dwelt Oegir (p. 237) and Rân (p. 311), and the waves are their daughters: the Edda speaks of *nine waves*, and gives their names (Sn. 124, conf. the riddles in the Hervararsaga, pp. 478-9); this reminds me of the *nona unda* in the Waltharius 1343, and the 'fluctus decumanus' [every tenth wave being the biggest, Festus, and Ov. Trist. i. 2, 50]. There must also have been another god of the sea, Geban (p. 239, conf. p. 311). Then,

¹ The Romans appear to have much elaborated their cultus of rivers and brooks, as may be seen by the great number of monuments erected to river-gods. I will here add the testimony of Tacitus, Ann. 1, 79: 'sacra et lucos et aras *patriis amnibus* dicare.'

² Gallus Ohem's Chronik von *Reichenau* (end of 15th cent.) quoted in Schönluth's *Reichenau*, Freib. 1836, p. v.: 'the isle is to this day esteemed *honourable* and *holy*; unchristened babes are not buried in it, but carried out and laid beside a small house with a saint's image in it, called the *chindli-bild*.'

according to the Edda, there lies in the deep sea an enormous 'worm,' *miðgarðs-ormr*, biting his own tail and begirding the whole earth. The immensity of ocean (Goth. *marisáivs*) is expressed in the OHG. names *endilmeri* and *wendilmeri* (Graff 2, 829); conf. *enteo* and *wenteo* (p. 564), *entil* and *wentil* (p. 375). An AS. term *gársecg* I have tried to explain in *Zeitschr. für d. a.* 1, 578. As the running stream will suffer no evil-doer in it, so is 'daz *mer* so reine, daz ez keine bôsheit mac gelîden,' so clean that it no wickedness can bear, *Wiener merfart* 392 (see *Suppl.*).

2. FIRE.

Fire,¹ like water, is regarded as a *living* being: corresponding to *quecprunno* (p. 588n.) we have a *quecfiur*, daz *quecke* *fiwer*, *Parz.* 71, 13; *Serv. vatra zhiva*, *ogan zhivi* (*vivus*, *Vuk* 1, xlvi. and 3, 8. 20); τὸ πῦρ θηρίον ἔμψυχον of the Egyptians, *Herod.* 3, 16; *ignis animal*, *Cic. de N. D.* 3, 14, *i.e.* a devouring hungry insatiable beast, *vorax flamma*; *frekr* (*avidus*), *Sæm.* 50^b; *bitar fiur*, *Hel.* 78, 22; *bitar logna* 79, 20; *grâdag logna* (*greedy lowe*), 130, 23; *grim endi grâdag* 133, 11; *eld unfuodi* (*insatiabilis*) 78, 23; it licks with its tongue, eats all round it, *pastures*, *véμεται*, *Il.* 23, 177; the land gets eaten clean by it, *πυρὶ χθῶν véμεται*, 2, 780; 'lêztu *eld eta* iöfra *bygdir*, *Sæm.* 142^a; it is restless, *ἀκάματος πῦρ*, *Il.* 23, 52. To be spoken to is a mark of living things: 'heitr ertu *hripuðr!*' (*hot art thou, Fire*), *Sæm.* 40^a. The ancient Persians made a god of it, and the Indian *Agni* (*ignis*) is looked upon as a god. The Edda makes fire a brother of the wind and sea, therefore himself alive and a god, *Su.* 126. Our people compare the element to a cock flying from house to house: 'I'll set the *red cock* on your roof' is a threat of the incendiary; 'ein roten han aufs stadel setzen,' *H. Sachs* iv. 3, 86^d; *róter schîn*, *Gudr.* 786, 2.

An antique heathen designation of the great World-fire, *ON. muspell*, OHG. OS. *muspilli*, *mudspell*, *mutspell*, has already been noticed, p. 558. The mythic allusions here involved can only be unfolded in the sequel; the meaning of the word seems to be *ligni perditor*, as fire in general is also called *bani viður*,

* ¹ Names for it, *Gramm.* 3, 352; *Eddie names*, *Sæm.* 50^b, *Su.* 187-8.

grand viðar (bane, crusher, of wood), Sn. 126, *her alls viðar*, Sæm. 228^b. Another difficult expression is *eikin fur*, Sæm. 83^b. Of *vafrogi* (quivering flame), suggesting the MHG. ‘*daz bibende fiwer*’ (Tund. 54, 58), I likewise forbear to speak; conf. Chap. XXXI., Will o’ the wisp (see Suppl.).

A regular worship of fire seems to have had a more limited range than the veneration of water; it is only in that passage of the AS. prohibitions quoted p. 102, and in no other, that I find mention of fire. A part of the reverence accorded to it is no doubt included in that of the light-giving and warming *sun*, as Julius Caesar (p. 103 above) names *Sol* and *Vulcanus* together, and the Edda *fire* and *sun*, praising them both as supreme: ‘*eldr er beztr med ýta sonum, ok sólar sýn*,’ fire is best for men, Sæm. 18^b (as Pindar says water is). In Superst. B, 17, I understand ‘*observatio pagana in foco*’ of the flame on the hearth or in the oven: where a *hearth-fire* burns, no lightning strikes (Sup. I, 126); when it crackles, there will be strife (322. 534). Compare with this the Norwegian exposition (p. 242); so long as a child is unbaptized, you must *not let the fire out* (Sup. Swed. 22), conf. *kasta eld, tugi i elden* (24-5. 54. 68. 107).—The Esthonians throw *gifts* into fire, as well as into water (Sup. M, 11); to pacify the flame, they *sacrifice a fowl* to it (82).

A distinction seems to have been made between friendly and malignant fires; among the former the Greeks reckoned brimstone fire, as they call sulphur *θεῖον*, divine smoke (Il. 8, 135. Od. 22, 481. 493). In O. Fr. poems I often find such forms of cursing as: *mal feu arde!* Tristr. 3791; *maus feus et male flambe m’arde!* Méon 3, 227. 297. Ren. 19998. This evil fire is what the Norse Loki represents; and as Loki or the devil breaks loose, we say, when a fire begins, that it *breaks loose, breaks out, gets out*, as if from chains and prison: ‘*worde vür los*,’ Doc. in Sartorius’s Hanse p. 27; in Lower Germany an alarm of fire was given in the words ‘*für los!*’ ON. ‘*einn neisti (spark) varð laus*.’

Forms of exorcism treat fire as a hostile higher being, whom one must encounter with might and main. Tacitus (Ann. 13, 57) tells us how the Ubii suppressed a fire that broke out of the ground: *Residentibus flammis propius suggesti, ictu fustium aliisque verberibus ut feras* (see p. 601) *absterrebant, postremo tegmina corpore direpta injiciunt, quanto magis profana et usu polluta,*

tanto magis oppressura ignes. So, on valuables that have caught fire, people throw some article of clothing that has been worn *next the skin*, or else earth which has first been *stamped on with the foot*. Rupertus Tuitiensis, De incendio oppidi Tuitii (*i.e.* Deutz, in 1128), relates that a white altar-cloth (*corporale*) was thrust into the middle of the fire, to stifle it, but the flame *hurled back* the cloth. The cloth remained uninjured, but had a red streak running through it. Similar to this was the casting of clothes into the lake (p. 596-7). Fire breaking out of the earth (*iarðeldr*) is mentioned several times in Icelandic sagas: in the evening you see a great horrible man rowing to land in an iron boat, and digging under the stable door; in the night earth-fire breaks out there, and consumes every dwelling, Landn. 2, 5; '*iarðeldr rann ofan,*' 4, 12 (see Suppl.).

NEEDFIRE.—Flame which had been kept some time among men and been propagated from one fire to another, was thought unserviceable for sacred uses; as holy water had to be drawn fresh from the spring, so it made all the difference, if instead of the profaned and as it were worn out flame, a new one were used. This was called *wild fire*, as opposed to the tame and domesticated. So heroes when they fought, '*des fiurs ûz den ringen* (harness) *hiuwen si genuoc,*' Nib. 2215, 1; '*ûz ir helmen daz wilde fiwer von den slegen vuor entwer,*' Alt. bl. 1, 339; '*daz fiur wilde wadlende drûze vluoc,*' Lanz. 5306; '*si sluogen ûf einander, daz wilde fiur erschien,*' Etzels hofh. 168 (see Suppl.). Fire struck or scraped out of stone might indeed have every claim to be called a fresh one, but either that method seemed too common (*flamman concussis ex more lapidibus elicere*, Vita Severini cap. 14), or its generation out of wood was regarded as more primitive and hallowed. If by accident such wild fire have arisen under the carpenter's hand in driving a nail into the mortised timbers of a new house, it is ominous of danger (Superst. I, 411. 500. 707). But for the most part there was a formal kindling of flame by the rubbing of wood, for which the name known from the oldest times was *notfeuer* (need fire), and its ritual can with scarce a doubt be traced back to heathen sacrifices.

So far back as in the Indiculus superstit. 15, we have mention '*de igne fricato de ligno, id est nodfyr*'; the Capitulare Carlomani

of 742 § 5 (Pertz 3, 17) forbids ‘illos sacrilegos ignes quos *nied-fyr* vocant.’¹

The preparation of needfire is variously described: I think it worth the while to bring all such accounts together in this place. Lindenbrog in the Glossary to the Capitularies says: ‘Rusticani homines in multis Germaniae locis, et festo quidem S. Johannis Baptistae die, *palum sepi extrahunt, extracto funem circumligant, illumque huc illuc ducunt, donec ignem concipiat: quem stipula lignisque aridioribus aggestis curate fovent, ac cineres collectos supra olera spargunt, hoc medio erucas abigi posse inani superstitione credentes. Eum ergo ignem *nothfeuer* et *nothfyr*, quasi necessarium ignem, vocant.’—Joh. Reiskius,² in Untersuchung des notfeuers, Frankf. and Leipz. 1696, 8. p. 51: ‘If at any time a grievous murrain have broke out among cattle great or small, and they have suffered much harm thereby; the husbandmen with one consent make a *nothfür* or *nothfeuer*. On a day appointed there must in no house be any flame left on the hearth. From every house shall be some straw and water and bushwood brought; then is a stout *oaken stake driven fast into the ground*, and a hole bored through the same, to the which a *wooden roller well smeared with pitch and tar* is let in, and so winded about, until by reason of the great heat and stress (*nothzwang*) it give out fire. This is straightway catched on shavings, and by straw, heath and bushwood enlarged, till it grow to a full *nothfeuer*, yet must it stretch a little way along betwixt two walls or hedges, and the cattle and thereto the horses be with sticks and whips driven through it three times or two. Others in other parts set up *two such stakes*, and stuff into the holes a *windle or roller* and therewith old rags smeared with grease. Others use a *hairen or common light-spun rope*, collect *wood of nine kinds*, and keep up a violent motion till such time as fire do drop therefrom. There may be in use yet other ways for the generating or kindling of this fire, nevertheless they all have respect unto the healing of cattle alone. After thrice or twice passing through, the cattle are driven to stall or field, and the*

¹ Ignorant scribes made it *metfratres*, the Capitularia spuria Benedicti 1, 2 (Pertz iv. 2, 46) have *nedfratres*.

² Rector of Wolfenbüttel school, v. Gericke's Schottelius illustratus, Leipz. 1718, p. 66. Eccard's Fr. or. 1, 425.

collected pile of wood is again pulled asunder, yet in such wise in sundry places, that every householder shall take a brand with him, quench it in the wash or swill tub, and put the same by for a time in the crib wherein the cattle are fed. The stakes driven in for the extorting of this fire, and the wood used for a roller, are sometimes carried away for fuel, sometimes laid by in safety, when the threefold chasing of the cattle through the flame hath been accomplished.'—In the Marburg Records of Inquiry, for 1605, it is ordered, that a *new cartwheel* with an unused axle be taken and worked round until it give fire, and with this a fire be lighted between the gates, and all the oxen driven through it; but before the fire be kindled, *every citizen shall put his own fire clean out*, and afterward fetch him fire again from the other.¹ Kuhn's *Märkische sagen* p. 369 informs us, that in many parts of the Mark the custom prevails of making a *nothfeuer* on certain occasions, and particularly when there is disease among swine. Before sunrise *two stakes* of dry wood are dug into the ground amid solemn silence, and hempen ropes that go round them are pulled back and forwards till the wood catches fire; the fire is fed with leaves and twigs, and the sick animals are driven through. In some places the fire is produced by the friction of an *old cartwheel*.—The following description, the latest of all, is communicated from Hohenhameln, bailiw. Baldenberg, Hildesheim: In many villages of Lower Saxony, especially in the mountains, it is common, as a precaution against cattle plague, to get up the so-called *wild fire*, through which first the *pigs*, then the *cows*, lastly the *geese* are driven.² The established procedure in the matter is this. The farmers and all the parish assemble, each inhabitant receives notice to *extinguish every bit of fire* in his house, so that not a spark is left alight in the whole village. Then old and young walk to a hollow way, usually towards evening, the women carrying linen, the men wood and tow. *Two oaken stakes* are driven into the ground a foot and a half apart, each having a hole on the inner side, into which fits a cross-bar as thick as an arm. The holes are *stuffed with linen*, then the cross-bar is forced in as tight as possible, the heads of the stakes being held together with

¹ Zeitschr. des hess. vereins 2, 231.

² Not a word about *sheep*: supposing *cocks and hens* were likewise hunted over the coals, it would explain a hitherto unexplained proverb (Reinhart xciv.).

cords. About the smooth round cross-bar *is coiled a rope*, whose long ends, left hanging on both sides, are seized by a number of men; these make the cross-bar revolve rapidly this way and that, till the friction sets the linen in the holes on fire. The sparks are caught on tow or oakum, and *whirled round* in the air till they burst into a clear blaze, which is then communicated to straw, and from the straw to a bed of brushwood arranged in cross layers in the hollow way. When this wood has well burnt and nearly done blazing, the people hurry off to the herds waiting behind, and drive them perforce, one after the other, through the glowing embers. As soon as all the cattle are through, the young folks throw themselves pellmell upon the ashes and coals, sprinkling and blackening one another; those who are most blackened and besmudged march into the village behind the cattle as conquerors, and will not wash for a long time after.¹ If after long rubbing the linen will not catch, they feel sure there is still fire somewhere in the village, and that the element refuses to reveal itself through friction: then follows a strict searching of houses, any fire they may light upon is extinguished, and the master of the house rebuked or chastised. But that the *wild fire* should be evoked by friction is indispensable, it cannot be struck out of flint and steel. Some localities perform the ceremony, not yearly as a preventive of murrain, but only upon its actually breaking out.

Accurate as these accounts are, a few minor details have escaped them, whose observance is seen to in some districts at least. Thus, in the Halberstadt country the ropes of the wooden roller are pulled *by two chaste boys*.² Need fires have remained in use longer and more commonly in North Germany,³ yet are not quite unknown in the South. Schmeller and Stalder are silent, but in Appenzell the country children still have a game of *rubbing* a rope against a stick *till it catches fire*: this they call '*de tüfel hüle*,' unmanning the devil, despoiling him of his strength.⁴

¹ Is there not also a brand or some light carried home for a redistribution of fire in the village?

² Büsching's Wöchentliche nachr. 4, 64; so a chaste youth has to strike the light for curing St. Anthony's fire, Superst. I, 710.

³ Conf. Conring's Epist. ad Baluz. xiii. Gericke's Schottel. p. 70. Dähnerst sub v. noodfür.

⁴ Zellweger's Gesch. von Appenzell, Trogen 1830. 1, 63; who observes, that with the ashes of the fire so engendered they strew the fields, as a protection against vermin.

But Tobler 252^b says, what boys call *de tüfel häla* is spinning a pointed stick, with a string coiled round it, rapidly in a wooden socket, till it takes fire. The name may be one of those innumerable allusions to Loki, the devil and fire-god (p. 242). Nic. Gryse, in a passage to be quoted later, speaks of *sawing fire* out of wood, as we read elsewhere of symbolically sawing the old woman in two. The Practica of Berthol. Carrichter, phys. in ord. to Maximilian II., gives a description (which I borrow from Wolfg. Hildebrand on Sorcery, Leipz. 1631. p. 226) of a magic bath, which is not to be heated with common flint-and-steel fire: 'Go to an appletree *which the lightning hath stricken*, let a saw be made thee of his wood, therewith shalt thou *saw upon a wooden threshold* that much people passeth over, till it be kindled. Then make firewood of birch-fungus, and kindle it at this fire, with which thou shalt heat the bath, and on thy life see it go not out' (see Suppl.).

Nôtfiur can be derived from *nôt* (need, necessitas), whether because the fire is forced to shew itself or the cattle to tread the hot coal, or because the operation takes place in a time of need, of pestilence. Nevertheless I will attempt another explanation: *notfiur*, *nodfiur* may stand for an older *hnotfiur*, *hnodfiur*, from the root *hniudan*, OHG. *hniotan*, ON. *hnioða* (quassare, terere, tundere);¹ and would mean a fire elicited by thumping, rubbing, shaking.

And in Sweden it is actually called both *vrideld* and *gnideld*: the one from *vrida* (torquere, circumagere), AS. *wriðan*, OHG. *rîdan*, MHG. *rîden*; the other from *gnida* (fricare), OHG. *knîtan*, AS. *cnîdan* (conterere, fricare, depserere).

It was produced in Sweden as with us, by violently rubbing two pieces of wood together, in some districts even near the end of last century; sometimes they used boughs of *nine sorts of wood*.² The smoke rising from *gnideld* was deemed salutary,

¹ OHG. *pihniutit* (excudit), Gl. ker. 251. *hnotôt* (quassat) 229. *hnutten* (vibrare) 282; N. has *fnotôn* (quassare), Ps. 109, 6. Bth. 230; conf. *nieten*, to bump. ON. still has *hnioða* in *hnoð* (tudes, malleus), *hnoða* (depserere), *hnuðla* (subigere). It might be spelt *hnôtfiur* or *hnotfiur* (*hnutfiur*), acc. as the sing. or pl. vowel-form was used. Perhaps we need not even insist on a lost *h*, but turn to the OHG. *niuwan*, ON. *núa* (terere, fricare), from which a subst. *nôt* might be derived by suffix. Nay, we might go the length of supposing that *nôt*, *náuþs*, *nauðr*, need, contained from the first the notion of stress and pressure (conf. Graf 2, 1032. 4, 1125).

² Ihre's De superst. p. 98, and Glossary sub. v. *wredeld*. Finn. Magn.,

fruit-trees or nets *fumigated* with it became the more productive of fruit or fish. On this *fumigation* with *vriden eld*, and on driving the cattle out over such *smoke*, conf. Superst. Swed. 89. 108. We can see that the purposes to which needfire was applied must have been far more numerous in heathen times: in Germany we find but a fragment of it in use for diseased cattle, but the superstitious practice of girls *kindling nine sorts of wool* on Christmas eve (Sup. I, 955) may assure us of a wider meaning having once belonged to needfire (see Suppl.).

In the North of England it is believed that an angel strikes a tree, and then needfire can be got from it; did they rub it only out of windfall wood? or does striking here not mean felling?

Of more significance are the Scotch and Irish procedures, which I am glad to give in the words of the original communications. The following I owe to the kindness of Miss Austin; it refers to the I. of Mull (off the W. coast of Scotland), and to the year 1767. 'In consequence of a disease among the black cattle the people agreed to perform an incantation, though they esteemed it a wicked thing. They carried to the top of Carnmoor a *wheel* and *nine spindles of oak wood*. They extinguished every fire in every house within sight of the hill; the *wheel* was then turned from east to west *over the nine spindles* long enough to produce fire by friction. If the fire were not produced before noon, the incantation lost its effect. They failed for several days running. They attributed this failure to the obstinacy of one householder, who would not let *his fires be put out* for what he considered so wrong a purpose. However by bribing his servants they contrived to have them extinguished, and on that morning raised their fire. They then *sacrificed a heifer*, cutting in pieces and burning, while yet alive, the diseased part. Then they lighted their own hearths from the pile, and ended by feasting on the remains. Words of incantation were repeated by an old man from Morven, who came over as master of the ceremonies, and who continued speaking all the time the fire was being raised. This man was living a beggar at Bellochroy. Asked to repeat the spell, he said the sin of repeating it once had

brought him to beggary, and that he dared not say those words again. The whole country believed him accursed' (see Suppl.).

In the Highlands, and especially in Caithness, they now use needfire chiefly as a remedy for preternatural diseases of cattle brought on by witchcraft.¹ 'To defeat the sorceries, certain persons who have the power to do so are sent for to raise the *needfire*. Upon any small river, lake, or island, a circular booth of stone or turf is erected, on which a *couple* or *rafter* of a *birch-tree* is placed, and the roof covered over. In the centre is set a *perpendicular post*, fixed by a wooden pin to the couple, the lower end being placed in an oblong groove on the floor; and *another pole* is placed horizontally between the upright post and the legs of the couple, into both of which the ends, being tapered, are inserted. This horizontal timber is called the *auger*, being provided with four short arms or spokes by which it can be turned round. As many men as can be collected are then set to work, having first *divested themselves of all kinds of metal*, and two at a time continue to turn the pole by means of the levers, while others keep driving wedges under the upright post so as to press it against the auger, which by the friction soon becomes ignited. From this the needfire is instantly procured, and *all other fires being immediately quenched*, those that are *rekindled* both in dwelling house and offices are accounted *sacred*, and the cattle are successively made to smell them.' Let me also make room for Martin's description,² which has features of its own: 'The inhabitants here did also make use of a fire called *tinegin*, *i.e.* a forced fire, or fire of necessity,³ which they used as an antidote against the plague or murrain in cattle; and it was performed thus: *all the fires* in the parish *were extinguished*, and then *eighty-one* (9 × 9) *married men*, being thought the necessary number for effecting this design, took *two great planks* of wood, and *nine* of 'em were employed by turns, who by their repeated efforts *rubbed one of the planks against the other* until the heat

¹ I borrow the description of the process from James Logan's 'The Scottish Gaël, or Celtic manners as preserved among the Highlanders,' Lond. 1831. 2, 64; though here he copies almost verbally from Jamieson's Supplem. to the Scot. Diet. sub v. neidfyre.

² Descr. of the Western Islands, p. 113.

³ From tin, Ir. teine (fire), and egin, Ir. eigin, eigeán (vis, violentia); which seems to favour the old etymology of nothfeuer, unless it be simply a translation of the Engl. needfire [which itself may stand for kneadfire].

thereof produced fire; and from this forced fire *each family is supplied with new fire*, which is no sooner kindled than a *pot full of water* is quickly *set on it*, and afterwards sprinkled upon the people infected with the plague, or upon the cattle that have the murrain. And this they all say they find successful by experience: it was practised on the mainland opposite to the south of Skye, within these thirty years.' As in this case there is *water boiled* on the frictile fire, and sprinkled with the same effect, so Eccard (Fr. or. 1, 425) tells us, that one Whitsun morning he saw some stablemen *rub fire out of wood*, and *boil their cabbage* over it, under the belief that by eating it they would be proof against fever all that year. A remarkable story from Northamptonshire, and of the present century, confirms that sacrifice of the young cow in Mull, and shows that even in England superstitious people would kill a calf to protect the herd from pestilence: Miss C—— and her cousin walking saw a *fire in a field*, and a crowd round it. They said, 'what is the matter?' '*Killing a calf.*' 'What for?' 'To stop the murrain.' They went away as quickly as possible. On speaking to the clergyman, he made inquiries. The people did not like to talk of the affair, but it appeared that when there is a disease among the cows, or the calves are born sickly, they *sacrifice* (*i.e.* kill and burn) *one* for good luck.' [A similar story from Cornwall in Hone's Daybook 1, 153.]

Unquestionably needfire was a sacred thing to other nations beside the Teutonic and Celtic. The Creeks in N. America hold an annual harvest festival, commencing with a strict fast of three days, during which the *fires are put out* in all houses. On the fourth morning the chief priest by *rubbing* two dry sticks together lights a *new clean fire*, which is distributed among all the dwellings; not till then do the women carry home the new corn and fruits from the harvest field.¹ The Arabs have for fire-friction two pieces of wood called *March* and *Aphar*, the one male, the other female. The Chinese say the emperor Sui was the first who rubbed wood against wood; the inconvenient method is retained as a holy one. Indians and Persians turn a piece of cane round in dry wood, Kanne's Urk. 454-5 (see Suppl.).

¹ Fr. Majer's Mythol. taschenb. 1811, p. 110.

It is still more interesting to observe how nearly the old Roman and Greek customs correspond. Excerpts from Festus (O. Müller 106, 2) say: '*ignis Vestae* si quando interstinctus esset, virgines verberibus afficiebantur a pontifice, quibus mos erat, *tabulam* felicitatis materiae *tam diu terebrare*, quousque exceptum ignem cribro aeneo virgo in aedem ferret.' The sacred fire of the goddess, once *extinguished*, was not to be rekindled, save by generating the pure element anew. A plank of the choice timber of sacred trees was bored, *i.e.* a pin turned round in it, till it gave out sparks. The act of catching the fire in a sieve, and so conveying it into the temple, is suggestive of a similar carrying of water in a sieve, of which there is some account to be given further on. Plutarch (in Numa 9) makes out that *new fire* was obtained not by friction, but by intercepting the sun's rays in clay vessels destined for the purpose. The Greeks worshipped *Hestia* as the pure hearth-flame itself.¹ But Lemnos, the island on which Zeus had flung down the celestial fire-god Hephæstus,² harboured a fire-worship of its own. Once a year *every fire was extinguished* for nine days, till a ship brought some fresh from Delos off the sacred hearth of Apollo: for some days it drifts on the sea without being able to land, but as soon as it runs in, there is fire served out to every one for domestic use, and a *new life* begins. The old fire was no longer holy enough; by doing without it altogether for a time, men would learn to set the true value on the element (see Suppl.).³ Like Vesta, St. Bridget of Ireland (d. 518 or 521) had a *perpetual fire* maintained in honour of her near Kildare; a wattled fence went round it, which none but women durst approach; it was only permissible to blow it with bellows, not with the mouth.⁴ The mode of generating it is not recorded.

The wonderful amount of harmony in these accounts, and the usages of needfire themselves, point back to a high antiquity. The *wheel* seems to be an emblem of the sun, whence light and fire proceed; I think it likely that it was provided with nine

¹ Nec tu aliud Vestam quam *vivam* intellige *flamam*, Ov. Fast. 6, 295.

² Acc. to the Finnish myth, the fire created by the gods falls on the sea in balls, it is swallowed by a salmon, and men afterwards find it inside the fish when caught. Runes pp. 6-22.

³ Philostr. Heroic. pp. 740. Welcker's Trilogie, pp. 247-8.

⁴ Acta sanctor., calend. Febr. p. 112^b.

spokes: 'thet niugenspetze fial' survives in the Frisian laws, those nine oaken spindles whose friction against the nave produced fire signify the nine spokes standing out of the nave, and the same sacred number turns up again in the nine kinds of wood, in the nine and eighty-one men that rub. We can hardly doubt that the wheel when set on fire formed the nucleus and centre of a holy and purifying sacrificial flame. Our weisthümer (2, 615-6. 693-7) have another remarkable custom to tell of. At the great yearly assize a *cartwheel*, that had lain six weeks and three days soaking in water (or a cesspool), was placed in a fire kindled before the judges, and the banquet lasts till the *nave*, which must on no account be turned or poked, be consumed to ashes. This I take to be a last relic of the pagan sacrificial feast, and the wheel to have been the means of generating the fire, of which it is true there is nothing said. In any case we have here the use of a cartwheel to feed a festal flame.

If the majority of the accounts quoted limit the use of need-fire to an outbreak of murrain, yet some of them expressly inform us that it was resorted to at *stated times of the year*, especially Midsummer, and that the cattle were driven through the flames to guard them beforehand against future sicknesses. Nicolaus Gryse (Rostock 1593, liii^a) mentions as a regular practice on St. John's day: 'Toward nightfall they warmed them by St. John's blaze and *needfire* (nodfür) that they sawed out of wood, kindling the same not in God's name but St. John's; leapt and ran and *drave the cattle therethro'*, and were fulfilled of thousand joys whenas they had passed the night in great sins, shames and harms.'

Of this yearly recurrence we are assured both by the Lemnian worship, and more especially by the Celtic.¹ It was in the great gatherings at annual feasts that needfire was lighted. These the Celtic nations kept at the beginning of May and of November. The grand hightide was the Mayday; I find it falling mostly on the 1st of May, yet sometimes on the 2nd or 3rd. This day is called in Irish and Gaelic *la bealtine* or *beiltine*, otherwise spelt *beltein*, and corrupted into *belton*, *beltin*, *beltam*. Lá means day,

¹ Hyde remarks of the Guebers also, that they lighted a fire every year.

teine or tine fire, and beal, beil, is understood to be the name of a god, not directly connected with the Asiatic Belus,¹ but a deity of light peculiar to the Celts. This Irish *Beal*, *Beil*, Gaelic *Beal*, appears in the Welsh dialect as *Beli*, and his O. Celtic name of *Belenus*, *Belinus* is preserved in Ansonius, Tertullian and numerous inscriptions (Forcellini sub v.). The present custom is thus described by Armstrong sub v. bealtainn: 'In some parts of the Highlands the young folks of a hamlet meet in the moors on the first of May. They cut a table in the green sod, of a round figure, by cutting a trench in the ground of such circumference as to hold the whole company. They then kindle a fire, and dress a repast of eggs and milk in the consistence of a custard. They knead a cake of oatmeal, which is toasted at the embers against a stone. After the custard is eaten up, they divide the cake in so many portions, as similar as possible to one another in size and shape, as there are persons in the company. They damb one of these portions with charcoal until it is perfectly black. They then put all the bits of the cake into a bonnet, and every one, blindfold, draws out a portion. The bonnet-holder is entitled to the last bit. Whoever draws the black bit is the devoted person who is to be sacrificed to Baal, whose favour they mean to implore in rendering the year productive. The devoted person is compelled to leap three times over the flames.' Here the reference to the worship of a deity is too plain to be mistaken: we see by the leaping over the flame, that the main point was, to select a human being to propitiate the god and make him merciful, that afterwards an animal sacrifice was substituted for him, and finally, nothing remained of the bodily immolation but a leap through the fire for man and beast. The holy rite of friction is not mentioned here, but as it was necessary for the needfire that purged pestilence, it must originally have been much more in requisition at the great yearly festival.

The earliest mention of the *beiltine* is found in Cormac, archbishop of Cashel (d. 908). Two fires were lighted side by side, and to pass unhurt between them was wholesome for men and cattle. Hence the phrase, to express a great danger: 'itir dha theinne beil,' *i.e.* between two fires.² That the sacrifice was

¹ *Bel*, *Bal*, Isidor. Etym. 8, 23.

² O'Flaherty in *Transact. of Irish Acad.*, vol. 14, pp. 100. 122-3.

strictly superintended by priests, we are expressly assured by Usher (*Trias thaumat.* p. 125), who founds on Evinus: *Leges etiam severissima cavebatur, ut omnes ignes per universas regiones ista nocte exstinguerentur, et nulli liceat ignem reaccendere nisi prius Temoriae (Tighmora, whom we know from Ossian) a magis rogos sacrificiorum exstrueretur, et quicumque hanc legem in aliquo transgrederetur non alia mulcta quam capitis supplicio commissi delicti poenam luebat.*¹

Leo (*Malb. gl. i, 35*) has ingeniously put forward an antithesis between a god of war *Beal* or *Bael*, and a god of peace *Sighe* or *Sithich*; nay, by this distinction he explains the brothers Bellovesus and Sigovesus in Livy 5, 34 as servants (vesus = Gaelic uis, uais, minister) of Beal and Sighe, connecting Sighe with that silent peaceful folk the elves, who are called sighe (*supra*, p. 444n.): to Beal were offered the May fires, *bealtine*, to Sighe the November fires, *samhtheine* (peace-fire). In Wales too they lighted fires on May 1 and Nov. 1, both being called *coelcerth* (see *Suppl.*).

I still hesitate to accept all the inferences, but undoubtedly *Beal* must be taken for a divine being, whose worship is likely to have extended beyond the Celtic nations. At p. 228 I identified him with the German *Phol*; and it is of extraordinary value to our research, that in the Rhine districts we come upon a *Pfultag*, *Pulletag* (P.'s day), which fell precisely on the 2nd of May (*Weisth.* 2, 8. 3, 748). We know that our forefathers very generally kept the beginning of May as a great festival, and it is still regarded as the trysting-time of witches, *i.e.* once of wise-women and fays; who can doubt that heathen sacrifices blazed that day? *Pholtag* then answers to *Bealteine*,² and moreover *Baldag* is the Saxon form for *Paltar* (p. 229).

Were the German May-fires, after the conversion, shifted to *Easter* and *Midsummer*, to adapt them to Christian worship? Or, as the summer solstice was itself deeply rooted in heathenism, is it Eastertide alone that represents the ancient May-fires? For, as to the Celtic November, the German Yule or Midwinter might easily stand for that, even in heathen times.

¹ Conf. the accounts in Mone's *Geschichte des heidenth.* 2, 485.

² All over England on the 1st of May they set up a *May pole*, which may be from pole, palus, AS. pol; yet Pol, Phol may deserve to be taken into account too.

Whichever way we settle that, our very next investigations will shew, that beside both needfire and bealtine, other fires are to be found almost all over Europe.

It is not unimportant to observe, that in the north of Germany they take place at *Easter*, in the south at *Midsummer*. There they betoken the entrance of spring, here the longest day; as before, it all turns upon whether the people are Saxon or Frank. All Lower Saxony, Westphalia, and Lower Hesse, Gelders, Holland, Friesland, Jutland, and Zealand have Easter fires; up the Rhine, in Franconia, Thuringia, Swabia, Bavaria, Austria, and Silesia, Midsummer fires carry the day. Some countries, however, seem to do homage to both, as Denmark and Carinthia.

EASTER FIRES.—At all the cities, towns and villages of a country, towards evening on the first (or third) day of Easter, there is lighted every year on *mountain* and *hill* a great fire of straw, turf, and wood, amidst a concourse and jubilation, not only of the young, but of many grown-up people. On the Weser, especially in Schaumburg, they tie up a tar-barrel on a fir-tree wrapt round with straw, and set it on fire at night. Men and maids, and all who come, dance exulting and singing, hats are waved, handkerchiefs thrown into the fire. The *mountains* all round are lighted up, and it is an elevating spectacle, scarcely paralleled by anything else, to survey the country for many miles round from one of the higher points, and in every direction at once to see a vast number of these bonfires, brighter or fainter, blazing up to heaven. In some places they marched up the hill in stately procession, carrying white rods; by turns they sang Easter hymns, grasping each other's hands, and at the Hallelujah clashed their rods together. They liked to carry some of the fire home with them.¹

No doubt we still lack many details as to the manner of keeping Easter fires in various localities. It is worth noting, that at Bräunrode in the Harz the fires are lighted at evening twilight

¹ Joh. Timeus On the Easter fire, Hamb. 1590; a reprint of it follows Reiske's *Notfeuer*. Letzner's *Historia S. Bonif.*, Hildesh. 1602. 4, cap. 12. Leukfeld's *Antiq. gandersh.* pp. 4-5. Eberh. Baring's *Beschr. der (Lauensteiner) Saala*, 1744. 2, 96. Hamb. mag. 26, 302 (1762). Hannöv. mag. 1766, p. 216. Rathlef's *Diepholz*, Brem. 1767. 3, 36-42. (Pratje's) *Bremen und Verden* 1, 165. *Bragur* vi. 1, 35. Geldersche volksalmanak voor 1835, p. 19. Easter fire is in Danish *paaske-blus* or *-blust*; whether Sweden has the custom I do not know, but Olaus Magnus 15, 5 affirms that Scandinavia has Midsummer fires. Still more surprising that England has no trace of an Easter fire; we have a report of such from Carinthia in Sartori's *Reise* 2, 350.

of the first Easter day, but before that, old and young sally out of that village and Griefenhagen into the nearest woodlands to hunt up the *squirrels*. These they chase by throwing stones and cudgels, till at last the animals drop exhausted into their hands, dead or alive. This is said to be an old-established custom.¹

For these *ignes paschales* there is no authority reaching beyond the 16th century; but they must be a great deal older, if only for the contrast with Midsummer fires, which never could penetrate into North Germany, because the people there held fast by their Easter fires. Now, seeing that the fires of St. John, as we shall presently shew, are more immediately connected with the Christian church than those of Easter, it is not unreasonable to trace these all the way back to the worship of the goddess *Ostará* or *Eástre* (p. 291), who seems to have been more a Saxon and Anglian divinity than one revered all over Germany. Her name and her fires, which are likely to have come at the beginning of May, would after the conversion of the Saxons be shifted back to the Christian feast.² Those mountain fires of the people are scarcely derivable from the taper lighted in the church the same day: it is true that Boniface, ep. 87 (Würdtw.), calls it *ignis paschalis*,³ and such Easter lights are still mentioned in the 16th century.⁴ Even now in the Hildesheim country they light the lamp on Maundy Thursday, and that on Easterday, at an Easter fire which has been *struck with a steel*. The people flock to this fire, carrying oaken crosses or simply crossed sticks, which they set on fire and then preserve for a whole year. But the common folk distinguish between this fire and the wild fire elicited by rubbing wood. Jäger (Ulm, p. 521) speaks of a *consecration of fire and of logs*.

¹ Rosenkranz, Neue zeitschr. f. gesch. der germ. völk. i. 2, 7.

² Letzner says (ubi supra), that betwixt Brunstein and Wibbrechtshausen, where Boniface had overthrown the heathen idol Reto (who may remind us of Beda's Rheda), on the same Retberg the people 'did after sunset on Easter day, even within the memory of man, hold the *Easter fire*, which the men of old named *bocks-thorn*.' On the margin stands his old authority again, the lost Conradus Fontanus (supra p. 190). How the fire itself should come by the name of buck's or goat's thorn, is hard to see; it is the name of a shrub, the tragacanth. Was *bocks-thorn* thrown into the Easter flames, as certain herbs were into the Midsummer fire?

³ N.B., some maintain that the Easter candle was ignited by burning-glasses or crystals (Serrarius ad Epist. Bonif. p. 343).

⁴ Franz Wessel's Beschreibung des päpstlichen gottesdienstes, Stralsund ed. by Zober, 1837, p. 10.

Almost everywhere during the last hundred years the feebleness of governments has deprived the people of their Easter fires (see Suppl.).¹

MIDSUMMER FIRES.²—In our older speech, the most festive season of the year, when the sun has reached his greatest height and must thence decline again, is named *sunewende* = *sunnewende* (sun's wending, solstice), commonly in the plural, because this high position of the sun lasts several days: 'ze einen sunewenden,' Nib. 32, 4; 'zen næhsten sunewenden,' Nib. 1424, 4. Wigal. 1717; 'vor disen sunewenden,' Nib. 678, 3. 694, 3; 'ze sunewenden,' Trist. 5987 (the true reading comes out in Groot's variants); 'an sunewenden âbent,' Nib. 1754, 1; 'nâch sunewenden,' Iw. 2941.³ Now, as Midsummer or St. John's day (June 24), 'sant Johans sunewenden tac,' Ls. 2, 708, coincides with this, the fires in question are called in Up. German documents of the 14-15th century *sunwentfeuer*, *sunbentfewr*,⁴ and even now among the Austrian and Bavarian peasantry *sunüwetsfoir*, *sunwentsfeuer*. H. Sachs 1, 423^d: 'auch schürn die bubn (lads poke) *sunwentfeuer*.' At this season were held great gatherings of the people: 'die nativitatis S. Johannis baptistae in conventu populi maximo' (Pertz 2, 386); this was in 860. In 801 Charles the Great kept this festival at Eporedia, now Ivrea (Pertz 1, 190. 223); and Lewis the Pious held assemblies of the Empire on the same day in 824 and 831. Descriptions of Midsummer fires agree with those of Easter fires, with of course some divergences. At Gernsheim in the Mentz country, the fire when lighted is blessed by the priest, and there is singing and prayer so long as it burns; when the flame goes out, the children *jump over the glimmering coals*; formerly grown-up people did the same. In Superst. I,

¹ 'Judic. inquiry resp. the Easter fire burned, contr. to prohib., on the Kogelberg near Volkmarsen, Apr. 9, 1833,' see Niederhess. wochenbl. 1834, p. 2229^a. The older prohibitions allege the unchristian character, later ones the waste of timber. Even bonfires for a victory were very near being suppressed.

² The best treatise is: Franc. Const. de Khautz de ritu ignis in natali S. Johannis bapt. accensi, Vindob. 1759, 8vo.

³ All the good MSS. have, not sunnewende, but sunewende, which can only stand for sunwende, formed like suntac. We also find 'zu *sungihten*,' Scheffer's Haltaus, pp. 109, 110; *giht* here corresp. to Goth. *gahts* (gressus), and allows us to guess an OHG. *sunagaht*.

⁴ Hahn's Monum. 2, 693. Sutner's Berichtungen, Münch. 1797, p. 107 (an. 1401).

848 we are told how a garland is plaited of *nine sorts* of flowers. Reiske (ut supra, p. 77) says: ‘the fire is made under the open sky, the youth and the meaner folk *leap over it*, and all manner of *herbs are cast into it*: like these, may all their troubles go off in fire and smoke! In some places they light lanterns outside their chambers at night, and dress them with red poppies or anemones, so as to make a bright glitter.’ At Nürnberg the lads go about begging billets of wood, cart them to the Bleacher’s pond by the Spital-gate, make a fire of them, and *jump over it*; this keeps them in health the whole year (conf. Sup. I, 918). They invite passers by to have a leap, who pay a few kreuzers for the privilege. In the Fulda country also the boys beg for wood to burn at night, and other presents, while they sing a rhyme: ‘Da kommen wir her gegangen Mit spiessen und mit stangen, Und wollen die eier (eggs) langen. Feuerrothe blümelein, An der erde springt der wein, Gebt ihr uns der eier ein Zum *Johannisfeuer*, Der haber is gar theuer (oats are so dear). Haberje, haberju! *fri fre frid!* Gebt uns doch ein schiet (scheid, billet)!’ (J. v. u. f. Deutschl. 1790. 1, 313.) Similar rhymes from Franconia and Bavaria, in Schm. 3, 262. In the Austrian Donauländchen on St. John’s eve they light fires on the hill, lads and lasses *jump over the flames* amid the joyful cries and songs of the spectators (Reil, p. 41). ‘Everywhere on St. John’s eve there was merry *leaping over the sonnenwendfeuer*, and mead was drunk over it,’ is Denis’s recollection of his youthful days (Lesehr. 1, 130). At Ebingen in Swabia they *boiled pease* over the fire, which were laid by and esteemed wholesome for bruises and wounds (Schmid’s Schwäb. id. 167); conf. the boiling over need-fires (p. 610). Greg. Strigenitius (b. 1548, d. 1603), in a sermon preached on St. John’s day and quoted in Ecc. Fr. or. i. 425, observes, that the people (in Meissen or Thuringia) *dance and sing round the Midsummer fires*; that one man threw a *horse’s head into the flame*, meaning thereby to force the witches to fetch some of the fire for themselves. Seb. Frank in his Weltbuch 51^b: ‘On St. John’s day they make a *simet fire* [corrupt. of sun-went], and moreover wear upon them, I know not from what superstition, quaint *wreaths of mugwort and monks-hood*; nigh every one hath a *blue plant named larkspur in hand*, and *whoso looketh into the fire thro’ the same*, hath never a sore eye all that

year; he that would depart home unto his house, *casteth this his plant into the fire*, saying, So depart all mine ill-fortune and be burnt up with this herb!'¹ So, on the same day, were the waves of water to wash away with them all misfortune (p. 589). But in earlier times the polite world, even princes and kings, took part in these bonfires. Peter Herp's Ann. francof. tell us, ad an. 1489 (Senkenb. Sel. 2, 22): 'In vigilia S. Joh. bapt. rogus ingens fuit factus *ante domum consulum in foro* (francofurtensi), fueruntque multa vexilla depicta posita in struem lignorum, et vexillum regis in supremo positum, et circa ligna *rami virentes* positi, fuitque magna *chorea dominorum*, rege inspiciente.' At Augsburg in 1497, in the Emp. Maximilian's presence, the fair Susanna Neithard kindled the Midsummer fire *with a torch*, and with Philip the Handsome led the first *ring-dance round the fire*.² A Munich voucher of 1401 renders account: 'umb gras und knechten, die dy pänk ab dem haws *auf den margt* trugen (carried benches to the market-place) an der sunbentnacht, da herzog Stephan und sein gemachel (consort) und das frawel *auf dem margt tanzten* mit den purgerinen *bei dem sunbentfwr*,' (Sutner's Berichtig. p. 107). On St. John's eve 1578, the Duke of Liegnitz had a bonfire made *on the Gredisberg*, as herr Gotsch did on the *Kynast*, at which the Duke himself was present with his court (Schweinichen 2, 347).

We have a fuller description of a Midsummer fire made in 1823 at Konz, a Lorrainean but still German village on the Moselle, near Sierk and Thionville. Every house delivers a truss of straw on the top of the Stromberg, where men and youths assemble towards evening; women and girls are stationed by the Burbach spring. Then a *huge wheel is wrapt round with straw*,

¹ On June 20, 1653, the Nürnberg town-council issued the following order: Whereas experience heretofore hath shewn, that after the old heathenish use, on John's day in every year, in the country, as well in towns as villages, money and wood hath been *gathered by young folk*, and thereupon the so-called *sonnenweendt* or *zimmet fire* kindled, and thereat winebibbing, *dancing about the said fire*, *leaping over the same*, *with burning of sundry herbs and flowers*, and *setting of brands from the said fire in the fields*, and in many other ways all manner of superstitious work carried on—Therefore the Hon. Council of Nürnberg town neither can nor ought to forbear to do away with all such unbecoming superstition, paganism, and peril of fire on this coming day of St. John (Neuer lit. anz. 1807, p. 318). [Sunwend fires forbidden in Austria in 1850, in spite of Goethe's 'Fires of John we'll cherish. Why should gladness perish?'—SUPPL.]

² Gasseri Ann. august., ad an. 1497, Schm. 3, 261; conf. Ranke's Roman. u. German. völk. 1, 102.

so that none of the wood is left in sight, a strong pole is passed through the middle, which sticks out a yard on each side, and is grasped by the guiders of the wheel; the remainder of the straw is tied up into a number of small torches. At a signal given by the Maire of Sierk (who, according to ancient custom, earns a basket of cherries by the service), the wheel is lighted with a torch, and set rapidly in motion, a shout of joy is raised, all *wave their torches* on high, part of the men stay on the hill, part follow the rolling *globe of fire as it is guided downhill to the Moselle*. It often goes out first; but if alight when it touches the river, it prognosticates an *abundant vintage*, and the Konz people have a right to levy a tun of white wine from the adjacent vineyards. Whilst the wheel is rushing past the women and girls, they break out into cries of joy, answered by the men on the hill; and inhabitants of neighbouring villages, who have flocked to the river side, mingle their voices in the universal rejoicing.¹

In the same way the butchers of Treves are said to have yearly *sent down a wheel of fire into the Moselle* from the top of the Paulsberg (see Suppl.).²

The custom of Midsummer fires and wheels in France is attested even by writers of the 12th and 13th centuries, John Beleth, a Parisian divine, who wrote about 1162 a *Summa de divinis officiis*, and William Durantis, b. near Beziers in Languedoc, about 1237, d. 1296, the well-known author of the *Rationale divinor. offic.* (written 1286; conf. viii. 2, 3 de epacta). In the *Summa* (printed at Dillingen, 1572) cap. 137, fol. 256, and thence extracted in the *Rationale* vii. 14, we find: '*Feruntur quoque (in festo Joh. bapt.) brandae seu faces ardentes et fiunt ignes, qui significant S. Johannem, qui fuit lumen et lucerna ardens, praecedens et praecursor verae lucis . . . ; rota in quibusdam locis volvitur, ad significandum, quod sicut sol ad altiora sui circuli pervenit, nec altius potest progredi, sed tunc sol descendit in circulo, sic et fama Johannis, qui putabatur Christus, descendit*

¹ Mém. des antiquaires de Fr. 5, 383-6.

² 'In memory of the hermit Paulus, who in the mid. of the 7th cent. hurled the idol Apollo from Mt. Gebenna, near Treves, into the Moselle,' thinks the writer of the article on Konz, pp. 387-8. If Trithem's *De viris illustr.* ord. S. Bened. 4, 201, is to vouch for this, I at least can only find at p. 142 of Opp. pia et spirit. Mogunt. 1605, that Paulus lived opposite Treves, on Cevenna, named Mons Pauli after him; but of Apollo and the firewheel not a word [and other authorities are equally silent].

secundum quod ipse testimonium perhibet, dicens: me oportet minui, illum autem crescere.' Much older, but somewhat vague, is the testimony of Eligius: 'Nullus in festivitate S. Johannis vel quibuslibet sanctorum solemnitatibus *solstitia* (?) aut valla-tiones vel saltationes aut casaulas aut cantica diabolica exerceat.'¹

In great cities, Paris, Metz, and many more, as late as the 15-16-17th centuries, the pile of wood was reared in the public square before the town hall, decorated with flowers and foliage, and set on fire by the Maire himself.² Many districts in the south have retained the custom to this day. At Aix, at Marseille, all the streets and squares are cleaned up on St. John's Day, early in the morning the country folk bring flowers into the town, and everybody buys some, every house is decked with greenery, to which a healing virtue is ascribed if plucked before sunrise: 'aco souu dherbas de san Jean.' Some of the *plants* are *thrown into the flame*, the young people *jump over it*, jokes are played on passers-by with powder trains and hidden fireworks, or they are squirted at and soused with water from the windows. In the villages they ride on mules and donkeys, carrying *lighted branches of fir* in their hands.³

In many places they drag some of the *charred brands* and *charcoal* to their homes: salutary and even magical effects are supposed to flow from these (Superst. French 27. 30. 34).

In Poitou, they *jump three times round the fire* with a *branch of walnut in their hands* (Mém. des antiq. 8, 451). Fathers of families whisk a *bunch of white mullein* (bouillon blanc) and a *leafy spray of walnut* through the flame, and both are afterwards *nailed up over the cowhouse door*; while the youth dance and sing, old men put some of the coal in their wooden shoes as a safeguard against innumerable woes (ibid. 4, 110).

In the department of Hautes Pyrénées, on the 1st of May,

¹ The Kaiserchronik (Cod. pal. 361, 1^b) on the celebration of the Sunday:

Swenne inkom der sunnintac,
 só vřizete sich Róme al diu stat (all R. bestirred itself),
 wie si den got mohten geëren (to honour the god),
 die allirwisisten hërren (wisest lords)
 vuorten einiz al umbe die stat (carried a thing round the city)
 daz was geschafften same ein rat (shapen like a wheel)
 mit brinnenden lichten (with burning lights);
 ô wie gróze sie den got zierten (greatly glorified the god)!

² Mém. de l'acad. celt. 2, 77-8. 3, 447.

³ Millin's Voyage dans le midi 3, 28. 341-5.

every commune looks out the *tallest* and *slenderest tree*, a pine or fir on the hills, a poplar in the plains; when they have lopped all the boughs off, they drive into it a number of wedges a foot long, and keep it till the 23rd of June. Meanwhile it splits diamond-shape where the wedges were inserted, and is now rolled and dragged up a mountain or hill. There the priest gives it his blessing, they plant it upright in the ground, and set it on fire (ibid. 5, 387).

Strutt¹ speaks of Midsummer fires in England: they were lighted on Midsummer Eve, and kept up till midnight, often till cock-crow; the youth danced round the flame, in garlands of *motherwort* and *vervain*, with *violets* in their hands. In Denmark they are called *Sanct Hans aftens blus*, but also *gadeild* (street-fire), because they are lighted in public streets or squares, and on hills. [Is not *gade* conn. with *sunna-gaht*, p. 617?] Imagining that all poisonous plants came up out of the ground that night, people avoided lingering on the grass; but wholesome plants (*chamaemelum* and *bardanum*) they hung up in their houses. Some however shift these street-fires to May-day eve.² Norway also knows the custom: 'S. Hans aften brändes der baal ved alle griner (hedged country-lanes), hvilket skal fordrive ondt (harm) fra creaturerne,' Sommerfeldt's *Saltdalen*, p. 121. But some words quoted by Hallager p. 13 are worth noting, viz. *brandskat* for the wood burnt in the fields, and *brising* for the kindled fire; the latter reminds us of the gleaming necklace of Freyja (p. 306-7), and may have been transferred from the flame to the jewel, as well as from the jewel to the flame.

There is no doubt that some parts of Italy had Midsummer fires: at Orvieto they were exempted from the restrictions laid on other fires.³ Italian sailors lighted them on board ship out at sea, Fel. Fabri *Evagat.* 1, 170. And Spain is perhaps to be included on the strength of a passage in the *Romance de Guarinos* (Silva, p. 113):

¹ Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, by Jos. Strutt. New ed. by WHone, Lond. 1830, p. 359.

² Molbech's *Dialect. Lex.* 150. Lyngbye's *Nord. tidsskr. for oldk.* 2, 352-9. Finn Magn. *Lex. myth.* 1091-4. Arndt's *Reise durch Schweden* 3, 72-3.

³ Statuta urbevetana, an. 1491. 3, 51: Quicumque sine licentia officialis fecerit ignem in aliqua festivitate de nocte in civitate, in xl sol. denarior. puniatur, excepta festivitate S. Johannis bapt. de mense Junii, et qui in illa nocte furatus fuerit vel abstulerit ligna vel tabulas alterius in lib. x den. puniatur.

Vanse dias, vienen dias, venido era el *de Sant Juan*,
 donde Christianos y Moros hazen gran solenidad :
 los Christianos *echan juncia*, y los Moros *arrayhan*,
 los Judios echan *eneas*, por la fiesta mas honrar.

Here nothing is said of fire,¹ but we are told that the Christians strew *rushes*, the Moors myrtle, the Jews reeds ; and the throwing of flowers and herbs into the flame seems an essential part of the celebration, e.g. mugwort, monks-hood, larkspur (p. 618), mullein and walnut leaves (p. 621). Hence the collecting of all such *John's-herbs* in Germany (Superst. I, 157. 189. 190), and of *S. Hans urter* (worts) in Denmark (K, 126), and the like in France (L, 4). According to Casp. Zeumer's *De igne in festo S. Joh. accendi solito*, Jenae 1699, the herb *ἄλισμα* (?) was diligently sought on that day and *hung up over doors*.

In Greece the women make a fire on Midsummer Eve, and *jump over it*, crying, 'I leave my sins.' In Servia they think the feast is so venerable, that the sun halts three times in reverence.² On the day before it, the herdsmen tie birchbark into torches, and having lighted them, they first march round the sheepfolds and cattle-pens, then *go up the hills* and let them *burn out* (Vuk sub v. Ivan dan). Other Slav countries have similar observances. In Sartori's *Journey through Carinthia* 3, 349-50, we find the rolling of St. John's *fiery wheel* fully described. Midsummer-day or the solstice itself is called by the Slovèns *kres*, by the Croats *kresz*, i.e. striking of light, from *kresáti* (ignem elicere), Pol. *krzesać* ; and as May is in Irish *mi-na-bealtine* (fire-month), so June in Slovenic is *kresnik*. At the *kres* there were *leaps of joy* performed at night ; of lighting by friction I find no mention. Poles and Bohemians called the Midsummer fire *sobótka*, i.e. little Saturday, as compared with the great *sobóta* (Easter Eve) ; the

¹ It is spoken of more definitely by Martinus de Arles, canonicus of Pampeluna (cir. 1510), in his treatise *De superstitionibus* (Tract. tractatum, ed. Lugd. 1544. 9, 133) : Cum in die S. Johannis propter jucunditatem multa pie aguntur a fidelibus, puta pulsatio campanarum et *ignes jucunditatis*, similiter summo mane exeunt ad colligendas herbas odoriferas et optimas et medicinales ex sua natura et ex plenitudine virtutum propter tempus. . . quidam *ignes accendunt* in compitis viarum, in agris, ne inde sortilegae et maleficae illa nocte transitum faciant, ut ego propriis oculis vidi. Alii *herbas collectas* in die S. Johannis *incendentes* contra fulgura, tonitrua et tempestates credunt suis fumigationibus arcere daemones et tempestates.

² As he is supposed to leap three times at Easter (p. 291).

Bohemians used to *lead their cows over it* to protect them from witchcraft. The Russian name was *kupálo*, which some explain by a god of harvest, *Kupalo*: youths and maidens, garlanded with flowers and girt with holy herbs, assembled on the 24th June, *lighted a fire, leapt and led their flocks over it*, singing hymns the while in praise of the god. They thought thereby to shield their cattle from the *lëshis* or woodsprites. At times a *white cock* is said to have been burnt in the fire amid dance and song. Even now the female saint, whose feast the Greek ritual keeps on this day [Agrippina], has the by-name *kupálnitsa*; a burning pile of wood is called the same, and so, according to Karamzín, is the flower that is strewn on St. John's Day [ranunculus, crowfoot].¹ This fire seems to have extended to the Lithuanians too: I find that with them *kupóles* is the name of a St. John's herb. Tettau and Temme p. 277 report, that in Prussia and Lithuania, on Midsummer Eve fires blaze on all the heights, as far as the eye can reach. The next morning they drive their cattle to pasture over the remains of these fires, as a specific against murrain, magic and milk-drought, yet also against hailstroke and lightning. The lads who lighted the fires go from house to house collecting milk. On the same Midsummer Eve they fasten large burs and mugwort (that is to say, *kupóles*) over the gate or gap through which the cattle always pass.

Now at a bird's-eye view we perceive that these fires cover nearly all Europe, and have done from time immemorial. About them it might seem a great deal more doubtful than about water-lustration (pp. 585. 590), whether they are of heathen or of Christian origin. The church had appropriated them so very early to herself, and as Beleth and Durantis shew, had made them point to John; the clergy took some part in their celebration, though it never passed entirely into their hands, but was mainly conducted by the secular authorities and the people itself (see Suppl.).

Paciaudi² labours to prove that the fires of St. John have nothing to do with the far older heathenish fires, but have sprung out of the spirit of Christian worship.

¹ Karamzín 1. 73. 81. 284. Götze's Russ. volksl. p. 230-2. Dobrovsky denies a god Kupalo, and derives the feast from *kúpa* (haycock); Hanusch p. 201 from *kupel*, *kaupel*, *kupadlo* (bath, pond), because acc. to Slav notions the sun rises out of his bath, or because pouring of water may have been practised at the festival.

² De cultu S. Johannis baptistae, Romae 1755, dissert. 8, cap. 1. 2.

In Deut. 18, 10 and 2 Chron. 28, 3 is mentioned the heathen custom of making *sons and daughters pass through a fire*. In reference to this, Theodoret bp. of Cyrus (d. 458), makes a note on 2 Kings 16, 3: *εἶδον γὰρ ἔν τισι πόλεσιν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἀπτομένας πυρὰς καὶ ταύτας τινας ὑπεραλλομένους καὶ πηδῶντας οὐ μόνον παῖδας ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνδρας, τὰ δέ γε βρέφη παρὰ τῶν μητέρων παραφερόμενα διὰ τῆς φλογός. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῦτο ἀποτροπιασμός εἶναι καὶ κάθαρσις.* (In some towns I saw *pyres* lighted *once a year* in the streets, and not only *children* but *men leaping over them*, and the *infants passed through the flame* by their mothers. This was deemed a protective expiation).¹ He says 'once a year,' but does not specify the day, which would have shewn us whether the custom was imported into Syria from Rome. On April 21, the day of her founding, Rome kept the *palilia*, an ancient feast of herdsmen, in honour of Pales, a motherly divinity reminding us of Ceres and Vesta.² This date does not coincide with the solstice, but it does with the time of the Easter fire; the ritual itself, the leaping over the flame, the driving of cattle through the glowing embers, is quite the same as at the Midsummer fire and needfire. A few lines from Ovid's description in the 4th book of the *Fasti* shall suffice:

727. certe ego *transilui* positas *ter* in ordine flammas.
 781. moxque *per ardentem stipulae* crepitantis *acervos*
 trajicias celeri strenua membra pede.
 795. pars quoque, quum saxis pastores saxa feribant,
 scintillam subito prosiluisse ferunt;
 prima quidem periit; stipulis excepta secunda est,
 hoc argumentum flamma palilis habet.
 805. *per flammam saluisse pecus, saluisse colonos;*
 quod fit natali nunc quoque, Roma, tuo (see Suppl.).

The shepherds had struck the fire out of stone, and caught it on straw; the leaping through it was to atone and cleanse, and to secure their flock against all harm. That *children* were placed in the fire by their mothers, we are not told here; we know how the infant Demophoon or Triptolemus was put in the fire by

¹ Opp., ed. Sirmond, Paris, 1642. 1, 352.

² The name *Pales*, which also occurs, may remind us of the Slav god of shepherds, Russ. *Folos*, Boh. *Wěles*.

Ceres, as Achilles was by Thetis, to insure his immortality.¹ This fire-worship seems equally at home in Canaan, Syria, Greece and Rome, so that we are not justified in pronouncing it a borrowed and imported thing in any one of them. It is therefore hard to determine from what source the Christians afterwards drew, when they came to use it in their Easter and Midsummer festivals, or on other occasions. Canon 65 of the Council of A.D. 680 already contains a prohibition of these superstitious fires at *new moon* : τὰς ἐν ταῖς νουμηνίαις ὑπὸ τινῶν πρὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐργαστηρίων ἢ οἰκῶν ἀναπτομένας πυρκαϊὰς, ἃς καὶ ὑπεράλλεσθαί τινες, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον, ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἀπὸ παρόντος καταργηθῆναι προστάττομεν (The fires kindled before workshops and houses at new moon, which some also leap over after the ancient custom, we command henceforth to be abolished). The same thing was then forbidden, which afterwards, on St. John's day at least, was tolerated, and to some extent connected with church ordinances.

Now, even supposing that the *Midsummer fire* almost universal throughout Europe had, like the *Midsummer bath*, proceeded more immediately from the church, and that she had picked it up in Italy directly from the Roman palilia; it does not follow yet, that our *Easter fires* in northern Germany are a mere modification of those at *Midsummer*. We are at liberty to derive them straight from fires of our native heathenism: in favour of this view is the difference of day, perhaps also their ruder form; to the last there was more earnestness about them, and more general participation; *Midsummer fires* were more elegant and tasteful, but latterly confined to children and common people alone, though princes and nobles had attended them before. Mountain and hill are essential to *Easter fires*, the *Solstitial fire* was frequently made in streets and marketplaces. Of jumping through the fire, of flowers and wreaths, I find scarcely a word in connexion with the former; friction of fire is only mentioned a few times at the *Midsummer fire*, never at the *Easter*, and yet this friction is the surest mark of heathenism, and—as with needfire in North Germany, so with *Easter fires* there—may safely be assumed. Only of these last we have no accounts whatever. The Celtic *bel-fires*, and if my conjecture be right, our *Phol-days*, stand nearly midway betwixt

¹ Conf. the superstitious 'filium in fornacem ponere pro sanitate februm,' and 'ponere infantem juxta ignem,' Superst. B, 10, 14, and p. 200^a.

Easter and Midsummer, but nearer to Easter when that falls late. A feature common to all three, and perhaps to all public fires of antiquity, is the *wheel*, as friction is to all the ancient Easter fires.

I must not omit to mention, that fires were also lighted at the season opposite to summer, at *Christmas*, and in Lent. To the Yule-fire answers the Gaelic samhtheine (p. 614) of the 1st November. In France they have still in vogue the *souche de Noël* (from dies natalis, Prov. natal) or the *tréjué* (log that burns three days, Superst. K, 1. 28), conf. the *trefoir* in Brand's Pop. antiq. 1, 468. At Marseille they burnt the *calendeau* or *caligneau*, a large oaken log, sprinkling it with wine and oil; it devolved on the master of the house to set light to it (Millin 3, 336). In Dauphiné they called it *chalendul*, it was lighted on Christmas eve and sprinkled with wine, they considered it holy, and had to let it burn out in peace (Champol.-Figeac, p. 124). Christmas-tide was called *chalendes*, Prov. *calendas* (Raynouard 1, 292), because New-year commenced on Dec. 25. In Germany I find the same custom as far back as the 12th cent. A document of 1184 (Kindl.'s Münst. beitr. ii. urk. 34) says of the parish priest of Ahlen in Münsterland: 'et arborem in nativitate Domini *ad festivum ignem suum* adducendam esse dicebat.' The hewing of the *Christmas block* is mentioned in the Weisthümer 2, 264. 302. On the Engl. *yule-clog* see Sup. I, 1109, and the Scandinav. *julblok* is well known; the Lettons call Christmas eve *blukku wakars*, block evening, from the carrying about and burning of the log (*blukkis*).¹ Seb. Frank (Weltbuch 51^a) reports the following *Shrovetide* customs from Franconia: 'In other places they draw a *fiery plough* kindled by a fire cunningly made thereon, till it fall in pieces (supra, p. 264). Item, they wrap a *waggon-wheel* all round in straw, drag it up an high steep mountain, and hold thereon a merrymaking all the day, so they may for the cold, with many sorts of pastime, as singing, leaping, dancing, odd or even, and other pranks. About the time of vespers they *set the wheel afire*, and let it *run into the vale* at full speed, which to look upon is like as the sun were running from the sky.' Such a

¹ 'So the Lith. *kalledos* = Christmas, from *kalada*, a log.'—SUPPL.

'hoop-trundling' on Shrove Tuesday is mentioned by Schm. 1, 544; the day is called *funkentag* (spunk.), in the Rheingau *hall-feuer*, in France 'la fête des *brandons*.'¹ It is likely that similar fires take place here and there in connexion with the vintage. In the Voigtland on Mayday eve, which would exactly agree with the bealteine, you may see *fires* on most of the hills, and children with *blazing brooms* (Jul. Schmidt's Reichenf. 118). Lastly, the Servians at Christmas time light a log of oak newly cut, *badniak*, and pour wine upon it. The cake they bake at such a fire and hand round (Vuk's Montenegro, 105) recalls the Gaelic practice (p. 613). The Slavs called the winter solstice *koleda*, Pol. *kołęda*, Russ. *koliadá*, answering to the Lat. *calendae* and the *chalendes* above;² they had games and dances, but the burning of fires is not mentioned. In Lower Germany too *kaland* had become an expression for feast and revelry (we hear of *kaland-gilden*, *kalandbrüder*), without limitation to Christmas time, or any question of fires accompanying it (see Suppl.).

If in the Mid. Ages a confusion was made of the two Johns, the Baptist and the Evangelist, I should incline to connect with St. John's fire the custom of *St. John's minne* (p. 61), which by rights only concerns the beloved disciple. It is true, no fire is spoken of in connexion with it, but fires were an essential part of the old Norse *minne*-drinking, and I should think the Sueves with their barrel of ale (p. 56) burnt fires too. In the Saga Hâkonar gôða, cap. 16, we are told: '*eldar* scyldo vera â midjo gôlfi í hofino, oc þar katlar yfir, oc *scyldi full of eld bera*,' should bear the cups round the fire. Very striking to my mind is the '*dricka eldborgs skál*' still practised in a part of Sweden and Norway (Sup. K, 122-3). At Candlemas two tall candles are set, each member of the household in turn sits down between them, takes a drink out of a wooden beaker, then throws the vessel backwards over his head. If it fall bottom upwards, the thrower will die; if upright, he remains alive.³ Early in the morning the goodwife has been up making her fire and baking; she now assembles her servants in a half-circle before the oven

¹ Sup. K, 16. Mém. des antiquaires 1, 236. 4. 371.

² Other derivations have been attempted, Hanusch 192-3. [See note, p. 627, on Lith. *kalledos*.]

³ A similar throwing backwards of an emptied glass on other occasions, Snp. I, 514. 707.

door, they all *bend the knee*, take one bite of cake, and *drink eldborgsskål* (the fire's health); what is left of cake or drink is *cast into the flame*. An unmistakeable vestige of heathen fire-worship, shifted to the christian feast of candle-consecration as the one that furnished the nearest parallel to it.

Our *ofen*, MHG. *oven*, OHG. *ovan*, ON. *ón* represents the Goth. *aúhns*, O. Swed. *omn*, *ofn*, *ogn*, Swed. *ugn*, Dan. *on*; they all mean *fornax*, i.e. the receptacle in which fire is inclosed (conf. *focus*, *fuoco*, *feu*), but originally it was the name of the fire itself, Slav. *ogan*, *ogen*, *ogn*, Boh. *ohen*, Lith. *ugnis*, Lett. *ugguns*, Lat. *ignis*, Sanskr. *Agni* the god of fire. Just as the Swedish servants *kneel down* before the *ugns-hol*, our German *märchen* and *sagen* have retained the feature of *kneeling before the oven* and *praying* to it; the unfortunate, the persecuted, resort to the oven, and *bewail their woe*, they reveal to it some secret which they dare not confide to the world.¹ What would otherwise appear childish is explained: they are forms and formulas left from the primitive fire-worship, and no longer understood. In the same way people complain and confess to mother earth, to a stone, a plant, an oak, or to the reed (Morolt 1438). This personification of the oven hangs together with Mid. Age notions about *orcus* and *hell* as places of fire. Conf. *Erebi fornax* (Walther. 867), and what was said above, p. 256, on *Fornax*.

The luminous element permitted a feast to be prolonged into the night, and fires have always been a vehicle for testifying joy. When the worship had passed over into mere *joy-fires*, *ignis jocunditatis*, *feux de joie*, Engl. *bon-fires*, these could, without any reference to the service of a deity, be employed on other occasions, especially the entry of a king or conqueror. Thus they made a *torch-waggon* follow the king, which was afterwards set on fire, like the plough and wheels at the feast of St. John

¹ Haus und kinderm. 2, 20. 3, 221. Deutsche sagen no. 513. A children's game has the rhyme: 'Dear good oven, I pray to thee, As thou hast a wife, send a husband to me!' In the comedy 'Life and death of honest Madam Slut (Schlampampe).' Leipz. 1696 and 1750, act 3, sc. 8: 'Come, let us go and *kneel to the oven*, maybe the gods will hear our prayer.' In 1558 one who had been robbed, but had sworn secrecy, told his story to the Dutch-tile oven at the inn. Rommell's Hess. gesch. 4, note p. 420. Joh. Müller's Hist. Switz. 2, 92 (A.D. 1333). 'Nota est in eligiis Tibulli *Januae* personificatio, cui amantes dolores suos narrant, quam orant, quam increpant; erat enim daemoniaca quaedam vis januarum ex opinione veterum,' Dissen's Tib. 1, clxxix. Conf. Hartung's Rel. der Röm. 2, 218 seq.

(RA. 265). ‘*Faculis* et faustis acclamationibus, ut prioribus regibus assueverant, obviam ei (non) procedebant,’ Lamb. schafn. ad an. 1077. Of what we now call *illumination*, the lighting up of streets and avenues, there are probably older instances than those I am able to quote: ‘von kleinen kerzen manec schoup geleit tîf ölbourne loup,’ of little tapers many a cluster ranged in olive bower, Parz. 82, 25. Detmar (ed. Grautoff 1, 301) on the Emp. Charles IV.’s entry into Lubeck: ‘des nachtes weren die luchten bernde ut allen husen, unde was so licht in der nacht als in dem dage.’ The church also escorted with torchlight processions: ‘cui (abbati) intranti per noctis tenebras adhibent faces et lampadas,’ Chapeville 2, 532 (12th cent.). ‘Hirimannus dux susceptus est ab archiepiscopo manaque deducitur ad ecclesiam accensis luminaribus, cunctisque sonantibus campanis,’ Dietm. merseb. 2, 18. ‘Taceo coronas tam luminoso fulgore a luminaribus pendentes,’ Vita Joh. gorziens. (bef. 984) in Mabillon’s *Acta Ben.*, sec. 5, p. 395 (see *Suppl.*).

3. AIR.

The notions ‘*air, wind, weather,*’ touch one another, and their names often do the same.¹ Like water, like fire, they are all regarded as a being that moves and lives: we saw how the words *animus, spiritus, geist* (pp. 439. 461) come to be used of genii, and the Slav. *dukh* is alike breath, breathing, and spirit. Wuotan himself we found to be the all-pervading (p. 133); like Vishnu, he is the fine æther that fills the universe. But lesser spirits belong to this element too: *Gustr, Zephyr, Blaser* (p. 461), *Bläster, Wind-and-weather* (p. 548), proper names of dwarfs, elves, giants. In the Lithuanian legend the two giants Wandû (water) and *Weyas* (wind) act together (p. 579). To the OHG. *wetar*, OS. *wedar*, AS. *weder* (tempestas) corresponds the Slav. *veter, vietar* (ventus, ær): and to Goth. *vinds*, OHG. *wint*, the Lat. *ventus*. The various names given to wind in the *Alvismâl* (Sæm. 50^a) are easily explained by its properties of blowing, blustering and so forth: *æpir* (weeper) ejulans, the wailing, conf. OS. *wôp* (whoop), OHG. *wuof* ejulatus; *gneggjoðr* (neigher) strepens, quasi hinniens; *dynfari* cum sonitu iens.

¹ Our *luft* I include under the root *liuban*, no. 530, whose primary meaning is still obscure; conf. *kliuban* kluft, *skiuban* skuft.

Thus personification already peeps out in mere appellatives; in the mythic embodiments themselves it is displayed in the most various ways.

Woodcuts and plates (in the *Sachsenspiegel*) usually represent the winds, half symbolically, as *blowing faces*, or *heads*, probably a fancy of very early date, and reminding us of the *blowing John's-head* that whirls Herodias about in the void expanse of heaven (p. 285). The winds of the four cardinal points are imagined as *four dwarfs*: 'undir hvert horn (each corner) settu þeir dverg', Sn. 9 (p. 461)¹; but by the Greeks as *giants* and *brethren*: *Zephyrus*, *Hesperus*, *Boreas*, *Notus* (Hes. Theog. 371), and Boreas's sons *Zetes* and *Kalaïs* are also *winged winds* (Apollon. Argon. 1, 219). *Aeolus* (αἰόλος nimble, changeful, many-hued), at first a hero and king, was promoted to be governor and gnider of winds (ταμίης ἀνέμων, p. 93). In Russia popular tradition makes the four winds *sons of one mother*,² the O. Russ. lay of Igór addresses the wind as 'lord,' and the winds are called *Stribogh's grandsons*,³ his divine nature being indicated by the 'bogh' in his name. So in fairy-tales, and by Eastern poets, the *wind* is introduced talking and acting: 'the wind, the *heavenly child*!'⁴

In the ON. genealogy, Forníotr, the divine progenitor of giants (p. 240), is made father of *Kári* (stridens) 'who rules over the winds;' *Kári* begets *Iökul* (glaciers), and *Iökul Snaer* (nix), the king whose children are a son *Thorri* and three daughters *Fönn*, *Drífa*, *Miöll*, all personified names for particular phenomena of snow and ice (Sn. 358. Fornald. sög. 2, 3. 17). *Kári* however is brother to *Hlêr* (p. 241) and *Logi* (p. 240), to water and fire, by which is expressed the close affinity between air and the other two elements. The old Scandinavian cry 'blâs *kári*!' is echoed in that of the Swedish sailors 'blâs *kajsa*!' a goddess instead of the god (Afzelius 1, 30). Both wind and fire 'blow' and 'emit spray,' nay, fire is called the *red wind*: 'von ir zweier swerte gie der *giur-rôte wint*,' Nib. 2212, 4. In the same line of thought a higher divinity, *Niördr*, has the sovereignty given him alike over

¹ And therefore *ôstrôni*, *vestrôni*, *sundrôni*, *nordrôni* are masc. nouns; the Gothi. forms would be *ánstrônêis*, etc.

² Russ. volksmärchen, Leipz. 1831. p. 119.

³ 'Vêtre vêtirilo gospodine,' Hanka's ed. pp. 12. 36.

⁴ E.g. in Nalus, p. 180 (Bopp's 2 ed.). Kinderm. nos. 15. 88.

water, wind and fire (p. 217) ; and *Lopttr* (aëreus) is another name for Loki (p. 246). A phrase in Cædm. 181, 13 seems worthy of notice : ‘ *lyft-helme beþeaht,*’ galea aërea tectus (see Suppl.).

When in our language we still call one kind of tempest (OHG. *wîwint*, Graff 1, 624), the *windsbraut* (wind’s bride), and it was called the same in our older speech, OHG. *wintes brût*, O. v. 19, 27. *windis prût*, Gl. Hrab. 975^b. Jun. 230. Diut. 2, 182. Gl. florent. 982^a-3^b-4^b; MHG. *windes brût* (Gramm. 2, 606), Tit. 3733. swinder (swifter) danne *windes brût*, Ms. 2, 131^a. lief spilnde als ein w.b. durch daz gras, Fragm. 19^a. alsam in røre diu w. b., Reinfried 159^b. varn mit hurt als ein w. prût, Frauend. 92, 13 ;— it is only the proper names that seem to be lost.¹ The corrupt forms wintsprout, -praut (Suchenw. 41, 804), windbrauss (in later writers, as Matthesius), windsprauch (Schm.^o 4, 110), have arisen out of the endeavour to substitute some new meaning for the no longer intelligible mythic notion. They say it is a woman snatching up a napkin from the bleaching ground and falling down with it, Mone’s Anz. 8, 278. So in the Netherlands the whirlwind is called *barende frauw*, Wolf nos. 518–520 (see Suppl.).

This wind’s-bride is a whirlwind, at which our mythology brings the highest gods into play. Even *Wuotan’s* ‘furious host,’ what is it but an explanation of the stormwind howling through the air? The OHG. *ziu*, turbines, we have traced to *Zio*, pp. 203. 285 ; and the storm-cloud was called *maganwetar* (p. 332 last l.). But the whirlwind appears to be associated with *Phol* also (pp. 229. 285), and with an opprobrious name for the *devil* (schweinezagel, säuzagel, sûstert, sow’s tail), to whom the raising of the whirl was ascribed (Superst. I, 522)² as well as to *witches* (ibid. 554). It was quite natural therefore to look upon some female personages also as prime movers of the whirlwind, the gyrating dancing *Herodias*, and *frau Hilde*, *frau Holde* (p. 285). In Kilian 693 it is a *fahrendes weib* ; in Celtic legend it is stirred up by *fays*,

¹ Orithyia carried off by Boreas (Ov. Met. 6, 710)^c could with perfect justice be named *windesbrût* by Albrecht.

² Two Pol. tales in Woycicki 1, 81 and 89 : When the whirlwind (vikher) sweeps up the loose sand, it is the evil spirit dancing ; throw a *sharp new knife* into the middle of it, and you wound him. A magician plunged such a knife into his threshold, and condemned his man, with whom he was angry, for seven years to ride round the world on the swift stormwind. Then the whirlwind lifted the man, who was making haycocks in a meadow, and bore him away into the air. This *knife-throwing* is also known to Germ. superstition everywhere (I, 554).

and the Irish name for it is *sigh gaoite* (O'Brien), *sighgaoithe* (Croker III, xxi); in a whirlwind elvish sprites can steal (Stewart p. 122). It is a popular belief in Sweden, that the skogsrå (wood-wife) makes her presence known by a violent *whirlwind* which shakes the trees even to breaking. The Slav. *polednice* (supra, p. 478n.) is a female daemon, who flies up in the dust of the whirlwind (Jungmann sub v.). According to a legend of the Mark (Kuhn no. 167) the whirlwind was a noble damsel who loved the chase above everything, and made havock of the husbandman's crops, for which she is doomed to ride along with the storm to all eternity; this again reminds us of Diana and the huntress Holda (see Suppl.).

In addition to these widely spread fancies, there is a peculiar one about the origin of wind, which appears to extend through nearly all Europe. According to the Edda, *Hræsvelgr* is the name of a *giant*, who in the *shape of an eagle*¹ sits at the end of heaven: *from his wings cometh all wind* upon men, Sæm. 35^b. Snorri defines it more minutely: He sits at the north side of heaven, and *when he flaps his wings*, the winds rise from under them (Sn. 22.) And in the formula of the trygdamâl (Grâgâs 2, 170), it is said: 'svâ vîða sem valr flýgr vârlângan dag, oc standi byrr undir báda vængi,' far as falcon flies a summerlong day, when stands fair wind under both his wings. Light clouds threatening storm are called in Iceland *kló-sígi* (Biörn spells klôsegi), *claw-sinking*; acc. to Gunnar Pauli, because the eagle causes storm by letting down one of his claws (Finn Magn. p. 452).² It is also an Indian belief that tempest comes from *Garuda's wings*, Somadeva 2, 102: the motion of his flight stirs up the wind.

Then again people in the Shetland isles are said to conjure the storm-wind in the shape of a *great eagle*.³ Further we are told that Charles the Great had a brazen eagle fixed on the top of his palace at Achen (Aix), and there was some connexion between it and the wind; Richerus 3, 71 (Pertz 5, 622) relates the inroad of the Welsh (Gauls) in 978: 'Aëncam *aquilam*, quae in vertice palatii a Karolo magno aesi volans fixa erat,⁴ in vul-

¹ The giants often put on the *arnar ham* (crane's coat): Thiazia in Sn. 80. 82, Suttúgr in Sn. 86.

² Day also was imaged as a bird, who dug his claws into the clouds.

³ Scott's Pirate, Edinb., 1822.

⁴ It ought not to be overlooked here, that at the west door of Oðin's hall there

turnum converterunt. Nam Germani eam in *favonium* (Üp. Germ. föhn) converterant, subtiliter significantes Gallos suo equitatu quandoque posse devinci.' The meaning seems to be, that the French turned the eagle's head to the south-east, the Germans to the west, to signify that like the storm they could make a raid (ride, that is what equitatus comes to) upon the country toward which the bird's head was directed. Dietmar of Merseburg's account 3, 6 (Pertz 5, 761) is as follows: 'Post haec autem imperator ordinavit expeditionem suam adversus Lotharium regem Karelingorum, qui in Aquisgrani palatium et sedem regiam nostrum semper respicientem dominium valido exercitu praesumpsit invadere, sibique *versa aquila* designare. Haec stat in orientali parte domus, morisque fuit omnium hunc locum possidentium *ad sua eam vertere regna.*' This statement appears less accurate than that of Richerus, for each would turn the eagle's head not toward his own kingdom, but the foreign or dependent one; conf. Jahrb. d. Rheinlande v. vi. 73. But even in the 12th cent. the wind's connexion with the eagle was still known in Germany, for Veldek sings, MS. 1, 21^a: 'jârlanc ist reht daz der *ar* winke dem vil *süezen winde,*' all this year the eagle must beckon to (i.e. bring) a mild wind. How many fancies familiar to the Mid. Ages must be lost to us now, when of all the poets that mention air and wind and storm no end of times, only one happens to allude to this myth! But not only do *aquila* and *aquilo*,¹ *vultur* and *vulturinus* point to each other; *ἄνεμος* (wind) and *ἀετός* (eagle) are likewise from one root *ἄω*, *ἄημι*.² According to Horapollon 2, 15 a *sparrowhawk* with outspread wings represents the *wind*. Eagle, falcon, vulture, sparrowhawk, are here convertible birds of prey. The Indian *garuda*, king of birds, is at the same time the wind. The O.T. also thinks of the winds as winged creatures, without specifying the bird, 2 Sam. 22, 11: 'rode on the *wings of the winds*'; Ps. 18, 11. 104, 3: 'volavit super *pennas ventorum,*' which

also hung a wolf, and over it an *eagle* (drúpir örn yfir, Sæm. 41^b), and that the victorious Saxons fixed an *eagle* over the city's gate, supra, p. 111.

¹ Festus: '*aquilo* ventus a vehementissimo volatu ad instar aquilae appellatur'; conf. Hesychius, ἀκίρδος ὁ βροπῶās.

² Wackernagel on Ablaut (vowel-change) p. 30. Eustathius on the Il. 87. 15 Rom.

Notker translates 'überfloug die vettacha dero windo'; and Martina 7^c has, in allusion to the biblical phrase, 'der ûf der winde vedern saz.' The expression used by Herbort 17091, 'der wint liez ouch dare gân,' shews that the poet imagined it either flying or riding (see Suppl.).

The Finns call the eagle *kokko* (kotka); but a poem descriptive of the *northstorm* begins: 'Came the eagle on from Turja, down from Lappmark sinks a bird,' and ends: 'Neath his wing a hundred men, thousands on his tail's tip, ten in every quill there be.'¹ And in a Mod. Greek folk-song the *sparrowhawk* (as in Horapollo) calls upon the *winds* to hush: ἀπὸ τὰ τρίκορφα βουνὰ ἱέρακι ἔσυρε λαλιά · πάψετε, ἄερες, πάψετε ἀπόψε κ' ἄλλην μίαν βραδιά.² The winds are under the bird's command, and obey him. In another song the mother sets three to watch her son while he sleeps, in the mountains the sun, in the plain the eagle (ἀετός), on the sea the brisk lord Boreas: the sun sets, the eagle goes to sleep, and Boreas goes home to his mother;³ from the whole context here we must understand by the *eagle* the sweet soft wind, and by Boreas the cool northwind.

Hræsvelgr (OHG. Hrêosuolah?) means swallower of corpses, flesh-eater, Sansk. kraviyâda, and is used of birds of prey that feed on carrion, but may also be applied to winds and storms which purify the air: they destroy the effluvia from bodies that lie unburied.

Is that the foundation of the fancy, that *when a man hangs himself*, a tempest springs up, and the roar of the wind proclaims the suicide?⁴ Is it the greedy carrion-fowl that comes on in haste to seize the dead, his lawful prey, who swings unburied on the tree? Or does the air resent the self-murderer's polluting presence in it? A New-year's storm is thought to announce pestilence (Sup. I, 330. 910), spreading an odour of death in anticipation.

Tempest (like fire) the common people picture to themselves as a *voracious hungry being* (of course a giant, according to the root

¹ Finnish runes, Ups. 1819, pp. 58-60.

² Faurliel 2, 236. Wh. Müller 2, 100.

³ Faurliel 2, 432. Wh. Müller 2, 120.

⁴ Sup. I, 343. 1013. Kirchhofer's Schweiz. spr. 327. Cl. Brentano's Libussa p. 432. Sartori's Reise in Kärnten 2, 164. Leoprechting 102.

idea of iötunn, p. 519), and they try to pacify him by pouring out flour in the air.¹ I take this to be an ancient superstition, and light is thrown upon it now by a Norwegian tale in Asbjörnsen no. 7, of the *northwind* carrying off a poor fellow's meal three times, but compensating him afterwards by costly presents. This *northwind* behaves exactly as a rough good-natured giant. (See Suppl.).

The raising of the *whirlwind* was, as we have seen (p. 632), ascribed to divine, semi-divine and diabolic beings. In Norway they say of whirlwinds and foul weather, 'the *giant* stirs his pots,' Faye p. 7.

In two weather-spells (Append., Exorcism v.) *Mermeut* and *Fasolt* are called upon as evil spirits and authors of storms. *Fasolt* is the well-known giant of our hero-legend, brother of Ecke, who was himself god of tides and waves (p. 239). The two brothers have kindred occupations, being rulers of the dread sea and of the weather. What we gather from the second spell about *Fasolt* seems to me of importance, and another conclusive proof of the identity of Ecke with Oegir: as Hlêr and Kâri are brothers and giants, so are also Ecke and *Fasolt*; as Hlêr commands the sea and Kâri the winds, so does Ecke rule the waters and *Fasolt* the storm. To the Norse poets the *wind* is 'Forniots sonr' and 'Oegis brôðir.'² Now, as Hlêr was called by another nation Oegir, i.e. Uogi, Ecke, so Kâri may have been called *Fasolt*. *Fasolt* must be an old word, if only because it is hard to explain; does it come under the OHG. *fasa*, *fasôn* (Graff 3, 705)? In ON., 'fas' is superbia, arrogantia; the name seems to express the overbearing nature of a giant. *Mermeut*, which occurs nowhere else, perhaps means the sea-mutterer? Schm. 2, 552. 653 has *maudern*, *mutern*, *murmurare*.—These demi-gods and giants stand related to Donar the supreme director of clouds and weather, as Æolus or Boreas to Zeus.

And from *Zeus* it was that the favourable wished-for wind proceeded: *Διὸς οὐρός*, Od. 5, 176. *Wuotan* (the all-pervading,

¹ Sup. I, 282. Praetorius's Weltbeschr. 1, 429: At Bamberg, when a *violent wind was raging*, an old woman snatched up her mealsack, and emptied it out of window into the air, with the words: 'Dear wind, don't be so wild; take that home to your child!' She meant to appease the hunger of the wind, as of a greedy lion or fierce wolf.

² 'Forniots sefar' = sea and wind, Sæm. 90^b.

p. 630) makes the wish-wind, *ôska-byrr*, p. 144. What notion lies at the bottom of Wolfram's making *Juno* give the 'segels luft,' sail-wind (Parz. 753, 7)? Again in Parz. 750, 7 and 766, 4: 'Juno fnocte (fitted) daz *weter*,' and '*segelweter*.' The fruitful breeze that whispers in the corn was due to *Frô* and his boar, pp. 213-4. An ON. name of *Oðinn* was *Viðrir*, the weatherer: 'at þeir sögðu han veðrum ráða,' he governs weathers (Fornm. sög. 10, 171). Such a god was *Pogóda* to the Slavs, and the Pol. *pogoda*, Boh. *pohoda*, still signifies good growing or ripening weather [Russ. *gód* = time, year; *pogóda* = weather, good or bad]. *Typhon* in Egyptian legend meant the south wind, Hes. Theog. 301. 862.

The Lettons believed in a god of winds and storms *Okkupeernis*, and thought that from his forehead they came down the sky to the earth.¹

In an ON. saga (Fornald. sög. 3, 122) appears giant *Grîmnir*, whose father and brother are named *Grîmólfr* and *Grîmarr*, a sort of Polyphemus, who can excite *storm* or *good wind*: here again it is *Oðinn* we must think of (p. 144). Two semi-divine beings, honoured with temples of their own and bloody sacrifices, were the giant's daughters *Thorgerðr* and *Irpa* (p. 98). In the *Skáldskaparmál* 154 *Thorgerðr* is called *Hölgabrúðr* or king *Hölgí's* daughter, elsewhere *hörgabrúðr* and *hörgatröll* (Fornald. sög. 2, 131), *sponsa divum*, *immanissima gigas*, which reminds us of our *wind's-bride*. Both the sisters sent *foul weather*, *storm* and *hail*, when implored to do so, Fornm. sög. 11, 134-7. And ON. legend mentions other dames besides, who make *foul weather* and *fog*, as *Heiði* and *Hamglöm*, Fornald. sög. 2, 72, *Ingibiörg*, *ibid.* 3, 442 (see Suppl.).²

What was at first imputed to gods, demigods and giants, the sending of wind, storm and hail (*vis daemonum concitans procellas*, Beda's Hist. eccl. 1, 17), was in later times attributed to human sorcerers.

First we find the *Lex Visigoth.* vi. 2, 3 provides against the 'malefici et immissores tempestatum, qui quibusdam incantationibus grandinem in vineas messesque mittere perhibentur.' Then Charles the Great in his *Capit.* of 789 cap. 64 (Pertz 3, 64):

¹ Okka, or auka, storm; peere forehead. Stender's Gram. 266.

² Conf. p. 333, 463 *hulizhialmr*.

‘ ut nec canculatores et incantatores, nec tempestarii vel obligatores non fiant, et ubicunque sunt, emendentur vel damnentur.’ Soon after that king’s death, about the beginning of Lewis the Pious’s reign, bp. Agobard (d. 840) wrote ‘ Contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis.’ From this treatise, following Baluz’s edit. of the works of Agobard, I take a few passages.

1, 145: In his regionibus pene omnes homines, nobiles et ignobiles, urbani et rustici, senes et juvenes, putant *grandines* et *tonitrua* hominum libitu posse fieri. Dicunt enim, mox ut audierint tonitrua et viderint fulgura: ‘ *aura levatitia* est.’ Interrogati vero, quid sit *aura levatitia*? alii cum verecundia, parum remordente conscientia, alii autem confidenter, ut imperitorum moris esse solet, confirmant *incantationibus* hominum qui dicuntur *tempestarii*, esse *levatam*, et ideo dici *levatitiam auram*.

1, 146: Plerosque autem vidimus et audivimus tanta dementia obrutos, tanta stultitia alienatos, ut credant et dicant, quandam esse regionem quae dicatur *Magonia*, ex qua *naves* veniant in *nubibus*, in quibus *fruges* quae *grandinibus* decidunt et *tempestatibus* pereunt, *vehantur* in eandem regionem, ipsis videlicet *nautis aëreis* dantibus pretia *tempestariis*, et accipientibus frumenta vel ceteras fruges. Ex his item tam profunda stultitia excoecatis, ut hoc posse fieri credant, vidimus plures in quodam conventu hominum exhibere vinctos quatuor homines, tres viros et unam feminam, quasi qui *de ipsis navibus* ceciderint: quos scilicet, per aliquot dies in vinculis detentos, tandem collecto conventu hominum exhibuerunt, ut dixi, in nostra praesentia, tanquam lapidandos. Sed tamen vincente veritate post multam ratiocinationem, ipsi qui eos exhibuerant secundum propheticum illud confusi sunt, sicut confunditur fur quando deprehenditur.

1, 153: Nam et hoc quidam dicunt, nosse se tales *tempestarios*, qui *dispersam grandinem* et *late* per regionem *decidentem* faciant unum in locum fluminis aut silvae infructuosae, aut *super unam*, ut ajunt, *cupam*, sub qua ipse lateat, defluere. Frequenter certe audivimus a multis dici quod talia nossent in certis locis facta, sed necdum audivimus, ut aliquis se haec vidisse testaretur.

1, 158: Qui, mox ut audiunt tonitrua vel *cum levi flatu venti*, dicunt ‘ *levatitia aura* est,’ et maledicunt dicentes: ‘ maledicta lingua illa et arefiat et jam praecisa esse debebat, quae hos facit!’

1, 159: Nostris quoque temporibus videmus aliquando, collectis

messibus et vindemiis, propter siccitatem agricolas seminare non posse. Quare non obtinetis apud *tempestarios* vestros, ut mittant *auras levatitias*, quibus terra inrigetur, et postea seminare possitis?

1, 161: Isti autem, contra quos sermo est, ostendunt nobis homunculos, a sanctitate, justitia et sapientia alienos, a fide et veritate nudos, odibiles etiam proximis, a quibus dicunt *vehementissimos imbres, sonantia aquae tonitrua et levatitias auras* posse fieri.

1, 162: In tantum malum istud jam adolevit, ut in plerisque locis sint homines miserrimi, qui dicant, se non equidem nosse immittere tempestates, sed nosse tamen *defendere a tempestate habitatores loci*. His habent statutum, *quantum de frugibus suis donent*, et appellant hoc *canonicum*. Many are backward in tithes and alms, *canonicum* autem, quem dicunt, suis defensoribus (a quibus se defendi credunt a tempestate) nullo praedicante, nullo admonente vel exhortante, *sponte persolvunt*, diabolo iuliciente. Denique in talibus ex parte magnam spem habent vitae suae, quasi per illos vivant (see Suppl.).

It was natural for driving hail-clouds to be likened to a *ship* sailing across the sky; we know our gods were provided with cars and ships, and we saw at p. 332 that the very Edda bestows on a cloud the name of *vindflot*. But when the tempest-men by their spells call the air-ship to them or draw it on, they are servants and assistants rather than originators of the storm. The real lord of the weather takes the corn lodged by the hail into the ship with him, and remunerates the conjurors, who might be called his priests. The Christian people said: 'these conjurors sell the grain to the aëronaut, and he carries it away.' But what mythic country can *Magonia* mean? It is not known whether Agobard was born in Germany or Gaul, though his name is enough to shew his Frankish or Burgundian extraction; just as little can we tell whether he composed the treatise at Lyons, or previously at some other place. The name *Magonia* itself seems to take us to some region where Latin was spoken, if we may rely on its referring to magus and a magic land.

In later times I find no mention of this *cloud-ship*, except in H. Sachs, who in his *schwank* of the Lappenhäuser ii. 4, 89^c relates how they made a ship of feathers and straw, and carried it up the hill, with the view of launching out in it *when the mist*

should fall. Fischer in Garg. 96^a introduces quite unconnectedly the *nebelschiffs segel* of Philoxenus (the guestfriend or Zeus?) in a passage that has nothing in Rabelais answering to it.

In the latter part of the Mid. Ages there went a story of the wind-selling inhabitants of Vinland, which I give from a work composed towards 1360 by Glanvil or Bartholomaeus Anglicus, 'De proprietatibus rerum' 15, 172: 'Gens (Vinlandiae) est barbara, agrestis et saeva, magicis artibus occupata. Unde et navigantibus per eorum litora, vel apud eos propter venti defectum moram contrahentibus, *ventum venalem* offerunt atque vendunt. Globum enim de filo faciunt, et *diversos nodos in eo connectentes, usque ad tres nodos* vel plures de globo *extrahi* praecipiant, secundum quod voluerint ventum habere fortiorem.¹ Quibus propter eorum incredulitatem illudentes, *daemones aërem concitant* et ventum majorem vel minorem excitant, secundum quod plures *nodos de filo extrahunt* vel pauciores, et quandoque in tantum commovent ventum, quod miseri talibus fidem adhibentes justo judicio submerguntur.'—This selling of wind in Wilandia (as he calls it) is likewise mentioned in Seb. Frank's Weltbuch 60^a, without any description of the method. By Vinland is to be understood a part of the Greenland coast which had been early visited by Norwegians and Icelanders, and in ON. tales is by turns called Vinland and Vindland;² the latter form might have suggested the whole story of raising the wind, on which the ON. writings as well as Adam of Bremen are silent. Others however tell the same story of the Finns (Ol. Magnus 3, 15): it seems to me a tradition spread all over the North³ (see Suppl.).

The Norse legends name wind produced by magic *görnínnga-veðr*. Ogautan (like Aeolus) had a *veðr-belgr* (-bellows, or leathern bag); when he shook it, storm and wind broke out (Fornald. sög. 2, 412); the same with Möndull (3, 338). The Swedish

¹ This globus resembles the Lat. *turbo*, a top or teetotum used in magic: 'citum retro solve, solve turbinem,' Hor. Epod. 17, 7.

² Fornm. sög. 2, 246. Isl. sög. 1, 9. 100. 151. Conf. Torfaeus's Hist. Vinlandiae antiquae, Hafn. 1705.

³ The Esthonians believed that wind could be generated and altered. In the direction whence you wish it to blow, hang up a snake or set an axe upright, and whistle to make it come. A clergyman happened to see some peasants making a great fuss round *three stones*, eating, drinking and dancing to the sound of rustic instruments. Questioned as to the object of the feast, they replied that by means of those stones they could produce *wet weather* or *dry*; dry, if they set them upright, wet if they laid them along (Ueber die Ehsten, p. 48); supra pp. 593-7.

king Eiríkr, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, bore the surname of *veðrhatt* (ventosi pilei) : whichever way he *turned his hat*, from there the *wished for wind* would blow (Saxo Gram. 175. Ol. Magnus 3, 13. Gejer's Häfder 582). One of our nursery-tales even, no. 71, tells of a man who can direct the weather by *setting his hat straight* or *askew*. There is an expression in the Edda, *vindhiálmr* (Sæm. 168^b), which reminds me of the OHG. name *Windhelm*, Trad. fuld. 2, 167 (see Suppl.).

That is a beautiful fancy in the Edda, of seven-and-twenty valkyrs riding through the air, and when their horses shake themselves, the *dew* dropping out of their manes on the deep valleys, and *hail* on the lofty trees : a sign of a fruitful year, Sæm. 145. So *morning-dew* falls on the earth each day from the foaming bit of the steed Hrîmfaxi (dew-mane), Sn. 11. The ON. *meldropi*, AS. *meledeaw*, OHG. *militou* (Gl. Jun. 224), MHG. *miltou* (Ms. 2, 124^a), all take us back to *mel* (lupatum equi) ; conf. note on *Elene* p. 164, where *mel* is derived from *midl*, *mittul*, and *supra* p. 421. Antiquity referred all the phenomena of nature to higher powers. The people in Bavaria call a dark rain-cloud '*anel mit der laugen*,' granny with her ley (Schm. 1, 63) ; in Bohemia light clouds are *babky*, grannies. When mountain mist is rising, the Esthonians say 'the *Old one* is putting his fire out' ; our people ascribe it to animals at least : 'the hare is boiling [his supper], the fox is bathing, brewing,' Reinh. cexevi. When shapes keep rising in the mists on the seashore, the Italians call it *fata morgana*, p. 412 (see Suppl.).

The Scythians explained *drifting snow* as flying feathers (Herod. 4, 31), and our people see in the flakes the feathers out of the goddess's bed, or goose (p. 268). Those 'snow-women' *Fönn*, *Drífa*, *Miöll* (p. 631) appear also to touch one side of *Holda*. The Lettish riddles, '*putns skreen, spahrni pîll*,' and '*putns skreen, spalwas putt*'¹ mean a *rain-cloud* and a *snow-cloud*. In Switzerland vulgar opinion looks upon avalanches as ravening beasts, on whom (as on fire) you can put a check (see Suppl.).

4. EARTH.

Of the goddess, and her various names, we have spoken already : Nerthus p. 251, Erda p. 250, Faírguni p. 172. 256, Erce p. 253,

¹ Bird flies, wings drip. Bird flies, feathers drop. Stender's Gramm. 260.

Hludana p. 256, and others; in which the ideas of the ancients about Terra, Gaia, Ops, Rhea, Cybele, Ceres repeat themselves. On p. 303 the Indian Prithivî was compared with Freyja, and the closest kinship exists between Freyr and Niörðr (the male Nerthus). But also the bare element itself, the *molte* (mould, pulvis) p. 251, was accounted holy: it is the $\chi\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ *πολυβότειρα*, out of its teeming lap rise fruits and trees, into it the dead are laid, and decay or fire restores them to dust and ashes.¹ To die was 'to sink to the earth,' 'til iarðar (til moldar) hníga,' 'to kiss the earth,' still more prettily in ON. 'í *móðurcett* falla' (Nialss. cap. 45), in maternum genus cadere, to fall back into the womb of terra mater.² They also said '*iarðar megin* kiosa' (vim telluris eligere, i.e. invocare), Sæm. 27^b; and as the Greeks made the falling giant acquire new strength the moment he touched the ground, the Edda has '*aukinn iarðar megni*' (auctus vi telluris), 118^b, 119^a.³ One who had been long away from home kissed the earth on treading it once more; in O.Fr. poems 'baiser la terre' is a sign of humility, Berte pp. 35. 43. 58. Renart 14835. As the pure stream rejects the malefactor, so neither will the earth endure him: 'uns solt diu erde nicht tragen,' Troj. 491 [conf. 'art cursed from the earth,' Gen. 4. 10-12]. Secrets were entrusted to the earth, as well as to fire and oven, p. 629 (see Suppl.).

It is more especially earth grown over with grass, the *greenward*, that has a sacred power; such grass the Sanskrit calls *khusa*, and in particular *durva*, to which correspond the AS. *turf*, ON. *torf*, OHG. *zurba*: 'holy earth and haulms of durva,' Sakuntala (Hirzel pp. 51. 127). I have also accounted for the famous *chrene crud* of the Salic law by our 'reines kraut,' clean herb; and explained '*chreneschruda* (dat.) *jactare*' by the Roman

¹ Irstantent (they rise again) fon themo fûlen legare, ûz fon theru *asgu*, fon theru *falawisgu*, fon themo *irdisgen herde*, O. v. 20, 25-8.

² Ancient tombs have been discovered, in which the bodies neither lie nor sit, but crouch with the head, arms and legs pressed together, in receptacles nearly square. M. Fréd. Troyon of French Switz., who has carefully explored and observed many old graves, expressed to me his opinion, that by this singular treatment of dead bodies it was prob. intended to replace man in the same posture that he maintained in the womb before birth. Thus the return into mother earth would be at the same time an intimation of the coming new birth and resurrection of the embryo.

³ The Servians, by way of protesting, say 'tako mit zemlie!' so (help) me earth. A Gaelic saw (Armstrong sub v. coibhi, priest, supra p. 92 note) declares: 'ged is fagus clach do 'n lâr, is faigse na sin cobhair choibhi,' near as a stone is to the ground, the coibhi's help is nearer still, which seems to imply the earth's prompt assistance as well as the priest's.

'*puram herbam tollere,*' as the Hel. 73, 7 has *hréncurni*, an OHG. gloss *reincurnes* = frumenti, MHG. 'daz reine gras,' Iw. 6446, and grass and 'der melm,' dust, are coupled together, Wh. 24, 28. The purport of the law is, that *earth* or *dust* must be taken up from the four corners of the field, and thrown with the hand *over the nearest kinsman*. It was a solemn legal ceremony of heathen times, which the christian Capitulars abolished. Against my interpretation, however, Leo has now set up a Celtic one (*cruin-neach collectus, criadh terra*),¹ and I cannot deny the weight of his arguments, though the German etymology evidently has a stronger claim to a term incorporated in the text itself than in the case of glosses [because the Latin text must be based on a Frankish original]. The mythic use made of the earth remains the same, whichever way we take the words.

The ON. language of law offers another and no less significant name: the piece of turf [under which an oath was taken] is called *iarðmen, iarðar men*; now 'men' is literally monile, OHG. *mani, meni*, AS. *mene*, as we saw in the case of Freyja's necklace 'Brîsinga men.' But 'iarðar men' must once have been *Iarðar men*, Erda's necklace, the greensward being very poetically taken for the goddess's jewelry. The solemn '*gânga undir Iarðar men*' (RA. 118-9) acquires its true meaning by this. In other nations too, as Hungarians (RA. 120), and Slavs (Böhme's Beitr. 5, 141), the administration of oaths took place by the person who swore placing *earth* or *turf* on his head (see Suppl.).

The custom of conquered nations presenting *earth* and *water* in token of submission reaches back to remote antiquity: when the Persians declared war, they sent heralds to demand the two elements of those whose country they meant to invade,² which again reminds us of the Roman 'pura.' Our landsknechts as late as the 16th century, on going into battle, threw a *clod of earth* (like him that threw chrenechruda) in token of utter renunciation of life.³ Among the Greeks too, grasping the *sod*

¹ Zeitschr. f. d. alterth. 2, 163 seq. Malb. gl. 2, 149. 150.

² Brissonius De regno Pers. 3, 66—71. Herod. 4, 127. 5, 18. Curtius iii. 10, 108. Aristotle Rhet. ii. 22, 37. Also Judith 2, 7 : *ἔτοιμάζειν γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ* (Cod. alex. ed. Augusti).

³ Barthold's Frundsberg p. 58-9. In the Mid. Ages, when a nun was consecrated, her kinsmen, as a sign that she renounced all earthly possessions, threw *earth over the maiden's arm*; conf. Svenska visor 1, 176 :

det voro sâ mânia grefvar bâld,

signified taking possession of land, especially in the case of emigrants. As Euphamos sits on the prow of the *Argo*, Triton appears in human form and presents him with a *clod of earth* as a gift of hospitality. Euphamos takes the symbolic earth (*βώλακα δαιμονίαν*), and gives it to his men to keep, but they drop it in the sea, and it melts away. Had it been preserved and deposited at Tainaros, the descendants of Euphamos would have won the promised land (Cyrene) in the fourth generation. As it was, they only got it in the 17th (see Suppl.).¹

In an AS. spell which is elsewhere given, four pieces of *turf* are cut out, oil, honey, yeast and the milk of all cattle are dropt on them, and thereto is added some of every kind of tree that grows on the land, except hard trees,² and of every herb except burs; and then at length the charm is repeated over it. With their seedcorn people mix *earth* from *three sorts of fields* (Superst. I, 477); on the coffin, when lowered, *three clods* are dropt (699); by cutting out the *soil* on which footprints [of a thief or enemy] are left, you can work magic (524. 556; and see Suppl.).

Of holy *mountains* and *hills* there were plenty; yet there seems to have been no elemental worship of them: they were honoured for the sake of the deity enthroned upon them, witness the Wôdan's and Thunar's hills. When Agathias, without any such connexion, speaks of *λόφοι* and *φάραγγες* (hills and gullies) as objects of worship (p. 100); possibly his knowledge of the facts was imperfect, and there was a fire or water worship connected with the hill. It is among the Goths, to whom *faírguni* meant mountain (p. 172), that one would first look for a pure mountain-worship, if the kinship I have supposed between that word and the god's name be a matter of fact. Dietmar of Merseburg (Pertz 5, 855) gives an instance of mountain-worship among the Slavs: 'Posita autem est haec (civitas, viz. Nemtsi, Nimptch) in pago silensi, vocabulo hoc a *quodam monte*, nimis excelso et grandi, olim sibi indito: et hic ob qualitatem suam et quantitatem, cum execranda gentilitas ibi veneraretur, *ab incolis omnibus nimis*

som hade deraf stor harm (great sorrow),
der de nu *kastade den svarta mull* (black mould)
allt öfver skön Valborg's arm.

¹ Pindar's Pyth. 4, 21-44. O. Müller's Orchom. 352, and proleg. 142 seq.; his Dorier 1, 85. 2, 535.

² 'Only of soft wood, not hard,' RA. 506.

honorabatur. The commentators say it is the Zobtenberg in Silesia (see Suppl.).

Here and there single *stones* and *rocks*, or several in a group, sometimes arranged in circles, were held in veneration (Append. 'vota ad lapides,' especially '*lapides* in ruinosis et silvestribus locis venerari; AS. *stânweorðung*, 'bringan tô *stâne*,' Thorpe pp. 380. 396). This worship of stones is a distinguishing characteristic of Celtic religion,¹ less of Teutonic, though amongst ourselves also we meet with the superstition of slipping through *hollow stones* as well as hollow trees, Chap. XXXVI. Cavities not made artificially by human hand were held sacred. In England they hang such holy-stones or holed-stones at the horses' heads in a stable, or on the bed-tester and the house-door against witchcraft. Some are believed to have been hollowed by the sting of an adder (adderstones). In Germany, holy stones were either mahlsteine of tribunals or sacrificial stones: oaths were taken 'at ursvölum *unnar steini*,' 'at enom *hvíta helga steini*,' Sæm. 165^a. 237^b. *heilög fjöll* 189^b. *Helgafell*, Landn. 2, 12; conf. espec. Eyrbygg. saga c. 4. Four holy stones are sunk to cleanse a profaned sea (supra p. 87 note). A great number of stones which the giant or devil has dropt, on which he has left the print of his hand or foot, are pointed out by popular legend, without any holy meaning being thereby imparted to them (see Suppl.).

As giants and men get petrified (p. 551), and still retain, so to speak, an after-sense of their former state, so to rocks and stones compassion is attributed, and interest in men's condition. Snorri 68 remarks, that stones begin to sweat when brought out of the frost into warmth, and so he explains how rocks and stones wept for Baldr. It is still common to say of bitter anguish: 'a stone by the wayside would feel pity,' 'it would move a heart of stone.'² Notice the MHG. phrase: 'to squeeze a stone with

¹ Conf. Armstrong sub v. *earn* and *clachbrath*; O'Brien sub v. *earn*; H. Schreiber's Feen, p. 17 on the menhir and pierres fites, p. 21 on the pierres branlantes. Of spindle-stones I have spoken, p. 419.

² This mode of expression is doubtless very old; here are specimens from MHG.: ez erbarmet einem *steine*, Hart. erst. büchl. 1752. wær sîn *herze steinen*, swer (whoso) si weinen sâhe, ze weinen im geschæhe, Herb. 68^a; ir klage mohte erbarmen einen *stein* 89^b. erbarmen ein *steinhertez herze*, Flore 1498. ir jâner daz moht einen *vels* erbarmen, Lohengr. p. 16. ez moht ein *stein* beweinet hân dise barmunge, Dietr. 48^a. Mark, the stones did not weep of themselves, but were moved to sympathy by the weeping and wailing of the hapless men, which as it

straps, till its veins drop blood,' MsH. 2, 235^b, suggested no doubt by the veins which run through some stones (see Suppl.).

In closing this chapter, I will group together the *higher* gods who more immediately govern the four elements. Water, springs, rain and sea are under Wuotan (Nichus), Donar, Uogi, Holda. Fire, lightning under Donar, Loki. Air, wind under Wuotan, Frô. Earth under Nerthus and many others, mentioned on p. 641-2.

were penetrated their ears. So in Holberg (Ellefte juni 4, 2): hørte jeg en sukken og hylen, som en *steen* maatte græde ved. And Ovid (Met. 9, 303): *moturaque duras Verba queror silices*. Luke 19, 40: *οἱ λίθοι κερᾶζονται* [Habak. 2, 11: the stones shall cry out of the wall].

CHAPTER XXI.

TREES AND ANIMALS.

As all nature was thought of by the heathen mind as living; ¹ as language and the understanding of human speech was allowed to beasts, and sensation to plants (see Suppl.); and as every kind of transition and exchange of forms was supposed to take place amongst all creatures: it follows at once, that to some a higher worth may have been assigned, and this heightened even up to divine veneration. Gods and men transformed themselves into trees, plants or beasts, spirits and elements assumed animal forms; why should the worship they had hitherto enjoyed be withheld from the altered type of their manifestation? Brought under this point of view, there is nothing to startle us in the veneration of trees or animals. It has become a gross thing only when to the consciousness of men the higher being has vanished from behind the form he assumed, and the form alone has then to stand for him.

We must however distinguish from divinely honoured plants and animals those that were esteemed high and holy because they stood in close relationship to gods or spirits. Of this kind are beasts and vegetables used for sacrifice, trees under which

¹ The way it is expressed in the Eddic myth of Baldr is more to the point than anything else: To ward off every danger that might threaten that beloved god, Frigg exacted oaths from water, fire, earth, stones, plants, beasts, birds and worms, nay from plagues personified, that they would not harm him; one single shrub she let off from the oath, because he was too young, Sn. 64. Afterwards all creatures weep the dead Baldr, men, animals, plants and stones, Sn. 68. The OS. poet of the *Heliand* calls dumb nature the *unquethandi*, and says 168, 32: 'that thar Waldandes dôd (the Lord's death) *unquethandes* sô filo antkennian scolda, that is endagon *ertha* bivôda, hrisidun thia hôhun *bergos*, harda *sténos* clubun, *felisos* after them felde.' It is true these phenomena are from the Bible (Matth. 27, 51-2), yet possibly a heathen picture hovered in the author's mind (as we saw on pp. 148. 307), in this case the mourning for Baldr, so like that for the Saviour. Herbot makes all things bewail Hector: if (says he, 68^a) stones, metals, chalk and sand had wit and sense, they would have sorrowed too. As deeply rooted in man's nature is the impulse, when unfortunate, to bewail his woes to the rocks and trees and woods; this is beautifully expressed in the song Ms. I, 3^b, and all the objects there appealed to, offer their help.

higher beings dwell, animals that wait upon them. The two classes can hardly be separated, for incorrect or incomplete accounts will not allow us to determine which is meant.

1. TREES.

The high estimation in which *Woods* and *Trees* were held by the heathen Germans has already been shown in Chap. IV. To certain deities, perhaps to all, there were groves dedicated, and probably particular trees in the grove as well. Such a grove was not to be trodden by profane feet, such a tree was not to be stript of its boughs or foliage, and on no account to be hewn down.¹ Trees are also consecrated to individual dæmons, elves, wood and home sprites, p. 509.

Minute descriptions, had any such come down to us, would tell us many things worth knowing about the enclosure and maintenance of holy woods, about the feasts and sacrifices held in them. In the *Indiculus paganiarum* we read 'de sacris silvarum, quae *nimidus* vocant.' This German word seems to me uncorrupted, but none the easier to understand: it is a plur. masc. from the sing. *nimid*,² but to hit the exact sense of the word, we should have to know all the meanings that the simple verb *neman* was once susceptible of. If the German *nimu* be, as it has every appearance of being, the same as *νέμω*, then *nimid* also may answer to Gr. *νέμος*, Lat. *nemus*, a woodland pasture, a grove, a *sacrum silvae* (p. 69).³ Documents of 1086 and 1150

¹ *Sacrum nemus, nemus castum* in Tacitus. Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 1, 1:

Stat vetus et multos *incaedua silva* per annos,
credibile est illi numen inesse loco:
fons sacer in medio, speluncaque pumice pendens,
et latere ex omni dulce queruntur aves.

Lucan, *Phars.* 3, 399: *Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab aevo*. So the Semnonian wood, the *nemus* of Nerthus, the Slav *lucus* Zutibure, the Prussian grove Romowe. Among the Esthonians it is held infamous to pluck even a single leaf in the sacred grove: *far as its shade extends* (ut *umbra pertingit*, RA. 57. 105), they will not take so much as a strawberry; some people secretly bury their dead there (Petri *Ehstland* 2, 120). They call such woods *hio*, and the I. of Dagō is in Esth. *Hiomah*, because there is a consecrated wood near the farmhouse of *Hiohof* (Thom. Hiärn.).

² Like *helid* (heros), *gimeinid* (communio), *frumid*, pl. *frumidas* (AS. *frymðas*, *primitiae*), *barid* (clamor, inferred from Tacitus's *baritus*).

³ Can *nimid* have been a heathen term for sacrifice? *Abnemen* in the 13th cent. meant *mactare*, to slaughter (used of cattle, Berthold p. 46, as we still say *abthun*, *abschneiden*, Ulph. *ufsneifan*; Schmid's Schwäb. wtb. 405 *abnehmen* to kill poultry. This meaning can hardly lie in the prefix, it must be a part of the word itself:

name a place *Nimodon*, *Nimeden* (Möser's Osnabr. gesch., urk. 34. 56. 8, 57. 84); the resemblance may lead to something further (see Suppl.).

There can be no doubt that for some time after the conversion the people continued to light candles and offer small sacrifices under particular holy trees, as even to this day they hang wreaths upon them, and lead the ring-dance under them (p. 58). In the church-prohibitions it is variously called: 'vota ad *arbores* facere aut ibi *candelam* seu quodlibet munus deferre; *arborem* colere; votum ad *arborem* persolvere; *arbores daemonibus consecratos* colere, et in tanta veneratione habere, ut vulgus nec *ramum* nec *surculum* audeat amputare.' It is the AS. *treow-weorðung* (cultus arborum), the ON. *blôta lundinn* (grove), Landn. 3, 17. The Acta Bened. sec. 2 p. 841 informs us: 'Adest quoque ibi (at Lutosas, now Leuze) non ignoti miraculi *fagus* (beech), *subter quam luminaria* saepe cum *accensa* absque hominum accessu videmus, divini aliquid fore suspicamur.' So the church turned the superstition to account for her own miracles: a convent was founded on the site of the tree. About Esthonians of the present day we are told in Rosenplänter's Beitr. 9, 12, that only a few years ago, in the parish of Harjel, on St. George's, St. John's and St. Michael's night, they used to *sacrifice under certain trees*, i.e. to *kill, a black fowl*.¹ Of the Thunder-god's *holy oak* an account has been given, pp. 72-3-4. 171. 184; and in Gramm. 2, 997 the OHG. *scaldeih* (ilex) is compared with the AS. names of plants *scaldhyfel*, *scaldþyfel* and the *scaldo* quoted above, p. 94. All this is as yet uncertain, and needs further elucidation.

Among the Langobards we find a worship of the so-called *blood-tree* or *holy tree* (p. 109). The Vita S. Barbati in the Acta sanctor. under Febr. 19, p. 139. The saint (b. cir. 602, d. cir. 683) lived at Benevento, under kings Grimoald and Romuald;

niman, *neman* would therefore be to cut, kill, divide, and *nimidas* the victims slain in the holy grove, under trees? Conf. what is said in the text of the Langobardic tree of sacrifice. Celtic etymologies seem rather out of place for this plainly Saxon *Indiculus*. Adelung already in Mithrid. 2, 65. 77 had brought into the field *Nemetes* and *nemet* (templum); Ir. *naomh* is sanctus, *neamh* (gen. *nimhe*) coelum, *niem-headh* land consecrated, belonging to the church.

¹ The superstition of the Lausitz Wends holds that there are woods which yearly demand a human victim (like the rivers, p. 494); some person must lose his life in them: 'hohla dyrbi kojzde ljetu jeneho czloweka mjecz,' Lausitz mon. sehr. 1797, p. 748.

the Lombard nation was baptized, but still clung to superstitious practices: 'Quin etiam non longe a Beneventi moenibus devotissime *sacrilegam colebant arborem, in qua suspenso corio cuncti qui aderant terga vertentes arbori celerius equitabant, calcaribus cruentantes equos, ut unus alterum posset praeire, atque in eodem cursu retroversis manibus in corium jaculabantur.* Sicque particulam modicam ex eo comedendam superstitiose accipiebant. Et quia stulta illic *persolvebant vota*, ab actione illa nomen loco illi, sicut hactenus dicitur, *votum* imposuerunt.' In vain Barbatius preaches against it: 'illi ferina coecati dementia nil aliud nisi sessorum meditates usus, optimum esse fatebantur *cultum legis majorum suorum*, quos nominatim bellicosissimos asserebant.' When Romnald was gone to Naples, 'repente beatissimus Barbatius securim accipiens et *ad votum* pergens, suis manibus *nefandam arborem, in qua per tot temporis spatia* Langobardi exitiale sacrilegium perficiebant, defossa humo a radicibus incidit, ac desuper terrae congeriem fecit, ut nec indicium ex ea quis postea valuerit reperire.'¹ This part about felling the tree has an air of swagger and improbability; but the description of the heathen ceremony may be true to the life. I have pointed out, p. 174, that the Ossetes and Circassians hung up the *hides of animals on poles* in honour of divine beings, that the Goths of Jornandes *truncis suspendebant exuvias* to Mars (p. 77 note), that as a general thing *animals* were hung on *sacrificial trees* (pp. 75-9); most likely this tree also was sacred to some god through sacrifices, i.e. votive offerings of individuals,² hence the whole place was named 'ad votum.' What was the meaning of *hurling javelins through the suspended skin*, is by no means clear; in the North it was the custom to *shoot through a hanging raw oxhide* (Fornm. sög. 3, 18. 4, 61), as a proof of strength and skill. Doing it backwards

¹ Another Vita Barbati (ibid. p. 112) relates as follows: 'Nam quid despiciabilis credendum est, quam ex mortuis animalibus non carnem sed corium accipere ad usum comestionis, ut pravo errori subjecti Langobardi fecerunt? qui suarum festa solennitatum equis praecurrentibus unus altero praecedente, sicut mos erat *gentilium, arbori* ludificae procul non satis Benevento *vota sua solvebant.* Suspensa itaque putredo corii in hanc *arborem divam*, equorum sessorum versis post tergum brachiis ignominiam corii certabant lanceolis vibrare. Cumque lanceolis esse vibrata pellis mortua cerneretur, veluti pro remedio animae ex hac illusionem corii partis mediae factam recisionem gustabant. Ecce quali ridiculo vanae mentis homines errori subjacebant pestifero!'

² Supra p. 360 note; votum is not only vow, but the oblatio rei votivae: 'votare puerum' in Pertz 2, 93 is equiv. to offerre.

increased the difficulty, and savours of antiquity.¹ Why the particle of skin that was knocked out should be eaten, it is hard to say; was it to indicate that they were allowed to participate in the sacrifice? (p. 46; see Suppl.).

And not only were those trees held sacred, under which men sacrificed, and on which they hung the head or hide of the slaughtered beast, but saplings that *grew up on the top of sacrificed animals*. A willow slip set over a dead foal or calf is not to be damaged (Sup. I, 838); are not these exactly Adam of Bremen's '*arbores ex morte vel tabo immolatorum divinae*'? (p. 76).²

Of hallowed trees (which are commonly addressed as *frau*, dame, in the later Mid. Ages) the *oak* stands at the head (pp. 72-77): an oak or beech is the arbor frugifera in casting lots (Tac. Germ. 10). Next to the oak, the *ash* was holy, as we may see by the myth of the creation of man; the ashtree Yggdrasil falls to be treated in Chap. XXV. The wolf, whose meeting of you promises victory, stands under ashen boughs. 'The common people believe that 'tis very dangerous to break a bough from the *ask*, to this very day,' Rob. Plot's Staffordshire p. 207. One variety, the mountain-ash or *rountree*, rowan-tree, is held to have magical power (Brockett p. 177),³ (conf. Chap. XXVII., Rönn). With dame *Hazel* too our folk-songs carry on conversations, and *hazels* served of old to hedge in a court of justice, as they still do cornfields, RA. 810. According to the Östgöta-lag (bygdab. 30), any one may in a common wood hew with impunity, all but *oaks* and *hazels*, these have peace, *i.e.* immunity. In Superst. I, 972 we are told that oak and hazel dislike one another, and cannot agree, any more than haw and sloe (white and black thorn; see Suppl.). Then the *elder* (*sambucus*), OHG. *holantar*, enjoyed a marked degree of veneration; *holan* of itself denotes a tree or shrub (AS. *cneowholen*=*ruscus*). In Lower Saxony the *sambucus nigra* is

¹ So the best head had to be touched *backwards*, RA. 396; so men sacrificed with the head turned away (p. 493), and threw backwards over their heads (p. 628).

² A scholium on Ad. of Bremen's Hist. eccl. (Pertz, scr. 7, 379) is worth quoting: 'Prope illud templum (upsaliense) est *arbor maxima*, late ramos extendens, aestate et hieme semper virens: cujus illa generis sit, nemo scit. Ibi etiam est fons, ubi sacrificia Paganorum solent exerceri, et homo vivus immergi, qui dum immergitur (al. invenitur), ratum erit votum populi.' To sink in water was a good sign, as in the ordeal (RA. 924; conf. Chap. XXXIV., Witch's bath).

³ *Esculus Jovi sacra*, Pliny 16, 4 (5).

called *ellorn*, *ell-horn*.¹ Arnkiel's testimony 1, 179 is beyond suspicion : ' Thus did our forefathers also hold the ellhorn holy, and if they must needs clip the same, they were wont first to say this prayer : " Dame Ellhorn, give me somewhat of thy wood, then will I also give thee of mine, if so be it grow in the forest." And this they were wont to do sometimes with bended knees, bare head and folded hands, as I have ofttimes in my young days both heard and seen.' Compare with this the very similar accounts of *elder rods* (Sup. I, 866), of planting the *elder* before stables (169), of pouring water under the *elder* (864), and of the *elder's mother* (Sup. K, Dan. 162).² The *juniper*, wacholder, plays an important part in the märchen of *machandelboom* ; in the poem of the Mirror's adventure, fol. 38, occurs the mysterious statement :

<i>Fraw Weckolter</i> , ich sich	Dame Juniper, I see
daz du ir swester bist,	that thou her ³ sister art,
du kund ouch falsehe list	thou knewest false cunning too
dô du daz kind verstat.	when thou stolest the child.

A man in Sudermania was on the point of cutting down a fine shady juniper, when a voice cried out, ' hew not the juniper ! ' He disregarded the warning, and was about to begin again, when it cried once more ' I tell thee, hew not down the tree ! ' and he ran away in a fright.⁴ A similar notion lies at the bottom of kindermärchen no. 128, only it has a ludicrous turn given it ; a voice out of the tree cries to the hewer, ' he that hews *haspelholz* (windlass-wood), shall die.' Under such a tree, the Klinta *tall* (deal-tree, pine) in Westmanland, dwelt a hafs-fru, in fact the pine tree's rå (p. 496) ; to this tree you might see snow-white cattle driven up from the lake across the meadows, and no one dared to touch its boughs. Trees of this kind are sacred to individual elves, woodsprites, homesprites ; they are called in Swed.

¹ AS. *ellen*. The Canones editi sub Eadgaro rege, cap. 16 (Thorpe, p. 396), speak of the sorcery practised ' on *ellenum* and eác on oðrum mislicum treowum ' (in sambucis et in aliis variis arboribus).

² The god Pushkait lives under the *elder*, and the Lettons used to set bread and beer for him beside the tree, Thom. Hiärn, p. 43. [In Somersetshire they will not burn elder wood, for fear of ill luck.—TRANS.]

³ My faithless lover's.

⁴ I find this quoted from Loccenius's *Antiq. Sueog.* 1, 3 ; it is not in the ed. of 1647, it may be in a later. Afzelius 2, 147 has the story with this addition, that at the second stroke blood flowed from the root, the hewer then went home, and soon fell sick.

bo-träd, in Dan. *boe-trä* (p. 509). Under the lime-tree in the Hero-book dwarfs love to haunt, and heroes fall into enchanted sleep: the sweet breath of its blossoms causes stupefaction, D. Heldenb. 1871, 3, 14-5. 135 (see Suppl.). But elves in particular have not only single trees but whole *orchards* and *groves* assigned them, which they take pleasure in cultivating, witness Laurin's *Rosegarden* enclosed by a silken thread. In Sweden they call these gardens *elfträd-gårdar*.

The Greek dryads¹ and hamadryads have their life *linked to a tree*, and as this withers and dies, they themselves fall away and cease to be; any injury to bough or twig is felt as a wound, and a wholesale hewing down puts an end to them at once.² A cry of anguish escapes them when the cruel axe comes near. Ovid in Met. 8, 742 seq., tells a beautiful story of Erisichthon's impious attack on the grove of Ceres:

Ille etiam Cereale nemus violasse securi
dicitur, et lucos ferro temerasse vetustos.
Stabat in his *ingens annoso robore quercus*,
saepe sub hac dryades festas duxere choreas . . .
Contremuit, gemitumque dedit Deoia quercus,
et pariter frondes, pariter pallescere glandes
coepere, ac longi pallorem ducere rami.

When the *alder* (erle) is hewn, it bleeds, weeps, and begins to speak (Meinert's Kuhländch. 122). An Austrian *märchen* (Ziska 38-42) tells of the stately *fir*, in which there sits a fay waited on by dwarfs, rewarding the innocent and plaguing the guilty; and a Servian song of the maiden in the *pine* (*fichte*) whose bark the boy splits with a gold and silver horn. Magic spells banish the *ague* into *frau Fichte* (see Suppl.).

This belief in spirit-haunted trees was no less indigenous among Celts. Sulpicius Severus (beg. of 5th cent.) reports in his life of St. Martin, ed. Amst. 1665, p. 457: 'Dum in vico quodam templum antiquissimum diruisset, et *arborem pinum*, quae fano erat proxima, esset aggressus excidere, tum vero antistes illius luci ceteraque gentilium turba coepit obsistere; et cum iidem illi, dum templum evertitur, imperante domino quievissent, *succidi arborem*

¹ AS. gloss, *wudu-elfenne*, wood-elfins, fem. pl.

² 'Non sine hamadryadis fato cadit arborea trabs.' Ausonius.

non patiebantur. Ille eos sedulo commonere, nihil esse religionis in stipite; Deum potius, cui serviret ipse, sequerentur; arborem illam excindi oportere, quia esset *daemoni* dedicata' (see Suppl.).

A great deal might be written on the sacredness of particular *plants* and *flowers*. They are either dedicated to certain gods and named after them (as Donners bart, p. 183. Baldrs brâ, p. 222. Forneotes folme, p. 240. Lokkes havre, p. 242. Freyju hâr, Friggjar gras, p. 302-3); or they come of the transformation of some afflicted or dying man. Nearly all such plants have power to heal or hurt, it is true they have to be plucked and gathered first: the Chap. on magic will furnish examples. Like sacred tutelary beasts, they are blazoned on the coats-of-arms of countries, towns, and heroes. Thus to the Northwest Germans, especially Frisians and Zeelanders, the *seeblatt* (nymphæa, nenuphar) was from the earliest times an object of veneration. The Hollanders call it *plompe*, the Frisians *pompe*: strictly speaking, the broad leaves floating on the sea are *pompebledden*, and the fragrant white flowers, golden yellow inside, *swanneblommen* (flores cygnei); which recalls the names given at p. 489, *nix-blume*, *näckblad*, *muhme* and *munmel* (i.e. swan-maiden). The Frisians put seven 'sea-blades' (zeven plompenbladen) in their escutcheon, and under that emblem looked for victory;¹ our Gudrunlied (1373) knows all about it, and furnishes Herwic of Sêwen or Sêlanden with a sky-blue flag: '*sêbleter* swebent (float) dar inne.' This sea-flower is the sacred lotus of old Egypt, and is also honoured in India; the Tibetans and Nepâlese bow down to it, it is set up in temples, Brahma and Vishnu float on its leaf; and it is no other than a M. Nethl. poem that still remembers Thumbkin floating on the leaf (p. 451).

¹ J. H. Halbertsma's *Het Buddhisme en zijn stichter*, Deventer 1843, pp. 3. 10; and he adds, that the people are to this day very careful in picking and carrying the plompen: if you fall with the flower in your hand, you get the falling sickness. Plomben, our plumpfen, ON. pompa, means plumping or plunging down. Acc. to W. Barnes, 'butterpumps = ovary of the yellow waterlily'; conf. Lith. pompa, Slav. pupa, wen, pimple? Mart. Hamconii Frisia, Franekaræ 1620, p. 7, says Friso introduced the cognisance of the *seven sea-blades*: 'insigne Frisonis, ut Cappidus refert, *septem fuerunt rubra nymphæe herbae folia, in tribus argenteis constitutæ trabibus per scutum caeruleum oblique ductis.*' Cappidus is said to have been a priest at Stavorn at the beg. of the 10th century, but nothing more is known of him. Conf. Van d. Bergh's *Volksoverlev.* p. 33. 41. 110. Others connect the division of Friesland into 7 sea-lands with the 7 leaves of the scutcheon; it is not known for certain when that division first began; see *De vrije Vries* 4, 137.

2. ANIMALS.

We shall have still more to say about sacred *animals*, which enter into more intimate relations with man than dumb nature can; but their cultus will admit of being referred to two or three principal causes. Either they stood connected with particular gods, and to some extent in their *service*, as the boar belongs to Frô, the wolf and raven to Wuotan; or there lies at the basis the *metamorphosis of a higher being* into some animal shape, on the strength of which the whole species comes to be invested with a halo of honour. That is how we may in some instances have to take a bear, bull, cow or snake, presupposing an incarnation, though our mythology may have long ceased to reach so far back as to give a full account of it. Then, bordering close upon such a lowering of the god into the animal, comes the penal *degradation of man into a beast*, the old doctrine of transmigration, in which we discover a third reason for the consecration of animals, though it does not warrant an actual worship of them. Those myths, e.g. of the cuckoo, woodpecker, nightingale, and so on, furnish a fund of beautiful tales, which enter largely into the hero-worship (see Suppl.).

QUADRUPEDS.—Foremost of animals I name the *horse*, the noblest, wisest, trustiest of domestic animals, with whom the hero holds friendly talk (p. 392), who sympathizes in his griefs and rejoices in his victories. As some heroes are named after the horse (Hengest, Hors), the horse too has proper names given him; Norse mythology assigns to nearly every god his separate horse, endowed with miraculous powers. Oðin's steed is named *Sleipnir* (p. 154), and is, like some giants and heroes, an octopod.¹ The other horses of the *âses* are enumerated by Sæm. 44^a and Sn. 18, without specifying to which they belonged. Several names are formed with 'fæxi' (jubatus, comatus, OHG. vahso), as *Skînfæxi* (Sæm. 32. Sn. 11), *Gullfæxi* (Sn. 107-10), *Hrîmfæxi* (Sæm. 32. 91. Sn. 11), *Freyfæxi* (Vatnsd. 140-1). Of these, Gullfæxi the gold-maned belonged to giant Hrûngnir, Skînfæxi the shiny-

¹ Old riddle on Oðinn and Sleipnir in the *Hervararsaga*: 'Who are the two that go to Thing (council) together, and have three eyes, ten legs and one tail between them?' A mode of expression quite of a piece with our old habits of speech; thus in the *Weisthümer* it is said the officers of the court shall come to the assize with 6½ mouths, meaning three men on horseback and a dog.

maned was the steed of Day, and Hrîmfaxi the riny-maned (p. 641) of Night. But even *Faxi* by itself is a name for horses, e.g. Fornald. sög. 2, 168. 508. *Arvakr* (early-waker), *Alsviðr* (all-wise) are horses of the sun-chariot, Sæm. 45. Sn. 12; on Arvakr's ear, on Alsvinn's¹ hoof, there were runes written; also runes 'â *Sleipnis* tönnum (teeth),' Sæm. 196^a, as well as on the bear's paw and the wolf's claws.² *Svaðilfari* was the horse that helped the giant in building, Sn. 46. And our hero-legend has handed down the names of many famous horses (p. 392). *Bajart* is described as intelligent, like Alsviðr; he is said to be still alive in Ardennes forest, where you may hear him neigh every year on Midsommer day (Quatre fils Aimon 180°). The track of Schimming's shoe stands printed on the rock, Vilks. saga cap. 37 (see Suppl.).

The *Freyfaxi* in Vatnsdælasaga was owned by a man named Brandr, who is said to have worshipped it (at hann hefði átrúnað â Faxa), and was therefore called Faxabrandr. The unpublished saga of Hrafnkell is known to me only from Müller's Bibl. 1, 103, but he too had a horse *Freyfaxi* (mispr. Freirfara), which he had half given to Freyr, vowing at the same time to slay the man who should mount it without his leave. I can give the passage from Joh. Erics de philippia apud priscos boreales, Lips. 1755, p. 122: 'Hrafnkell átti þann grip í eigo sinni, er hânom þótti betri enn annar, þat var hestr bleikalóttr at lit, er hann kallaði *Freyfaxes*, hann gaf *Frey* vin sínom (supra, pp. 93. 211) þenna hest hálfann. â þessom hesti hafði hann svâ mikla elsko (love), at hann strengdi þess heit (vow), at hann skyldi þeim manni at bana verða, er þeim hesti riði ân hans vilja.' Brand's 'átrúnað' refers, no doubt, to the same circumstance of his horse being hallowed and devoted to the god. A striking testimony to this is found in Olafs Tryggvasonar saga:³ Tidings came to the king, that the Trændir (men of Drontheim) had turned back to the worship of Freyr, whose statue still stood among them. When the king commanded them to break the image, they replied: 'ei munum ver brióta líkneski Freys, þviat ver höfum leingi

¹ Sviðr, gen. svinns, like maðr, manns.

² Reminding of the Germ. Beast-apologue (Reinh. cclxiii.). In Fornald. sög. 1, 169 Rafn prefers, wrongly I think, the reading 'höfði,' head.

³ Ed. Skalh. 1698. 1690. 2, 190 cap. 49; this cap. is left out in Fornm. sög. 2, 189, but inserted at 10, 312.

honum þionat ok hefr oss vel dūgat.' Olafur summoned them to an assembly, resolving to destroy the idol himself, and sailed to the coast where the temple (hof) stood. When he landed, he found the *horses of the god grazing there* (þá sáu hans menn stôðhross nokkr við vegin, er þeir sögðu at hann Freyr ætti). The king mounted the stallion, and his courtiers the mares, and so they rode to the temple; Olafur dismounted, walked in and threw down the idols (goðin),¹ but took Frey's image away with him. When the Trændir found their gods dishonoured, and Frey's image carried off, they were ware that the king had done it, and they came to the place of meeting. The king had the image set up in the Thing, and asked the people: 'know ye this man?' 'It is Freyr our god' they answered. 'How has he shewn his power to you?' 'He has often spoken to us, foretold the future, granted plenty and peace (veitti oss âr oc frið).' 'The devil spake to you' said the king; then taking an axe, he cried to the image: 'Now help thyself, and defend thee if thou canst.' Freyr continuing silent, Olafur hewed off both his hands, and then preached to the people how this idolatry had arisen. The whole narrative bears the impress of a later age, yet it had sprung out of Norse tradition, and assures us that *horses were consecrated to Freyr, and maintained in the hallowed precincts of his temples.* Had not the temples of other gods such horses too? The animals that Wilibrord found grazing in Fosete's sanctuary (p. 230) can hardly have been horses, or he would not have had them slaughtered for food; but the practice of rearing cattle consecrated to the gods is established by it none the less. And apart from this, it seems that single beasts were maintained by private worshippers of the god.

Such breed of pure and dedicated horses was destined for holy uses, especially sacrifice, divination, and the periodical tours of deities in their cars. Their manes were carefully cultivated, groomed and decorated, as the name *Faxi* indicates; probably gold, silver and ribbons were twined or plaited into the locks (*Gullfaxi, Skínfaxi*); mön glóar (juba splendet), Sæm. 92^a, lýsir mön af mari (lucet juba ex equo) 32^b, as indeed the Lat. jubar suggests juba, because a mane does radiate, and light sends out

¹ So that there were other statues standing beside Frey's.

beams in the manner of hair.¹ *Gulltoppr*, *Silfrintoppr* are names of horses whose tails were tied round with gold or silver, Sn. 44. The names *Gyllir* and *Gler* (golden, glittering, *ibid.*) may be given them for the same reason, or because their hoofs were shod with gold, or from the gilding of the bridle and saddle. Of colours, *white* was esteemed the noblest; a king would make his entry, or bestow a fief, seated on a *milk-white steed*. The Weisthümer often mention the *white horse* (e.g. 3, 342. 857); if an inheritance lie vacant, the governor is to mount a *white foal*, and taking one man before him and the other behind, to set one of them down on the property (3, 831; *conf.* 2, 541). A foal was esteemed even purer and nobler than a horse (see *Suppl.*).²

Tacitus (Germ. 9, 10), after saying 'lucos ac nemora consecrant,' adds: 'Proprium gentis, equorum quoque *praesagia* ac monitus experiri. *Publice aluntur, iisdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti*, quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur, *hinnitusque ac fremitus* observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes: se enim ministros deorum, *illos conscios* putant; ' these sacred beasts are in the secrets of the gods, and can reveal their counsels. And in christian times the *Indiculus pagan. cap. xiii.* speaks 'de *auguriis equorum*,' without describing them further. A *horse's neigh* is an omen of good (*Sup. I, 239*).³ To warriors victory was foretold by their chargers' *neighing* (OHG. *hueiôn*, MHG. *weien*, M. Neth. *neien*, ON. *hneggja*, Swed. *gnägga*), and defeat by their withholding the cheerful spirit-stirring strain: see an instance in the *Flem. rhyming chron.*, ed. Kausler 7152. We

¹ Single hairs out of the mane or tail of a sacred horse were treasured up. Franz Wessel relates, p. 14, that when the Johannites preached in a town or village, they had a fine stallion ridden round, to which the people offered 'afgehoven woppen (bunch of oat ears)'; any one who could get a hair out of the horse's tail, thought himself lucky, and sewed it into the middle of his milk-strainer, and the milk was proof against witchcraft.

² A foal's tooth, it seems, was hung about the person, and worn as a safeguard. A MHG. poet says: 'gevater unde *füli-zant* an grôzen nœten sint ze swach,' god-fathers and foal's teeth are too weak in great emergencies, MS. 2, 160^b. To let children ride on a black foal makes them cut their teeth easily, *Superst. I, 428*. From Eracl. 1320. 1485 *fül-zene* appear to be the milk-teeth shed by a foal (see *Suppl.*).

³ What the *breath* of a swine has polluted, is set right again by that of the *horse* (*Sup. I, 820. K, 92*); the horse is a *clean animal*. It helps a woman in labour, for a horse to feed out of her apron (*Sup. I, 337*).

know how the Persians chose a king by the neighing of his horse, Herod. 3, 84. In the Norwegian tale Grimsborcken (Asb. and Moe, no. 38) a foal is suckled by twelve mares, and gets to talk sensibly (see Suppl.).

And as Mîmi's head retained its wisdom after it was cut off (379), heathendom seems to have practised all sorts of magic by cutting off *horse's heads* and sticking them up. In a nursery-tale (no. 89) the trusty Falada's head is *nailed up over the gate*, and carries on converse with the king's daughter. This cutting off and setting up of *horse's heads* has been mentioned at p. 47-8 as an ancient German custom. Pliny 19, 10 (58) notices, as a remedy for caterpillars: '*si palo imponantur in hortis ossa capitis ex equino genere.*' In Scandinavia they stuck a horse's head on a pole, and turned the gaping jaws, propped open with a stick, in the direction whence the man they had a spite against, and wished to harm, was sure to come.¹ This was called a *neidstange* (spite-stake). Saxo Gram. p. 75: *Immolati diis equi abscissum caput conto excipiens, subjectis stipitibus distentos faucium rictus aperuit, sperans se primos Erici conatus atrocis spectaculi formidine frustraturum. Arbitrabatur enim ineptas barbarorum mentes oblatae cervicis terriculamento cessuras; et jam Ericus obvium illis iter agebat. Qui prospecto eminus capite, obscoenitatis apparatus intelligens, silere socios cautiusque se gerere jubet, nec quemquam temere præcipitare sermonem, ne incauto effamine ullum maleficiis instruerent locum, adjiciens, si sermone opus incideret, verba se pro omnibus habiturum. Jamque medius illos annis secreverat, cum magi, ut Ericum pontis aditu deturbarent, contum quo equi caput refixerant fluvio citimum locant. Ille nihilominus pontem intrepide aggressus, 'in latorem' inquit 'gestaminis sui fortuna recidat, nos melior consequatur eventus. Male maleficiis cedat, infaustae molis gerulum onus obruat, nobis potiora tribuant omina sospitatem!' Nec secus quam optabatur evenit: continuo namque excussa cervice ruens ferentem stipes oppressit.—Egilssaga p. 389: Egill tók í hönd ser *heslis staung* (hazel rod), ok geck á bergsnaus nockura, þá er vissi til lands inn. Þá tók hann *hross-höfuð ok setti up á staungina*. síðan veitti*

¹ *Wolves' heads* were in like manner held open with *hazel rods* and hung up Isengr. 645-7-8. Reinardus 3, 293. 312. Reinhart, introd. p. lxxix.

hann formála ok mælti sva: ‘her set ek upp *níðstaung*, ok sný ek þessu nîði á hönd Eiríki konúngi ok Gunnhilda dróttnúngu.’ hann *sneri hross-höfðinu inn á land*.—At other times they carved a man’s head out of wood, and fastened it to a stake which was inserted in the breast of a *slaughtered horse*.¹ *Vatnsd. saga*, p. 142: Iökull skar karls höfut á sálu endann, ok risti á rúnar með öllum þeim formála sem fyrr var sagdr, síðan *drap* Iökull *mer eina* (killed a mare), ok opnuðu hana hia briostinu, *ferðu á sáluna*, ok létu horfa þeim á Borg (see Suppl.). It is well worth noticing, that to this very day the peasants’ houses in a part of Lower Saxony (Lüneburg, Holstein, Mecklenburg) have *horses’ heads carved* on the gables: they look upon it merely as an ornament to the woodwork of the roof, but the custom may reach far back, and have to do with the heathen belief in outward-pointing heads keeping mischief away from houses.² The Jahrb. of the Meckl. verein 2, 118 says, these *horses’ heads* are nailed transversely on each gable-end (kühlende) of the roof, a reminiscence of the sacred horses of the ancients. Heiur. Schreiber (Taschenb. f. 1840, p. 240 seq.) has likewise noticed these horses rushing at each other on gables of the older houses in Romanic Rhætia (not Germ. Switz., but Tyrol; see Zingerle’s Sitten p. 55); he is decidedly over hasty in pronouncing them a Celtic symbol, for if we were to say that the custom in L. Saxony was a legacy from the earlier Celtic inhabitants, criticism would lose all firm footing. To me this custom, as well as horse-worship altogether, seems to belong equally to Celts, Teutons and Slavs; what particular branches of these races were most addicted to it, will by degrees unfold itself to future research (see Suppl.). Prætorius (Weltbeschr. 2, 162-3) relates, that the Non-German people (Wends) used to keep off or extirpate cattle-plagues by fixing round their stables the *heads of mad horses and cows* on

¹ Conf. Sup. I, 833, planting the willow in the dead foal’s mouth.

² Pretty much as they turned the eagle’s head on the house, and thought thereby to shift the wind (p. 633-4). The heathen practice of fastening up animals’ heads explains many very old names of places in Germ. and France, as *Berhaupten*, *Tierhaupten*, *Roshaupten*, Schm. 2, 223. Ad locum qui nuncupatur *caput caballinum*, Pertz 2, 278. Ad locum qui vocatur *caput equi* (Vita S. Magni, in Canisius’s Lect. ant. 1, 667), with the addition in Goldast (Ser. rer. Alem. i. 2, 198): ‘et idcirco vocatus est ille locus *caput equi*, quia omnes venatores reliquerant ibi suos caballos, et pedestres ibant ad venandum.’ Obviously a false later interpretation; in fact this life of St. Magnus (Magnoald, Mangold) has a good many interpolations, conf. Mabillon’s Acta Bened. sec. 2, p. 505.

hedge-stakes; also that if at night their horses were ridden to exhaustion by the night-hag or lection, they put a *horse's head* among the fodder in the crib, and this would curb the spirit's power over the beast. Very likely the superstitious burying of a *dead head* in the stable (I, 815) means that of a horse,¹ conf. Chap. XXXVIII., Nightmare. In Holland they hang a *horse's head* over pigstyes (Westendorp p. 518), in Mecklenburg it is placed under a sick man's pillow (Jahrb. 2, 128). We saw the *horse's head* thrown into the Midsummer fire with a view to magical effects (p. 618).²

Prætorius's account is enough to shew that Slavs agreed with Germans in the matter of horse-worship. But older and weightier witnesses are not wanting. Dietmar of Merseburg (6, 17. p. 812) reports of the Luitizers, *i.e.* Wilzes: 'Terram cum tremore infodiunt, quo sortibus emissis [imm. ?] rerum certitudinem dubiarum perquirant. Quibus finitis, cespite viridi eas operientes, *equum*, qui maximus inter alios habetur et *ut sacer ab his veneratur, super fixas* in terram *duorum cuspides hastilium* inter se *transmissorum* supplicii obsequio *ducunt*, et præmissis sortibus quibus id explicavere prius, per hunc *quasi divinum* denuo *augurantur*; et si in duabus his rebus par omen apparet, factis completur; sin autem, a tristibus populis hoc prorsus omittitur.'—The Vita beati Ottonis episcopi bambergensis, composed by an unknown contemporary (Canisius iii. 2, 70), relates more fully of the Pomeranians, whom Otto converted A.D. 1124: 'Habebant *caballum mirae magnitudinis*, et pinguem, *nigri coloris*, et acrem valde. Iste toto anni tempore vacabat, tantaeque fuit *sanctitatis* ut nullum dignaretur sessorem; habuitque unum de quatuor sacerdotibus templorum custodem diligentissimum. Quando ergo itinere terrestri contra hostes aut praedatum ire cogitabant, eventum rei hoc modo solebant praediscere. *Hastae novem* disponebantur humo, spatio unius cubiti ab invicem separatae. Strato ergo caballo atque frenato, sacerdos, ad quem pertinebat custodia illius, tentum freno *per jucentes hastas transversum* *ducebat ter*, atque *reducebat*. Quod si pedibus inoffensis hastisque

¹ Conf. Fornald. sög. 2, 168. 300, what is said of Faxi's *hross-haus*.

² Why should the monks in the abbey have a *caput caballinum*? Reinhardus 3, 2032. 2153. Does the expression 'spun out of a *dead horse's head*' in Burcard, Waldis 4, 2, mean enchanted?

indisturbatis equus transibat, signum habuere prosperitatis, et securi pergebant; sin autem, quiescebant.'—Here the holy steed is led *across nine* spears lying a cubit apart from one another, in Dietmar's older narrative *over* the points of *two* crossed spears; of course the Luitizers may have had a different method from the Pomeranians. Saxo Gram. p. 321 gives yet a third account of the matter respecting the Slavs of Rügen: 'Praeterea peculiarem *albi coloris equum* titulo possidebat (numen), *cujus jubae aut caudae pilos convellere nefarium* ducebatur. Hunc soli sacerdoti pascendi insidendique jus erat, ne *divini animalis* usus quo frequentior hoc vilior haberetur. In hoc equo, opinione Rugiae, *Svantovitus* (id simulacro vocabulum erat) adversus sacrorum suorum hostes bella gerere credebatur. Cujus rei praecipuum argumentum exstabat, quod is nocturno tempore stabulo insistens adeo plerumque mane sudore ac luto respersus videbatur,¹ tanquam ab exercitatione veniendo magnorum itinerum spacia percurrisset. *Auspicia* quoque per eundem equum hujusmodi sumebantur. Cum bellum adversum aliquam provinciam suscipi placuisset, ante fanum *triplex hastarum ordo* ministrorum opera disponi solebat, in quorum quolibet *binæ e traverso junctae* conversis in terram cuspidibus figebantur, aequali spaciorem magnitudine ordines disparante. Ad quos equus ductandae expeditionis tempore, solenni precatione praemissa, a sacerdote e vestibulo cum loramentis productus, si propositos ordines *ante dextro quam laevo pede* transcenderet, faustum gerendi belli omen accipiebatur. Sin *laevum vel semel dextro praetulisset*, petendae provinciae propositum mutabatur.'—This description is still more exact: the sacred horse, here attributed to the deity himself who bestrides him by night, is led three times over two spears planted crosswise, that is, *over six* spears, and must, for the omen to be favourable, pass each row with his right foot foremost; if at even one row he has lifted the left before the right, misfortune is threatened. The colour ascribed to the steed is *white* as in Tacitus, not *black* as in the biographer of Otto.

The Chronica Augustensis ad. an. 1068 (in Freher 1, 349) says, that Bp. Burcard of Halberstadt (the Buko still known in

¹ As the horse ridden by the night-spirit is covered with dust and sweat the next morning (see p. 287 and Suppl.).

our children's game) took away their sacred horse from the Lutizers, and rode home to Saxony on it himself: 'Burcardus Halberstatensis episcopus Luiticiorum provinciam ingressus incendit, vastavit, avectoque *equo quem pro deo in Rheda*¹ *colebant, super eum sedens in Saxoniam rediit.*'

May we then adopt the hypothesis, that Dietmar and the Augsburg chronicler mean the sacred horse of Radigast at Rhetra, and Saxo and the author of the *Vita Ottonis* that of Sviatovit at Arkona? Each of these gods² had horses hallowed to him, and others may have had the same. And so in Germany too, horses may have been dedicated to several deities, and divination performed with them under similar forms; especially to the gods Frouwo (p. 656) and Wuotan (p. 154-5-6).

Some accounts of the reverence paid to sacred horses in Ditmarsen have a doubtful look. The Rieswold or Riesumwold on the confines of N. and S. Ditmarsen is said to have been a holy wood, in which human sacrifices were offered, and *white horses consecrated to gods* were maintained.³ This is simply an unauthorized appropriation of the statement in Tacitus to a particular locality. There is more of local colour in what Bolten I, 262 repeats after the suspicious Carsten, that at Windbergen there stood a grove set apart to Hesus (!), which is still called Hese or Heseholt.⁴ In the grove *two white horses*, a young and an old, were fed for the god, no one was allowed to mount them, and good or bad auguries were gathered from their neighing and leaping. Some talk of ten or even twenty horses. A priest of the god stuck staves in the ground, led the bridled steed along, and by certain processes made it *leap slowly over the staves*. Joh. Aldolfi, *i.e.* Neocorus, who is cited in support, says nothing at all about it. The immunity from mounting is another point of agreement with those Slav horses.

¹ Not 'in rheda' (Wedekind's Notes I, 173). Rhetra, a chief place of Slav heathenism, placed by Adam of Bremen in the land of the Retharii, where stands the temple of Redigost; Dietmar gives the Lutiz town in the 'gran Riedera' itself the name of Riedegost.

² *Sviatovit* or *Svantevit* has been confounded with St. Vitus, *sanctus Vitus* (conf. *Acta sanctor.* 15 Jun. p. 1018); but we cannot possibly make the god *Svantevit* originate in *Vitus*.

³ Falk's Collection of treatises, 5, 103. Tondern, 1828.

⁴ This *Hese-wood* may however remind us of the '*silva Heisi, Hese*' on the Ruhr in Westph. (*Lacomb.* no. 6. 17. 61. 260) and the '*silva caesia*' of Tacitus.

But in the case of the heathen Livonians the Slav custom admits of proof. The *Chronicon livonicum vetus* relates ad an. 1192 (in Gruber p. 7): ‘Colligitur populus, voluntas deorum de immolatione (fratris Theoderici cisterciensis) sorte inquiritur. *Positur lancea, calcat equus; pedem vitæ deputatum* (the right foot) nutu dei praeponit. Orat frater ore, manu benedicit. Ariolus deum Christianorum equi dorso insidere et pedem equi ad praeponendum movere asserit, et ob hoc equi dorsum tergendum, quo deus elabatur. Quo facto, dum equus *vitæ pedem* praeponit ut prius, frater Theodoricus vitæ reservatur.’ Here a heathen and a christian miracle met.

This worship was also an Old Prussian one: ‘Prussorum aliqui equos nigros, quidam albi coloris, propter deos suos non audebant aliquid equitare.’ Dusburg 3, 5 (see Suppl.).¹

The *sacrificing of horses*, and the *eating of horseflesh* inseparable from it, have been noticed (pp. 47-49). Strabo reports, that the Veneti offered a *white horse* to Diomed (v. 1, 9. Siebenk. 2, 111. Casaub. 215. Kramer 1, 339). The Indians get up grand horse-sacrifices with imposing ceremonies. What is told of the Kalmuks appears worthy of notice. Among them you see numbers of scaffolds erected, bearing *horses’ hides and heads*, the remains of former sacrifices. By the *direction of the horse’s head* to east or west, you can tell if the sacrifice was offered to a good or evil spirit.² On the one hand it suggests that sacrificial fixing of horses’ heads in a particular direction in Germany, which under Christianity was treated as wicked sorcery; and on the other hand the ‘*pira equinis sellis constructa*’ in Jornandes, and the *σῆμα* of the Scythian kings in Herodotus (see RA. 676, and Suppl.).³

Of honours paid to *oxen* I have not so much to tell, though they are not at all a matter of doubt, if only because *bullocks* were sacrificed, and *bulls* drew the car of the Frankish kings, RA. 262. War-chariots continued to have oxen till late in the Middle Ages: ‘capto ducis (Lovaniensis) vexillo, dicto gallice standart,

¹ Sup. M, 35 shews that Esthonians ascribe *prophetic* powers to the horse.

² Ledebour’s *Reise nach dem Altai*, Berl. 1830. 2, 54-5.

³ A Sansk. name for the horse is *Sribhrâtri*, brother of Sri (Lakshmi), because, like her (and Aphrodite) it rose out of the sea-waves, Pont 2, 407. Still more natural is the identification of horse and ship.

opere plumario a regina Angliae ei misso, quod fastu superbiae *quadriga boum* ferebat,' Chapeaville 2, 69 (an. 1129). A chariot drawn by *four white oxen* in Lorraine occurs in Scheffer's Haltaus, p. 251. In Plutarch's Marius cap. 23 is the well-known story of the Cimbrians swearing over a *brazen bull*, by which the Mecklenburgers account for the bull's head in their arms (Mascov 1, 13). At Hvítabær the people worshipped an *ox* (Fornald. sög. 1, 253), at Upsal a *cow* (1, 254. 260-6. 270-2; see Suppl.).

Whilst among horses the stallion is more honoured than the mare, among neat the *cow* seems to take the lead. *Kine* were yoked to the car of Nerthus [and two milch-kine to the ark of Jehovah]. The Edda speaks of a *cow* named *Auðumbla*, which plays a great part in the origin of men and gods (p. 559), and was no doubt regarded as a sacred beast. By the side of that faith in horses (p. 656) we find an 'âtrúnaðr â kû.' King Eysteinn of Sweden put faith in a cow called *Sibilja*: 'hun var svâ miök blötin (so much worshipped), at menn máttu eigi standast lát hennar'; they used to lead her into battle, Fornald. sög. 1, 254. 260. King Ögvaldr carried a *sacred cow* with him everywhere, by sea and by land, and constantly drank of her milk (Fornm. sög. 2, 138. 10, 302).¹

The horns of cows, like the manes of horses, were adorned with gold: '*gullhyrndar kÿr*,' Sæm. 73^a. 141^a; and the herdsman of the Alps still decks the horns of his cattle with ribbons and flowers. Oxen for sacrifice are sure not to have lacked this decoration.

The Sanskrit *gaus* (bos and vacca), root *gô*, acc. *gâm*, Pers. *ghau*, *gho*, corresponds to Lett. *gohw*, OHG. *chuo*, AS. *cû*, ON. *kÿr*. What is more important, '*gô*' likewise means terra and plaga (Bopp's Gram. § 123. Gloss. p. 108^b), so that it touches the Gr. *γα̂*, *γη̂*. Taking with this the presence of *Auðumbla* in the Norse history of creation, we can perhaps connect *rinta* (the earth) and *Rindr* (p. 251) with our *rind* armentum; it is true this '*rind*' originally began with *hr* (Graff 4, 1171), and is the

¹ What can the *black cow* mean in the following phrases? 'the *b. c.* crushes him' (Hüpel's Livländ. idiot. 131); 'the *b. c.* has trodden him' (Etner's Apoth. 514). The Hor. Belg. 6, 97. 101 (conf. 223) speaks 'van onser goeden *blaren coe*, van miere *blaren coe*'; and Ir. elfenn. exx. of the *blue cow*. It is dangerous to kill the black cow, Sup. I, 887. A Slovènic name for the rainbow is *maura* = black cow. [Eng. 'the *b. c.* has trodden on his foot,' of sorrow, esp. bereavement.]

AS. hryðer, hroðer, but who can tell whether ‘rinde’ cortex was not once aspirated too? *Εὐρώπη*, the name of one quarter of the earth, must surely also mean earth (*εὐρεία* the broad), and on p. 338 I made a guess that *Europa*, whom Zeus courted in the shape of a bull, must herself have been thought of as a cow, like Io; it was not the earth took name from her, but she from the earth. On the worship of cows and oxen by the Indians, Egyptians and Romans, I refer to A. W. Schlegel’s learned treatise.¹ The Israelites also made a burnt-offering of ‘a red heifer (Goth. kalbô) upon which never came yoke,’ Numb. 19, 2 (see Suppl.).

The *boar* and the *he-goat* were holy sacrificial beasts (p. 50-1-2), the boar² dedicated to Freyr (p. 213), he and she goats to Thórr (p. 185), as goats are even yet considered devil’s creatures.³ To that divine *boar’s* account I think we are also entitled to set down the old song out of which Notker has preserved a passage (he whose foreign learning so seldom suffers him to put down anything he knew of his own country) :

Imo sint fuoze fuodermâze,
imo sint burste ebenhô forste,
unde zene sîne zuelif-elnîge;

his bristles are even-high with the forest, and his tusks twelve ells long. A reason for the veneration of the boar has been found in the fact that he roots up the ground, and men learnt from him to plough. The Slavs also seem to have worshipped boars: ‘Testatur idem antiquitas, errore delusa vario, si quando his saeva longae rebellionis asperitas immineat, ut e mari praedicto (near Riedergost) *aper magnus et candido dente e spinis lucente exeat*, seque in volutabro delectatum terribili quassatione multis ostendat,’ Ditm. merseb. p. 812 (see Suppl.).

None but domestic animals were fit for sacrifice, and not all of them, in particular not the *dog*, though he stands on much the same footing with his master as the horse; he is faithful and intelligent, yet there is something mean and unclean about him,

¹ Ind. bibl. 2, 288—295.

² He enjoys a double appellation: OHG. *epur*, AS. *eofor*; and OHG. *pêr*, AS. *bâr* (Goth. *báis?*).

³ While God (Wuotan) made the wolf (p. 147), the devil (Donar?) produced the goat. In some places they will not eat goats’ feet (Tobler p. 214).

which makes his name a handle to the tongue of the scorner. It seems worthy of notice, that dogs can see spirits (Sup. I, 1111), and recognise an approaching god while he is yet hidden from the human eye. When Grîmnir entered the house of Geirröðr, there was ‘*eingi hundr svâ ôlmr, at â hann mundi hlaupa,*’ the king bade seize the dark-cloaked giant, ‘*er eigi vildo hundar ârâða,*’ Sæm. 39. 40. So when Hel prowls about, the *dogs* perceive her. The Greeks had exactly the same notion: at Athena’s approach, no one espies her, not even Telemachos, only Odysseus and the dogs, Od. 16, 160:

*οὐδ’ ἄρα Τηλέμαχος ἴδεν ἀντίον, οὐδ’ ἐνόησεν,
οὐ γάρ πῶ πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς,
ἀλλ’ Ὀδυσσεύς τε κύνες τε ἴδον, καί ῥ’ οὐχ ὑλάοντο,¹
κνυζηθμῶ ἐτέρωσε διὰ σταθμοῖο φόβηθεν,*

(they did not bark, but fled whining through the tent).—The howling of dogs is ominous (Sup. I, 493), and gives notice of fire. Oðinn is provided with dogs, ‘*Viðris grey,*’ Sæm. 151^a; so are the norms (p. 410), ‘*norna grey,*’ 273^a. But whence arose the story in the early Mid. Ages, of St. Peter and his dog? In the A.S. Saturn and Solomon (Kemble p. 186), one asks: ‘*saga me, hwile man êrost wære wið hund sprecende?*’ and the other answers: ‘*ic þe secge, sanctus Petrus.*’ The Nialss. cap. 158 p. 275 contains a spell to save from the power of the watersprite: ‘*runnit hefr hundr þinn, Petr ’postoli, till Rôms tysvar (twice), ok mundi (would) renna it þriðja sinn, ef þât leyfdir*’ (see Suppl.).

Among wild beasts of the wood were some that men regarded with awe, and treated with respect: above all, the *bear*, *wolf* and *fox*. I have shewn that it was an ancient and widespread custom in Europe to bestow names of honour on these three (Reinh. p. lv. ccvii. 446),² and that with our ancestors the *bear* passed for the *king of beasts* (p. xlvi. seq. ccxcv.). A doc. of 1290 (Lang’s Reg. 4, 467) presents the surname ‘*Chnonrat der heiligbâr*’; with this connect the name *Hulecbern* (Trad. corb. Wig. § 268), the ON. *Hallbiörn*, and the still older names, male and female, ON.

¹ In a Dan. folksong 1, 207-9 they bark at a spectre. Barking and not barking are the same thing here.

² A striking confirmation appears in V. Hugo’s *Notre Dame de Paris* 2, 272: he states, from a book or from oral tradition, that the Gipsies call the fox *pieubleu*, *coureur des bois*, the wolf *piegris*, *pieddoré*, and the bear *vieux* or *grandpère*.

Asbiörn, AS. *Osbeorn*, OHG. *Anspero*, and ON. *Asbirna*, OHG. *Anspirin* (in Walth. *Ospirn*), *Ospirinberg*, MB. 28. 2, 123; apparently the legend of the animal's sacredness was still in full swing among the people. *Biörn* was a side-name of *Thórr*, and Welsh legend presents king *Arthur* as a bear and a god, which is not to be accounted for by the mere resemblance of his name to *ἄρκτος*: the bear in the sky plays a most dignified part. In the Edda a by-name of the bear is *Vetrliði*, hiemem sustinens (Sn. 179. 222), because he sleeps through winter, and winter was called *biarnar-nôtt*; the name was passed on to men, as '*Vetrliði skáld*' in Fornm. sög. 2, 202, and a *Vetrliði* 3, 107 whose name reproduces his father's name *Asbiörn*.¹ The myth of the *white bear* and the *wee wight* was alluded to, p. 479. It is not to be overlooked, that certain beast-fables get converted into human myths, and vice versâ: e.g., the parts of *bear* and *fox* are handed over to a *giant* or the *devil*. Thus, the Esthonian tale of the man who goes partners with the bear in raising turnips and oats (Reinhart cclxxxviii.) is elsewhere told of a man and the devil. Such overlapping of the beast-fable with other traditions is an additional guarantee of the epic nature of the former.—Two wolves, *Geri* and *Freki*, were sacred to *Oðinn*: whatever food was set before him, he gave to them to eat, Sn. 4; they were, so to speak, the hounds of the god (*Viðris grey*). I should like to know where Hans Sachs picked up that striking notion of the Lord God having chosen wolves to be His hunting dogs.² A son of *Loki*, *Fenrisúlfr*, makes his appearance in *wolf's shape* among the gods; no metamorphosis occurs more frequently in our antiquities than that of men into *were-wolves*.—Both wolf and bear are a favourite cognisance in coats of arms, and a great many names of men are compounded with them: neither fact is true of the *fox*. Hence the dearth of mythical conceptions linked with the fox; a few traces have been pointed out in Reinh. ccxcvi.,³

¹ The name *Weturlit* is also found in the Necrolog. augiense (Mone 98^b).

² Ed. 1558. i, 499^a: 'die wolf er im erwelen gund ('gan choose), und het sie bei ihm für jagdhund.'

³ Klaproth finds in Japanese books, that the people in Japan worship the *inari* (fox) as a *tutelar god*: little temples are dedicated to him in many houses, espec. of the commoner folk. They ask his advice in difficulties, and set rice or beans for him at night. If any of it is gone in the morning, they believe the fox has consumed it, and draw good omens from it; the contrary is an unlucky sign (Nouv. annales des voyages, Dec. 1833, p. 298). They take him to be a *kami* i.e. the soul of a good man deceased (ibid.)

and the *kindermärchen* no. 38 has furnished him with *nine tails*, as Sleipnir had eight legs, and some heroes and gods four arms.

Freyja's car was drawn by two *cats* (*tveim köttum*), p. 305. Now, as *fres* in ON. means both he-cat and bear, it has lately been contended, not without reason, that *köttum* may have been substituted for *fressum*, and a brace of bears have been really meant for the goddess, as Cybele's car was drawn by lions, p. 254. For Puss-in-boots see pp. 503-9, and the Norweg. tale in *Folkeeventyr* no. 29. *Cats* and *weasels* pass for knowing beasts with magical powers, whom one has good reason to indulge, Sup. I, 292 (see Suppl.).

BIRDS.—With *birds* the men of old lived on still more intimate terms, and their greater nimbleness seemed to bespeak more of the spiritual than was in quadrupeds. I will here quote some instances of wild fowl being fed by man. Dietmar of Merseb. relates of Mahtildis, Otto I.'s mother (Pertz 5, 740): 'non solum pauperibus, verum etiam *avibus* victum subministrabat;' and we find the same in the *Vita Mahtild.* (Pertz. 6, 294): 'nec etiam oblita est *volucrum* aestivo tempore in arboribus resonantium, praecipiens ministris sub arbores proicere micas panis.' In Norway they used to put out bunches of corn for the *sparrows* on Yule-eve: 'Jule-aften at sette trende kornbaand paa stöer under aaben himmel ved laden og föe-huset till *spurrens* föde, at de näste aar ikke skal giöre skade (do no harm next year) paa ageren,' Hiorthöi Gulbrands dalen, Kb. 1785. 1, 130; it was a sacrifice offered to the birds, to keep them from ravaging the crops. It reminds one of the legacy to birds on Walther von der Vogelweide's tombstone, whose very name denotes 'pascua avium.'

Gods and goddesses often change themselves into *birds*, but giants possess the same power too. The Esthonian god Tarapilja *flies* from one place to another, p. 77; the Greek imagination pictured *winged* gods, the Hebrew *winged* angels, the Old German a maiden with *swan's wings*. The Norse gods and giants put on an eagle's coat, *arnar-ham*, p. 633n., the goddesses a falcon's coat, *vals-ham*, p. 302. Wind is described as a giant and *eagle*, p. 633, and sacred *eagles* scream on the mountains: 'örn göl arla,

arar gullo,' Sæm. 142^a 149^a. Wolfram thinks of the earth as a *bird*, when he says, Wh. 308, 27 :

sô diu erde ir gevidere rêrt
unde si der meie lêrt
ir mûze alsus volrecken (see Suppl.).

Domestic fowl available for sacrifice, notably the cock and the goose, have but few mythic aspects that I know of. Fire is described as a *red cock* (p. 601): H. Sachs has the phrase 'to make the red cock ride on one's rooftree,' and the Danes 'den røde hane galer over taget,' the red cock crows on the thack (the fire crackles). Red cocks in preference had to be brought *in payment of ground rent* (formerly perhaps in sacrifice), RA. 376. The Völuspâ 54 sets before us 'Fialarr, *fagur-rauðr* hani' singing in the forest; a golden-crested cock awakes the heroes, a dark one crows in the nether world. In the Danish song 1, 212 there is meaning in the crowing of a *red* and a *black* cock one after the other; and another song 1, 208 adds a *white* cock as well. Another cock in the Edda, Vîðofnir, perches on Mímameiðr, Sæm. 109^a; with him Finn Magnusen (Lex. myth. 824. 1090) would connect the cock they stick on the *Maypole*. The Wends erected cross-trees, but, secretly still heathen at heart, they contrived to fix at the very top of the pole a *weathercock*.¹ In one fairy-tale, no. 108, Hansmeinigel's *cock* sits *on a tree* in the wood. I do not know when the *gilded cock on the church-steeple* was introduced; it can hardly have been a mere weather-vane at first. Guibertus in Vita sua, lib. 1 cap. 22, mentions a *gallus super turri*, so that the custom prevailed in France at the beginning of the 12th century; in S. Germany we know it existed two centuries earlier. Eckehard tells of the great irruption of Hungarians: 'duo ex illis accendunt *campanarium*, cujus cacuminis *gallum aureum* putantes, *deumque loci sic vocatum*, non esse nisi carioris metalli materia fusum, lancea dum unus, ut eum revellat, se validus protendit, in atrium de alto cecidit et periit' (Pertz 2, 105). The Hungarians took this gilded cock (*gallus*) for the divinity of the place, and perhaps were confirmed in their error by the bird's name being the same as that of St. Gallus; they even left the minster stand-

¹ Annalen der Churbr. Hannöv. lande, 8 jahrg. p. 284. Some think the cock referred to Peter's denial.

ing for fear of him: 'monasterio, eo quod *Gallus, deus ejus, ignipotens* sit, tandem omissio' (ibid. 106).¹ Tit. 407: 'áz golde ein ar gerœtet, gefiuret unde gefunkelt úf jeglich kriuze gelœtet.' True, the cock is an emblem of vigilance, and the watchman, to command a wide view, must be highly placed; ² but it is quite possible that the christian teachers, to humour a heathen custom of tying cocks to the tops of holy trees, made room for them on church-towers also, and merely put a more general meaning on the symbol afterwards (see Suppl.).

At the head of wildfowl the *eagle* stands as *king*, and is the messenger of Jove. In our beast-fables the *raven* seems to take upon him the parts both of wolf and of fox, uniting the greed of the one with the other's cunning. Two ravens, *Huginn* and *Muninn*, are, like the two wolves, constant companions of Oðinn (p. 147); their names express power of thought and remembrance: they bring him tidings of all that happens.³ Compare the sage *sparrow* (spörr) of the Norse king Dag (Yngl. saga 21), who gathers news for him out of all countries, and whose death he avenges by an invasion. Those scouts of Oðinn seem to be alluded to in several stories, e.g., Olaf Tryggv. cap. 28, where screaming ravens testify that Oðinn accepts the offering presented; and in Nialss. 119 two ravens attend a traveller all day. In like manner St. Gregory is escorted by three flying ravens, Paul. Diac. 1, 26. In the beautiful myth of king Oswald, the *raven* who gets his plumage bound with gold (conf. the falcon, Ms. 1, 38^b) acts an essential part: he has nothing of the fiendish nature afterwards imputed to this bird. It shews the same tendency, that where the Bible says of the *raven* sent out of the ark by Noah, simply that he ἐξελθὼν οὐκ ἀνέστρεψε (Gen. 8, 7),

¹ All very legendary; for the Hungarian attack on the monastery of Herzfeld (Hirutfeld) on the Lippe is related much in the same way in the Vita S. Idae, viz. that having sealed the nolarius, but not succeeded in wrenching off the bells, they suddenly fled, aliquid ibi esse divalis numinis suspicati sunt (Pertz 2, 573). Here the cock does not come into play, the bells do it all.

² Münster's Sinnbilder der alten Christen, p. 55. As Gregory the Great explains *gallus* by 'praedicator' (Opp., Paris 1705. i, 959. 961), and again *speculator* by the same 'praedicator,' he may in the following passage have had the cock in view, without naming him: 'speculator semper in altitudine stat, ut quidquid venturum sit longe prospiciat,' ibid. i, 1283.

³ In a Slovènic fairy-tale somebody had a raven (*vrána*) who was all-knowing (*vêdezh*), and used to tell him everything when he came home. Murko's Sloven. deutsches wtb. Grätz 1833. p. 696.

our Teutonic poetizers must make him alight on carrion, Cædm. 87, 11. Diut. 3, 60. King Arthur, whom we lately met as a bear, is said to have been converted into a *raven*: 'que anda hasta ahora convertido en *cuervo*, y le esperan en su reyno por momentos,' Don Quixote 1, 49. In folksongs it is commonly a bird that goes on errands, brings intelligence of what has passed, and is sent out with messages: the Bohemians say 'to learn it of the bird' (dowěděti se po ptačku, see Suppl.).

In our legends, birds converse together on the destinies of men, and foretell the future. *Ravens* reveal to the blind the means of recovering their sight, KM. no. 107. *Domestic fowls* discuss the impending ruin of the castle, Deut. sag. 1, 202. In the Helgaqvíða, Sæm. 140-1, a *wise bird* (fugl frôðhugaðr) is introduced talking and prophesying to men, but insists on a *temple* and *sacrifices* before he will tell them more. In one German story, men get to understand the *language of birds* by eating of a *white snake*, KM. no. 17. Sigurðr understands it too, the moment the heart's blood of the dragon Fafnir has got from his finger-tips to his tongue: and then *swallows* (igðor) give him sound advice, Sæm. 190-1. To kill *swallows* brings misfortune: acc. to Sup. I, 378 it occasions four weeks' rain; and their nests on the houses no one dares knock down. From Saxo's account (p. 327) of the oaken statue of Rugivit, we may conclude that the Slavs had let *swallows* build on it in peace (see Suppl.).

The mythical character of the *swan* is certified by the legend of swan-wives (p. 426) and by the bird's own death-song (see Suppl.). The *stork* too was held inviolable, he is like swallows a herald of spring; his poetic name certainly reaches back to heathen times, but hitherto has baffled all explanation. OHG. glosses give *odebero*, Graff 3, 155, *udebero*, Sumerl. 12, 16, *otivaro*, *odebore*, Fundgr. 1, 386, *odeboro*, Gl. Tross; MHG. *adebar* only in Diut. 3, 453; MLG. *edebere*, Brun's Beitr. 47, *adebar*, Reinke, 1777. 2207; M. Neth. *oderare*, *hodevare*, Rein. 2316. Clignett 191; New Neth. *ôyevâr*; New LG. *êber*, *âbêr*, *atjebar*; AS. and Norse have nothing similar. The 'bero, boro' is bearer, but the first word, so long as the quantity of its vowel remains doubtful, is hard to determine; the choice would lie between luck-bringer (fr. ôt opes) and child-bringer, which last fits in with the faith, still very prevalent, that the stork brings

babies. If, beside the OS. partic. *ôdan*, AS. *eáden*, ON. *auðinn* (genitus), we could produce a subst. *ôð*, *eád* (proles), all would be straight. The prose word, OHG. *storkh*, AS. *store*, ON. *storkr*, may be just as old. In Frisian superstition there occur metamorphoses of storks into men, and of men into storks. A lay of Wolfram 5, 21 declares that storks never hurt the crops (see Suppl.).

The *woodpecker* was held sacred by ancient peoples of Italy, and ranked as the bird of Mars, Ἄρεος ὄρνις: perched on a wooden pillar (ἐπὶ κίονος ξυλίνου) he prophesied to the Sabines in the grove by Maticna (or Matiera, Dion. hal. 1, 14. Reiske p. 40); he had once guided them on their way, ὄρμηγται οἱ Πικεντῖνοι δρυοκολάπτου τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγεσαμένου, Strabo v, p. 240. And he purveyed for Romulus and Remus when the wolf's milk did not suffice them, Ov. Fasti 3, 37. 54; conf. Niebuhr 1, 245. Acc. to Virg. Aen. 7, 189 and Ov. Met. 14, 321 *Picus* was the son of Saturn and father of Faunus,¹ and was changed into the bird. The apparent relationship of this *Picus* to our poem of *Beowulf* (bee-hunter, i.e. woodpecker), was pointed out p. 369. In Norway the red-hooded blackpecker is called *Gertrude's fowl*, and a story in Asbiörnusen and Moe (no. 2) explains its origin: When our Lord walked upon earth with Peter, they came to a woman that sat baking, her name was Gertrude, and she wore a red cap on her head. Faint and hungry from his long journey, our Lord asked her for a little cake. She took a little dough and set it on, but it rose so high that it filled the pan. She thought it too large for an alms, took less dough and began to bake it, but this grew just as big, and again she refused to give it. The third time she took still less dough, and when the cake still swelled to the same size, 'Ye must go without' said Gertrude, 'all that I bake becomes too big for you.' Then was the Lord angry, and said: 'Since thou hast grudged to give me aught, thy doom is that thou be a little bird, seek thy scanty sustenance twixt wood and bark, and only drink as oft as it shall rain.' No sooner were these words spoken, than the woman was changed into *Gertrude's fowl*, and flew up the kitchen

¹ When the Swiss call the black-pecker *merzajüllli* (March-foal, Stald. 2, 199. Tobler 316*), the simplest explan. is from *picus martius*; yet *fülli* may be for *vögeli*, and so March-fowl or Martin's fowl; see more in Chap. XXXV., Path-crossing.

chimney. And to this day we see her in her red cap, and the rest of her body black, for the soot of the chimney blackened her; continually she hacks into the bark of trees for food, and pipes before rain, because, being always thirsty, she then hopes to drink.¹ The green-pecker has the alias *giessvogel*, Austr. *gissvogel* (Stelzhamer's *Lieder* pp. 19. 177), *goissvogel* (Hofer 1, 306), Low G. *gütvogel*, *gietvogel*, *gütfugel* (Elhrent. 1. 345), Engl. *rainbird*, *rainfowl*, because his cry of 'geuss, giess, giet' (pour!) is said to augur a downpour of rain. About him there goes a notable story: When the Lord God at the creation of the world ordered the beasts to dig a great well (or pond), this bird abstained from all work, for fear of soiling his handsome plumage (or yellow legs). Then God ordained that to all eternity he should drink out of no well (pond); therefore we always see him sip laboriously out of hollow stones or cart-ruts where rainwater has collected. But when no rain has fallen and there is drought, he is sore athirst, and we hear unceasingly his pain-stricken 'giet!' And the good Lord takes pity, and pours down rain (Reusch in Preuss. provinz. bl. 26, 536; from Samland). Fählmann in the *Dorpater verhandl.* 1, 42 gives an Esthonian myth: God was having the Em-bach (-beck, -brook, p. 599n.) dug, and set all the beasts to work; but the Whitsun-fowl idly flew from bough to bough, piping his song. Then the Lord asked him: 'hast thou nought to do but to spruce thyself?' The bird replied, 'the work is dirty, I can't afford to spoil my golden-yellow coat and silvery hose.' 'Thou foolish fop,' the Lord exclaimed, 'from henceforth thou shalt wear black hose, and never slake thy thirst at the brook, but pick the raindrops off the leaves, and only then strike up thy song when other creatures creep away from the coming storm.'—Now that Norwegian *Gertrude's fowl*, whose thirsty piping brings on rain, is evidently identical, and very likely another story explains the rainbird as the metamorphosis of a vain idle person. Sometimes it is not the woodpecker at all that is meant by *giessvogel*, *giesser*, *wasservogel*, *pfingstvogel*, *regenpfeifer*, but a snipe (Hofer 1, 306. 341), whose cry likewise forebodes a storm (p. 184), or the curlew (numenius arquata), Fr. *pluvier* (pluviarius), Boh. *koliha*, Pol.

¹ Rytchkov's *Journ. thro' the Russ. Emp.*, trsl. by Hase, Riga 1774. p. 124.

kulig, kullik, LG. *regenwolp, waterwolp* (Brem. wtb. 5, 286). In our own beast-fables the woodpecker is left without any part to play, only in an altogether isolated episode he is introduced conversing with the wolf (Reinh. 419). The Votiaks pay divine honours to the tree-tapping woodpecker, to induce him to spare their woods.¹ The cry of this woodpecker (*zhunia*) the Servians call *klikchi, kliknuti, kliktati*, as they do that of the *vila* [p. 436, but there wrongly ascribed to the tapping noise]. Woodpeckers by their tapping shew the way to the river (Lay of Igór 79); the old legend of the woodpecker and *springwurz* will be examined in Chap. XXXII (see Suppl.).—A near neighbour of the pecker (*picus*) is the *pie, magpie* (*pica*). In ON. her name is *skaði* (masc., says Biörn), Swed. *skata*, Dan. *skade*, which may be referred to the abstract notion of *damnum*, OHG. *scado*; at the beginning of the *Völsunga* saga there occurs a man's name *Skaði*, which Finn Magn. (Lex. 699) declares to be the goddess *Skaði*. In Flemish beast-legend the magpie was 'ver Ave,' *frau Ave*. In Poitou there still lingers a trace of *pie-worship*; viz. a bunch of heath and laurel is tied to the top of a high tree *in honour of the magpie*, because her chatter warns the people of the wolf's approach: 'porter la crêpe (pancake) à la pie,' *Mém. des antiq.* 8, 451.

In Old Bohemian songs the *sparrowhawk* (*krahui, krahug*) is a sacred bird, and is harboured in a grove of the gods (Königinh. MS. 72. 80. 160). On the boughs of an oak that springs out of a murdered man's grave, holy sparrowhawks perch, and publish the foul deed (see Suppl.).

There is no bird to which the gift of prophecy is more universally conceded than the *cuckoo*,² whose clear and measured voice rings in the young foliage of the grove. The Old German law designates spring by the set phrase 'wann der *gauch guket*' (RA. 36), as in Hesiod's rules of husbandry the cuckoo's song marks the growing rains of spring. Two old poems describe the quarrel of Spring and Winter about the cuckoo, and the shepherds' lamentation for him: Spring praises the bird, 'tarda hiems'

¹ Carniol. *žuna*, Pol. Boh. *zluwa*, Boh. also *wlha, wolga*.

² Goth. *gáuks*? OHG. *gouh* (Hoffm. 5, 6), AS. *geác*, ON. *gaukr*; MHG. *gouch*, MS. 2, 132^b, also reduplicated (like *euculus*) *gucgouch*, MS. 1, 132^a, *guggouch*, MS. 1, 166^a; our *gukuk, kukuk*, Up.G. *guggauch, gutzgouch*.

chides him, shepherds declare that he is drowned or kidnapped. There is a remarkable line :

Tempus adest veris ; *cuculus*, modo rumpe soporem.¹

His notes usher in the sweetest season of the year, but his telling men their fortunes is not alluded to. The Cod. Exon. 146, 27 also makes him publish or 'bid' the year : ' *geúcas gear budon,*' *cuculi annum nuntiavere*. But the superstition is not yet extinct, that the first time you hear the cuckoo in the spring, you can learn of him how many years you have yet to live (Sup. I, 197. K, Swed. 119. Dan. 128. 146). In Switzerland the children call out : ' *gugger*, wie lang leb i no ? ' and in Lower Saxony :

kukuk vam häven,
wo lange sall ik leven ?

then you must listen, and count how many times the bird repeats his own name after your question, and that is the number of years left you to live (Schütze's Holst. idiot. 2, 363). In some districts² the rhyme runs :

kukuk beckenknecht,
sag mir recht,
wie viel jar ich leben soll ?³

The story is, that the bird was a baker's (or miller's) man, and that is why he wears a dingy meal-sprinkled coat. In a dear season he robbed the poor of their flour, and when God was blessing the dough in the oven, he would take it out, and pull lumps out of it, crying every time ' *guk-guk,*' look-look ; therefore the Lord punished him by changing him into a bird of prey,

¹ Both eclogues in Dornavii Amphith. 456-7, where they are attrib. to Beda ; ditto in Leyser p. 207, who says they were first printed in the Frankf. ed. (1610) of Ovid's Amatoria, p. 190. Meanwhile Oudin (De script. eccles. 2, 327-8, ed. Lips. 1722) gives the Conflictus veris et hiemis under the name of ' *Milo*, sancti Amandi elnonensis monachus ' (first half of 9th century); and the second poem De morte cuculi stands in Mabillon's Anal. 1, 369 as ' *Alcuini versus de cuculo*.' Anyhow they fall into the 8th or 9th century ; in shortening the penultima of ' *cuculus* ' they agree with Reinardus 3, 528. Hoffm, Horae belg. 6, 236 has also revived the Conflictus.

² Aegid. Albertini narrenhatz, Augsb. 1617. p. 95 : ' Even as befel that old wife, which asked a guguck how many year she had yet to live, and the guguck beginning five times to sing, she supposed that she had five year more to live, etc.' From ' Schimpf und ernst ' c. 391.

³ So in Mod. Greek : *κούκο μου, κούκάκι μου, κι άργυροκουκάκι μου, πόσους χρόνους θέ να ζήσω ;*

which incessantly repeats that cry (conf. Praetorius's Weltbeschr. I, 656. 2, 491). No doubt the story, which seems very ancient, and resembles that of the woodpecker (p. 673), was once told very differently; conf. Chap. XXII., Pleiades. That 'dear season' may have to do with the belief that when the cuckoo's call continues to be heard after Midsummer, it betokens dearth (Sup. I, 228).

In Sweden he tells maidens how many years they will remain unmarried :

gök, gök, sitt på quist (on bough),
säg mig vist (tell me true),
hur många år (how many years)
jag o-gift går (I shall un-given go) ?

If he calls more than ten times, they declare he has got '*på galen quist*' (on the silly bough, *i.e.* bewitched), and give no heed to his prophecies. And then a good deal depends on the quarter whence you hear your cuckoo first. You must pay strict attention in spring; if you hear him from the north (the unlucky quarter), you will see sorrow that year, from east or west his call betokens luck, and from the south he is the proclaimer of butter: '*östergök är tröstegök, vestergök är bästägök, norrgök ör sorggök, sörgök är smörgök.*'¹

In Goethe's Oracle of Spring the prophetic bird informs a loving pair of their approaching marriage and the number of their children.

It is rather surprising that our song-writers of the 13th century never bring in the cuckoo as a soothsayer; no doubt the fact or fancy was familiar to all, for even in the Renner 11340 we read :

daz weiz der gouch, der im für wâr
hât gegutzet hundert jâr.

Caesarius heisterbac. 5, 17: 'Narravit nobis anno praeterito (? 1221) Theobaldus abbas eberbacensis, quod quidam conversus, cum nescio quo tenderet, et avem, quae *cuculus* dicitur a voce nomen habens, *crebrius cantantem* audiret, vices interruptionis numeravit, et viginti duas inveniens, easque quasi pro omine

¹ Arndt's Reise durch Schw. 4, 5—7. The snipe is in Swed. *hrossajök*, ON. *hrossagaukr* (horse-cuckoo), and she too has the gift of divination, p. 184.

accipiens, *pro annis totidem vices easdem sibi computavit* : ‘cia’ inquit, ‘certe viginti duobus annis adhuc vivam, ut quid tanto tempore mortificem me in ordine? redibo ad seculum, et seculo deditus viginti annis fruar deliciis ejus; duobus annis qui supersunt pœnitebo.’—In the Couronnemens Renart, the fox hears the bird’s voice, and propounds to him the query :

A cest mot Renart le *cucu*
entent, si jeta un faus ris,
 ‘jou te conjur’ fait il, ‘de cris,
 215 *cucus*, que me dies le voir (truth),
quans ans jai à vivre? savoir
 le veil.’ *Cucu*, en preu *cucu*,¹
 et dens *cucu*, et trois *cucu*,
 quatre *cucu*, et cinc *cucu*,
 220 et sis *cucu*, et set *cucu*,
 et uit *cucu*, et nuef *cucu*,
 et dis *cucu*, onze *cucu*,
 duze *cucu*, treize *cucu*.
 Atant se taist, que plus ne fu
 225 li oisiaus illuec, ains s’envolle.

Renart carries the joyful news to his wife, that the bird has promised him yet ‘treize ans d’aé’ (see Suppl.).

Is it the cuckoo that is meant by ‘*timebird*’ in Ms. 1, 88^a: ‘*diu vröide vlogzet* (joy flies) *gelîch dem zîtvoegel in dem neste*’? What makes me think so is a passage in Pliny, which anyhow is pertinent here, exhorting the husbandman at the æquinoctium vernum to fetch up all arrears of work: ‘*dum sciat inde natam exprobrationem foedam putantium vites per imitationem cantus alitis temporariâ, quem cuculum vocant. Dedecus enim habetur opprobriumque meritum, falcem ab illa volucre deprehendi, ut ob id petulantiae sales etiam cum primo vere ludantur.*’

Delight at the first song of the cuckoo is thus expressed in a Swiss couplet (Tobler 245^b) :

wenn der *gugger* chond *gegugga* ond ’s *merzaföli* lacht,
 denn wött i gad goh lo, ’swit i koh möcht ;

¹ A line seems wanting here, to tell us that Cuckoo, like a sensible cuckoo (en preu *cucu*, *fugl fröðhugaðr*), ‘began to sing, One *cucu*.’

they imagine that he never sings before the 3rd of April, and never after Midsummer :

am dretta Abarella
moss der *gugger* grüena haber schnella ;

but he cannot sing till he has eaten a bird's egg. If you have money in your pouch when you hear him sing the first time, you will be well off all that year, if not, you will be short the whole year (Sup. I, 374) ; and if you were fasting, you will be hungry all the year. When the cuckoo has eaten his fill of cherries three times, he leaves off singing. As the cuckoo's song falls silent at Midsummer, vulgar opinion holds that from that time he *turns into a hawk*. Reusch, N. pr. prov. bl. 5, 338-9.

The Poles call the bird *żezula*, the Bohemians *'ezhule* (both fem.). The O. Pol. chronicle of Prokosz,¹ p. 113 of the Lat. ed., has a remarkable account of the worship of a Slavic god *Zywie* : 'divinitati Zywie fanum exstructum erat in monte ab ejusdem nomine Zywiec dicto, ubi primis diebus mensis Maji innumerus populus pie conveniens precabatur ab ea, quae vitae² auctor habebatur, longam et prosperam valetudinem. Praecipue tamen ei litabatur ab iis qui *primum cantum cuculi audivissent*, ominantes superstitiose *tot annos se victuros* quoties vocem repetiisset. Opinabantur enim supremum hunc universi moderatorem *transfigurari in cuculum* ut ipsis annuntiaret vitae tempora : unde crimini ducebatur, capitalique poena a magistratibus afficiebatur, qui cuculum occidisset.' Here the oracular bird is a *god in metamorphosis*, just as that Saxon rhyme called him '*kukuk vam häven*.'

To the Servian *haiduks* it betokens evil when the *kukavitsa* comes too soon, and cries out of the black (leafless) forest ; and good luck when it sings from the green wood, *Vuk sub v*.

In the Eddic *Grotta-song* the quern-maids are only allowed to rest and sleep *while the cuckoo is silent* (*enn gaukrinn þagði*).

The cuckoo can prophesy both good and ill ; in dealing with him (as with other birds of enchantment, owls, magpies) you

¹ *Kronika polska przez Prodosza*, Warsz. 1825, and in Latin '*Chronicon Slavosarmaticum Procosii*,' *Varsav*. 1827 ; professedly of the 10th cent. It is not so old as that, yet Dobrowsky (*Wien. jahrb.* 32, 77—80) goes too far in pronouncing it a pure fabrication ; it is at any rate founded on old traditions.

² *żywy*, alive ; *żywić*, to sustain life, nourish.

have to weigh your words and questions, so as not to get ensnared (Arndt's Sweden 3, 18). To kill him without cause is dangerous, his followers might avenge it. He has power to *tease* men, to *delude* them, what Swedish superstition calls *dåra*, and Danish *gante*. A MHG. poem (Fragm. 38^b) has: 'peterlîn und louch hât begucket mit der gouch.' Often his appearing is of evil omen. Paulus Diac. 6, 55 says of Hildebrand king of the Lombards: 'cui dum contum, sicut moris est, traderent, in ejus *contisummitate cuculus avis* volitando veniens *insedit*. Tunc aliquibus prudentibus hoc portento visum est significari, ejus principatum inutilem fore' (see Suppl.).

As that all-nourishing life-divinity of the Slavs took the shape of the cuckoo, so does the Grecian Zeus *transform himself into the bird*, when he first approaches Hera. A seated figure of the goddess shews a *cuckoo on her staff*, and a bas-relief representing the wedding procession of Zeus and Hera has a *cuckoo perched on Zeus's sceptre* (as on that of the Lombard king);¹ so that this bird has got mixed up with the most sacred of all weddings, and we understand why he promises marriage and the fruit of wedlock. Then, the mountain on which Zeus and Hera came together, previously called $\Theta\rho\nu\nu\nu\xi$ (from $\theta\rho\nu\nu\nu\nu$, seat of the Thunderer? supra p. 183) or $\Theta\acute{o}\rho\nu\nu\nu\xi$, received after that the name of $\acute{o}\rho\omicron\nu\nu\kappa\omicron\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ (Pausanias ii. 36, 2). Well, and we have *gowk's-hills* in Germany: a *Gauchsberg* near Kreuznach (Widder's Pfalz 4, 36), others near Durlach and Weinsberg (Mone's Anz. 6, 350), a *Guggisberg* in Switzerland (Joh. Müller, 1, 347. 2, 82. Tschachtlan p. 2), *Göckerliberg* (KM. no. 95); the name might be accounted for very naturally by the song of the bird being heard from the hill, but that other traditions also are mixed up with it. In Freidank 82, 8 (and almost the same in Bonerius 65, 55):

wîsiu wort unt tumbiu were
diu habent die von *Gouchesbere*.

Here the men of Gauchsberg are shown up as talking wisely and acting foolishly; Gauchsberg is equivalent to Narrenberg (fool's

¹ Welcker on Schwenk 269. 270; usually an *eagle* sits there. The figures of eagle and cuckoo are not always easy to distinguish; but to this day the Bavarians by way of jest call the Prussian eagle 'gukezer,' Schm. 2, 27.

mount).¹ As far back as the 10th cent. *gouch* has the side-meaning of fool (N. ps. 48, 11. 93, 8. *urheizkouh*, war-fool, N. Bth. 175); the same everywhere in the 13th (Walth. 22, 31. Trist. 8631. 18215), though commonly with a qualifying adj. or gen. pl.: *ich tumber gouch*, MS. 1, 65^a. *tumber denn ein gouch*, Troj. 8126. *tumber gouch*, Barl. 319, 25. *gouch unwîse* 228, 32. *sinneloser gouch*, 319, 38. *der treit gouches houbet* (wears a gowk's head), MsH. 3, 468^e. *rehter witze ein gouch*, MS. 2, 124^b. *der mære ein göichelîn* (dim.), and *gouchgouolt* (augm.), Ben. 209. The ON. *gaukr* is likewise *arrogans morio*. Hans Sachs occasionally uses *Gauchberg*² in the same sense, ii. 4, 110^d (Kempten ii. 4, 220^a), extr. from Göz 1, 52. Yet originally in *Gauchsberg* the bird himself may very well have been meant in a mystic sense which has fallen dark to us now (see Suppl.).³

In other ways too the cuckoo stands in ill repute, he passes for an adulterer, who lays his eggs in other people's nests; hence the Romans used *cuculus* in the sense of *moechus* (Plauti *Asinaria*, twice in last scene), and our *gouch*, *göuchelîn* formerly meant bastard (Nib. 810, 1. Aw. 1, 46), as the Swiss *gugsch* still means an unbidden rival suitor. He even comes out as a fiendish being, or the fiend himself, in phrases everywhere known from of old: 'cuckoo knows, cuckoo take him, cuckoo sent him here' and the like, in all of which the devil's name might be substituted without change of meaning. This seems to me to point to old heathen traditions, to which the diabolic tinge was added only by degrees; and among these I reckon the Low Saxon formula 'the cuckoo and his clerk (or sexton)!' by which clerk is meant the *hoopoo* (Brem. wtb. 2, 858), a bird that is likewise thought to have received his form by metamorphosis. I cannot trace the story of the *cuckoo* and *hoopoo* any further; does the

¹ Hence we find, as substitutes for it, *Affenbere* (Doecn's Misc. 2, 187); *Affenbere* and *Narrental*, MsH. 3, 200^b; *Affental*, *ibid.* 213^a. Winsbeke 45, 7. Renner 16469; *Apenberg* and *Narrenberg* in the Plattd. 'Narragonia' 77^b. 137^b; *Eselsbere*, Diut. 2, 77. Animals whose stupidity was proverbial of old, are the ox, ass, ape, goat, goose, gowk and jay: *við ösvinna apa*, Sæm. 25^b. *átrunnr apa* 55^a. Notk. ps. 57, 11 has *ruoh* (*stultus*), *i.e.* *hruob*, AS. *hrôc* (*graculus*, Gramm. 3, 361).

² Much oftener *Schalksberg* (*rogue's hill*) in the phrase 'in den schalksperg hawen (hew)' i. 5, 524^a. iii. 3, 28^d. 54^b. iv. 3, 20^d. 31^c. 40^a; the reason of which I do not know. 'Schalksberg wine grows in Franconia.' 'Henricus dictus de *Scalkesbergh*,' Spilker 2, 148 (an. 1268).

³ Those who crave other explanations, will find plenty in Mone's Anz. 6, 350 seq. 'Gouchsberg is Caucasus, as Elberich is the spirit of Elburj, diabolus the Persic div,' and so forth.

one sing to the other? [his note 'ooboo' is like an echo of 'cuckoo']. Döbel i. 1, 68 calls the hoopoo the cuckoo's lackey, because he comes with him in spring and goes with him in autumn (see Suppl.). The *peewit* has the same things said of him.

The froth on willows, caused by the cicada *spumaria*, we call *kukuks-speichel*, Swiss *guggerspeu*, Engl. *cuckoo-spit*, *-spittle*, Dan. *giögespyt*, but in some places witch's spittle, Norweg. *troldkiäringspye*:¹ another proof of the bird's connexion with preternatural things, and reminding us of the bird-spittle (*fugls hråki*) which in Sn. 34 goes to make up the band *Gleipnir*. Several names of plants assure us of his mythic nature. Sorrel: OHG. *gouchesampfera*, Swiss *guggersauer*, AS. *geacessûre*, Dan. *giögemad*, *giögesyre*, it being supposed that he loved to eat it; our *kukuksbrot*, *gauchlauch*, Fr. *pain de coucou*, *panis cuculi*. Cuckoo-flower: *kukuksblume*, *gauchblume*, *flos cuculi*. Pimpernel: *gauchheil*, etc., *guckgauchdorn*, Fischart's *Geschichtskl.* 269^a.

The Slavs all make this bird feminine, and see nothing bad, nothing fiendish in it: *zezhulice* sits on the oak, and bewails the passing away of spring, *Königinh.* MS. 174. The Servian *kukavitsa* was once a maiden, who wept her brother's death till she was changed into the bird; 'sinia (gray) kukavitsa,' *Vuk* 3, 66; three women turned into kukavitsas, *Vuk* 1, no. 321. In songs of Lit. Russia still a moping melancholy bird; and in Russian folktales we have again a young girl changed into a cuckoo by an enchantress (*Götze's Serb. lieder*, p. 212).

Of small birds, the *swallow* has been mentioned, p. 672. 'Frau *nachtigall*' is often named by our minnesingers; but the myth, that her children are born dead and she sings them alive, seems not of German origin. The *lark* and *galander* (crested lark) must have been actors in the animal legend oftener than we are now aware of; there are still beautiful stories of the *zauwkönig* (hedgeking, wren), AS. *wrenna*. But I have yet to speak of two little birds, which appear to have been peculiarly sacred in olden times: *redbreast* and *titmouse*.

Robin redbreast is on no account to have his nest disturbed, or the house will be struck with lightning: it is the *redstart's* nest

¹ Summer-freckles in Bavar. *gugker-schegken*, cuckoo-spots, *Schm.* 2, 27; conf. *Höfer* 1, 337.

that draws down the flash. The latter the Swiss call *husrötheli* (house-redling); if you tease him or take him out, your cows will give red milk (Tobler 281). Were these birds sacred to Donar the red-bearded? And has that to do with the colour of their throat and tail? They say the redbreast drops leaves and flowers on the face of a murdered man [or 'babe'] whom he finds in the wood; did he do this in the service of a god, who therefore would not suffer him to be molested?

The tiny *titmouse*,¹ whom he called gossip, was able to outwit even Reynard himself. The *weisthümer* tell us in what estimation this little forest bird was held, by setting the severest penalties on his capture: 'item, si quis sibilando vel alio modo volucrum illum ceperit, qui vulgo *meise* nuncupatur, banni reus erit,' Jura archiep. trever., in *Lacombl. arch.* 326. 'si quis auceps hanc silvam intraverit, pro nullo genere volucrum componet, nisi capiat *meisam* que dicitur *banmeisa*, et pro illa componat 60 sol. tanquam pro cervo,' *ibid.* 367. 'wer da fehet ein *bermeisen*, der sal geben ein koppechte hennen und zwelf hunkeln, und sechzig schilling pfenning und einen helbeling,' *Dreieicher wildbann* (Weisth. 1, 499). 'wer eine *kolmeise* fienge mit limen ader mit slagegarn, der sal unserme herrn geben eine falbe henne mit sieben hünkeln,' *Rheingauer w.* 1, 535. 'wer ein *sterzmeise* fahet, der ist umb leib u. guet, und in unsers herrn ungnad,' *Crenznacher w.* 2, 153.—The reason of these laws is hidden from us; plainly the bird was held sacred and inviolable. And it is perfectly in tune with this, that at the present moment the Lettons, who call the bird *sihle*,² regard it as prophetic and auspicious, and even call a soothsayer *sihlneeks*.³ Also the Spanish name for the titmouse, *cid* (lord), or *cid paxaro* (lord sparrow), is worth considering. Titmouse, wren and woodpecker (bee-wolf) are confounded in popular belief; what is meant is the tiniest prettiest bird (see *Suppl.*).

¹ Meise, OHG. meisâ, AS. mâse, Nethl. mêze, Fr. mesange, O.Fr. mesenge.

² Lith. žyle, žylėle; Pol. sikora, Boh. sykora, Russ. zínika, sínitsa, Slov. senitsa, Serv. sienitsa. The Lettic name may be derivable from *sinnah*, the Lith. from *žynoti* (scire), so that the full form would be *sinnele, žynle*, the sage knowing bird? The jay also is in Lettic *sihls*. To the Swed. Lapps *taitne* signifies not only wood-pecker, but superstitious divination; *tayetet* is to understand. In view of that, our *specht* (woodpecker) seems to belong to a lost root *spihan, spah, spahun*, whence also *spöhön* (explorare), and *spáhi* (sapiens, prudens).

³ *Mag. der lett. lit. gesellsch.*, Mitau 1838. 6, 151.

REPTILES.—*Snakes*, by the beauty of their shape and the terror of their bite, seem above all animals to command awe and reverence. A great many stories tell of an exchange of form between men and snakes: an almost infallible sign of their having been worshipped. Beings that had passed out of human into animal shapes, and were able to return into the former at need, these heathenism was inclined to regard as sacred; it worshipped kind beneficent snakes, whilst in christian opinion the notion of snakes being malignant and diabolic predominates.

The same *Vita Barbati*, which we had to thank for information on the tree-cultus of the Lombards (p. 649), tells us likewise of a worship of snakes: ‘His vero diebus, quamvis sacra baptismatis unda Langobardi abluerentur, tamen *priscum gentilitatis ritum* tenentes, sive bestiali mente degebant, *bestiae simulachro*, quae vulgo *vipera* nominatur, *flectebant colla*, quae debite suo debebant flectere Creatori. . . . Praeterea Romuald ejusque sodales, prisco coecati errore, palam se solum Deum colere fatebantur, et in abditis *viperæ simulachrum* ad suam perniciem *adorabant*.’ During the king’s absence, Barbatus beseeches his consort Theodorada to procure for him that image of the snake. ‘Illaque respondit: Si hoc perpetravero, pater, veraciter scio me morituram.’ He perseveres and at last persuades her; as soon as the image is in his hands, he melts it down, and delivers the metal to goldsmiths to make out of it a plate and a chalice.¹ Out of these golden vessels the christian sacrament is administered to the king on his return, and then Barbatus confesses that the holy utensils were made by melting down the idol. ‘Repente unus ex circumstantibus ait: Si mea uxor talia perpetrasset, nullo interposito momento abscinderem caput ejus.’ A passage in the other *Vita* also is pertinent here: ‘Quinetiam *viperam auri metallo formatam summi pro magnitudine dei* supplici devotione venerari videbantur. Unde usque hodie, sicut pro voto arboris *Votum*, ita et locus ille *Census*, devotiones² ubi viperæ reddebantur dignoscitur appellari.’ About ‘votum’ I expressed my mind, p. 650n.; ‘census’ signifies the Goth. *gild*, *gilstr*, OHG. *kêlt*, *kêlstar* (p. 38-9 and RA. 358). The two words votum and

¹ As the gold of the swan-rings was made into pots, and what remained over was the goldsmith’s profit.

² Printed text: locus ille census devotionis, ubi viperæ reddebantur.

census are no slight testimony to the genuineness and oldness of the biography.—Here then we have a striking instance of an idol made of gold, and moreover of the christian teacher's endeavour to preserve the sacred material, only converting it into a christian form. What higher being the snake represented to the Lombards, we can scarcely say for certain; not the all-encircling world-snake, the *miðgarðs-ormr*, *iörmungandr* of Norse mythology, for there is not a hint that even in the North, let alone elsewhere, he was visibly represented and worshipped. *Ofnir* and *Sváfnir* are ON. names of snakes, and side-names of Óðinn (conf. p. 144); is it Wuotan that we are to understand by the 'summus deus' of the Lombards?¹ But the special characteristics of their snake-worship are entirely lost to us. If the term *vipera* was deliberately chosen, as I have no doubt it was, it can only mean one of the smaller kinds of snake (coluber berus), OHG. *natarā*, AS. *nædre*, ON. *naðra* (also masc. *naðr*, like Goth. *nads*), though the simulacrum, of whose gold a plate and chalice could be made, bespeaks a considerable size.

Lombard legend has more to tell us of snakes, and those expressly small ones. The Heldenbuch describes the combat of a small fire-spitting beast on the Gartensee (L. di Garda) with Wolfdietrich and a lion, to both of whom it gives enough to do:

Nun hörent durch ein wunder, wie das tierlein ist genant:
es heisst zu welsch ein *zunder*, zu teutsch ein *saribant*,
in Sittenland nach eren ist es ein *vipper* genant;

and it is added, that there are but two such vipers alive at once, for the young ones soon after birth eat up their parents. This agrees closely with the statements in the Physiologus (Diut. 3, 29, 30. Hoffm. fundgr. 28). I cannot explain *zunder* from any Italian dialect; *saribant* is the MHG. *serpant*, Trist. 8994. Sittenland I take to be the canton Valais, from its capital Sitten (Sion); there the Romance *vipera* might easily remain in use (Grisons *vipra*, *vivra*). In the Jura a never-dying winged snake with a diamond eye is called *rouivre*, Mém. des antiq. 6, 217. In Switzerland this snake is called *stollenwurm* (Wyss's Reise ins Berner Oberland, p. 422), and in Salzburg *birgstutze*, Schm. 1, 196 (see Suppl.).

¹ 'Summi *pro magn. Dei*' may possibly mean 'instead of (worshipping) the majesty of the Most High.'—TRANS.

Plenty of old tales are still told of *home-snakes* and *unkes*.¹ On meadows and pastures, and even in houses, snakes come to children when alone, sip milk with them out of their bowl, wear *golden crowns*, which in drinking they take off from their heads and set on the ground, and often forget and leave them; they watch infants in the cradle, and to bigger children they shew treasures: *to kill them is unlucky*. Every village has its own snakes to tell of. So goes the story in Swabia. Some Hessian stories are collected under Kinderm. no. 105, and one from Austria in Ziska's *Volksmärchen* (Vienna 1822, p. 51); nearly all bring in the *milk-drinking*² and the *golden crown*. If the parents surprise the snake with the child, and kill it, the child begins to fall away, and dies before long (Temme's Pomm. sagen no. 257). Once, when a woman lay asleep, a snake crept into her open mouth, and when she gave birth to a child, the snake lay tightly coiled round its neck, and could only be got away by a milk-bath; but it never left the baby's side, it lay in bed with it, and ate out of its bowl, without doing it any harm (Mone's Anz. 8, 530). Then other accounts speak of a multitude of snakes filling house and yard, whose *king* was distinguished by a glittering *crown* on his head. When he left the yard, all the rest would accompany him; in the stable where he lived, they swarmed so plentifully, that the maids feeding the cattle would take them out of the crib by armfuls. They were friendly to the cattle and the people; but a new farmer shot their king, and they all departed, and with them vanished wealth and prosperity from the estate (*ibid.* 6, 174).³ Here also comes in the *queen of snakes* (Deut. sagen no. 220), and a remarkable story in the *Gesta Romanorum* (Keller p. 152). To a dairymaid at Immeneich there came a great snake into the cowshed every morning and evening at milking-time, and wore a great crown on its head. The girl

¹ MHG. *unk*, gen. *unkes*, MS. 2, 209^b. 206^a: 'from copper one divideth gold with an unke's ashes'; hence an alchemist was called *unken-brenner* (Felix Malleolus de nobilitate et rusticitate, cap. 30). By *unke* is properly meant the rana portentosa (bull-frog?), but often snake or reptile in general. Like the weasel, it is called caressingly 'münnelein, müemal,' aunty. Schm. 2, 576.

² Down to the recurring formula: 'ding, iss auch brocken!' (thing, eat crumbs too); 'friss auch mocken, nicht lauter schlappes!' (not only slops) Mone's Anz. 8, 530; 'friss auch brocken, nicht lauter brühe!' *ibid.* 6, 175.

³ A similar story of the king of snakes from Lübbenau in the Spreewald of Lausitz (Büsching's Wöch. nachr. 3, 342) in Reusch no. 74.

everytime gave it warm *cow's milk to sup*. She suddenly left the place in a tiff, and when the new maid went for the first time to milk, there lay the *golden crown* on the milking-stool, with the inscription: 'a token of gratitude.' She brought the crown to her master, who gave it to the girl it was intended for; but from that time the snake was never seen again (Mone's Anz. 8, 537). The *adder's crown* (atternkrönlein) makes any one that wears it invisible (Schm. 2, 388) and immensely rich as well. In some districts they say every house has two snakes, a male and a female, but they never shew themselves till the master or mistress of the house dies, and then they undergo the same fate. This feature, and some others, such as the offering of milk, bring the *home-snakes* near to the notion of good helpful home-sprites (see Suppl.).

The snake then comes before us as a beneficent inviolable creature, perfectly adapted for heathen worship. A serpent twined round the staff of Asklepios, and serpents lay beside healing fountains (p. 588n.). The ancient Prussians maintained a large snake for their Potrimpos, and the priests guarded it with care; it lay under ears of corn, and was nourished with *milk*.¹ The Lettons call snakes *milk-mothers* (peena mahtes); they were under the protection of one of the higher goddesses named Brehkina (crier), who cried out to all that entered to leave her 'peena mahtes' unmolested in the house (Mag. der lett. gesellsch. 6, 144). There is *milk* set for them in pots. The Lithuanians also revered *snakes*, harboured them in their houses, and offered them sacrifices.² Egyptian snake-worship was witnessed by Herodotus 2, 74. 'Nullus locus sine genio, qui per *anquem* plerumque ostenditur,' Serv. ad Aen. 5, 95.

Snakes were devised as a charm in swords and on helmets (Sæm. 142^b):

liggr með eggjo ormr dreyfáðr,
enn á valbösto verpr naðr hala.

The ormr or yrmlingr was supposed to run from the sword's hilt

¹ Voigt's Geschichte Preussens 1, 584.

² Seb. Frank's Weltbuch 55^b. Mone's Heidenth. 1, 98. Adam. brom. de situ Daniae, cap. 24, of the Lithuanians: '*dracones adorant cum volucris, quibus etiam vivos litant homines, quos a mercatoribus emunt, diligenter omnino probatos ne maculam in corpore habeant.*'

(helz, hialt) to the point and back again (Kormakss. p. 82-4. Vilk. s. p. 101). Vitege had the epithet 'mit dem *slungen*' because of his helmet's crest (Heldensage p. 148). They imparted strength to a helmet, and force to the blade of a sword. It seems much the same thing, when waggoners plait adder's-tongues into their whips, Sup. I, 174 (see Suppl.).

The snake crawls or wriggles along the ground; when provided with wings, it is called *drache*, a non-German word coming from the Lat. *draco*, Gr. *δράκων*, and introduced very early, OHG. *traccho*, AS. *draca*, ON. *dreki*. The Elder (or Sæmund's) Edda has *dreki* only once, in the latish *Sölarl.* 127^b; elsewhere it is *ormr*, AS. *wyrm*, OHG. *wurm*, Goth. *vaúrms*, which in a wider sense includes the snake also. The one encountered by Beowulf comes before us emphatically as a winged snake (*serpens alatus*); 'nihtes fleogeð' 4541, by night he flies, and hence is called *uhtsceaða* 4536 (*nocturnus hostis, aggressor*), and *lyftsceaða* (*aëreus hostis*), *Cod. exon.* 329, 24. Also the dragon that keeps Krimhild prisoner on the Drachenstein comes riding through the air, or flying. But the one that young Siegfried had previously killed, when sent out by the smith, lay beside a *linde* (lime-tree), and did not fly: this is the *Fáfnir* of the Edda, a man who had assumed the form of a snake; of him the Edda uses *skríða* (*reperere, to stride*), *Sæm.* 186. *Sn.* 138; and he is the *wyrm* or *draca* slain by Sigemund and Fitela in *Beow.* 1765. 1779. In the *Nib.* 101, 2 and 842, 2 he is called *lintrache*, *lintdrache*, in the *Siegfriedslied* 8, 2 *lintwurm*: an expression found also in *Mar.* 148, 28. *En.* 2947. *Troj.* 25199, and to be explained, not from *linde* (*tilia*) as misunderstood by later legend, but from the OHG. *lint*. With this *lint* (Goth. *linþs*, AS. *lið*, ON. *linn*?) many women's names are formed (*Gramm.* 2, 505), e.g., *Sigilint*, ON. *Sigrlinn* (*supra* p. 428), and it may have contained the notion of brightness or beauty,¹ suitable alike to snake and woman; the derivative weak form *linni* (*masc.*) in ON. signifies again *coluber, serpens*. And *Limburg*=*Lintburg*, the name of several towns, is more correctly derived from snake than from lime-tree.

About dragons it is a favourite fancy of antiquity, that they

¹ Does not the Engl. *lithe*, pliable, give the most suitable meaning, Germ. *gelind* soft, *lindern* to mitigate?—TRANS.

lie upon gold, and are illumined by it; gold itself was poetically named *worm-bed*, ON. *ormbeðr* or *ormbeðs-eldr* (wormbed's fire). And with this was linked a further notion, that they guard treasures, and carry them through the air by night. That wyrm slain by Sigemund is called 'hordes hyrde,' Beow. 1767; the one that Beowulf fought with receives the epithet 'se hord beweotode' 4420. Fâfnir, formerly a giant, lay 'in (the 'shape of) a worm,' wearing the Oegis-hialm, over inherited gold (Sæm. 188^b. 189^b); the expression is 'î lÿngvi' (from lÿng, heath), and the spot is named Gnîta-heiði; hence in other cases also the word *lÿngvi*, *lÿngermr* (heath-worm) stands for dragon. The Völs. saga c. 17 distinguishes *lÿngormr* a small snake from *dreki* a large one; so that our OHG. *heimo*, OS. *hêma*, AS. *hâma*, spoken of on p. 387, may be identical with *lÿngvi*; Vilk. saga c. 17, p. 31 expressly calls *heima* 'allra orma *skemstr*' (omnium vermium minimus), but as he is venomous, he cannot be the harmless cicada (OHG. *muhheimo*). Popular belief still dreams of glittering treasures lying on lonesome heaths and guarded by dragons; and *hæðen gold* in Beow. may mean either *aurum tesquorum* or *ethnicorum*, for dragons, like giants, were thought of as old and full of years, e.g., *eald uhtsceaða*, Beow. 4536; *wintrum frôð* (wise with years) 4548; *þreo hund* (300) *wintra heold on hrusan* (earth) 4550; at the same time they are covetous, envious, venomous, spitting flame: *nîðdraca*, Beow. 4540; *áttorseaða* 5673, *fÿre befangen* 4541, *ongan glêdum spíwan* 4619, *deorcum nihtum ricsian* 4417. It is said of Fâfnir, Sæm. 186: 'screið af gulli, blês eitri, hristi sik ok barði höfði ok sporði,' stepped off the gold, blew poison, shook himself, and struck with head and tail; it was noticed on p. 562 that the two notions of eit (fire) and eiter (poison) run into one. Connect with this the descriptions of MHG. poets: the 'trache' has his haunt in a valley, out of his throat he darts flame, smoke and wind, Trist. 8944-74; he has plumage, wings, he spits fire and venom, Troj. 9764. 9817 (see Suppl.).

Now it was the heroes' province to extirpate not only the giants, but (what was in a measure the same thing) the dragons¹ in the world: Thôrr himself tackles the enormous *miðgarðs-orm*, Sigemund, Siegfried, Beowulf stand forth as the bravest of

¹ The analogy is kept up in the circumstance of the conquered dragon (like the giant's skeleton p. 555n.) being fastened over the town-gate, e.g. Pulci 4, 76.

dragon-killers, backed by a crowd of others, who spring out of the exhaustless fount of living legend, wherever time and place requires them. Frotho, a second Siegfried, overpowers a venomous dragon that lay reposing on his treasure, Saxo Gram. p. 20. The beautiful Thora Borgarhiörtr had a small l̥ngorm given her, whom she placed in a casket, with gold under him: as he grew, the gold grew also, till the box became too narrow, and the worm laid himself in a ring all round it; soon the chamber was too small, and he lay round that, with his tail in his mouth, admitting none into the room unless they brought him food, and he required an ox at every meal. Then it was proclaimed, that whoever slew him should get the maiden for his bride, and as much gold as lay under the dragon, for her dowry. It was Ragnar Lodbrok that subdued this dragon, Fornald. sög. 1, 237-8. The rapid growth of the worm has a startling similarity to that of the fish, p. 578. But, beside the hoarded gold which the heroes carry off as prize, the adventure brings them other advantages: eating the dragon's heart gives one a knowledge of beasts' language, and painting oneself with his blood hardens the skin against all injury. Both features enter deeply into the legend of Siegfried (see Suppl.).¹

Nearly all of this has its counterpart in the beliefs of other nations. As the Romans borrowed *gigas* from the Greeks, so they did *draco*, for neither *serpens* nor *vermis* was adequate (like our *slango* and *wurm*) to express the idea. Now *δράκων* comes from *δέρκειν* to look, illumine, flash out, *φάος* *δέδορκε* expresses illuminating light, and this confirms me in my proposed explanation of our *liut* and *linni*. A fox after long burrowing struck upon the cave of a dragon watching hidden treasure, 'ad draconis speluncam ultimam, custodiebat qui thesauros abditos,' Phaedr. 4, 19. Then the story of the gold-guarding griffins must be included, as they are winged monsters like the dragons.

In O. Slavic *zmiy* m., and *zmiya* f., signify snake, the one more a dragon, the other an adder. The Boh. *zmeč* is the fiery dragon guarding money, *zmiye* the adder; Serv. *zmay* dragon, *zmiya* adder. Mica, which the *zmay* shakes off him, is named *otresine zmayeve* (dragon's offshake), Vuk p. 534. Once more, everything

¹ Which reminds Albrecht in Titurel 3313—17 of a similar tale of Rodolz, conf. Parz. 518, 18 and Diut. 3, 59.

leads to glitter, gold and fire. The Lith. *smakas* seems borrowed from Slavic; whether connected with AS. *snaca*, is a question. Jungmann says, *zmek* is not only a dragon, but a spirit who appears in the shape of a wet bird,¹ usually a *chicken*, and brings people money; Sup. I, 143 says you must not hurt *earth-chicks* or *house-adders*; Schm. 1, 104 explains *erdhünlein* (earth-chicken) as a bright round lustre, in the middle of which lies something dark; conf. *gehuon*, Helbl. 8, 858.

Renvall thus describes the Finn. *mammalainen*: 'femina maligna, matrix serpentis, divitiarum subterraneorum custos.' Here at last the hoard is assigned to a female snake; in Teutonic and also Slavic tales on the contrary it is characteristic of the fierce fiendish dragon (m.) to guard treasure, and the adder or unke (f.) plays more the part of a friendly homesprite: as the one is a man transformed, so the other appears as a crowned maiden with a serpent's tail (Deut. sag. no. 13), or as a fay. But she can no more dispense with her golden crown than the dragon with his guardianship of gold; and the Boh. *zmek* is at once dragon and adder. A story of the *adder-king* is in Bechstein's *Franken* p. 290 (see Suppl.).

Amidst all these points of connexion, the being worshipped by the Lombards must remain a matter of doubt; we have only a right to assume that they ascribed to it a benign and gracious character.

INSECTS.—Some traces of *beetle-worship* I am able to disclose.

We have two old and pretty general terms: OHG. *chevor*, *cheviro*, MHG. *kever*, *kevere*, NHG. *käfer*, N. Neth. *kever*, AS. *ceafor*, Engl. *chafer*. We have no business to bring in the Lat. *caper* (which is AS. *hæfer*, ON. *hafr*); the root seems to be the AS. *ceaf*, *caf*=alacer, for the chafer is a brisk lively creature, and in Swabia they still say *käfermässig* for *agilis*, *vivax* (Gramm. 2, 571. 1013). The AS. has *ceafortûn*, *cafertûn*, for atrium, vestibulum; 'scarabacorum oppidum' as it were, because chafers chirp in it?³ The second term, OHG. *wibil*, *webil*, MHG. *wibel*,

¹ *Zmokly* is drenched, *zmoknuti* to wet; 'mokrý gako zmok,' dripping like an earth-sprite.

² Here again the female being has the advantage over the male.

³ Helbling, speaking of an ill-shaped garment, starts the query (1, 177), where

NHG. *webel*, *wiebel*, AS. *wifel*, *wefel*, Engl. *weevil*, agrees with Lith. *wabalas*, *wabalis*, Lett. *wabbols*, and I trace it to *weben* (weave, wave) in the sense of our 'leben und weben,' *vigere*, *moveri*; we say, 'kriebeln und wiebeln' of the swarming of beetles.¹

To the Egyptians the beetle (*scarabaeus*, *κάνθαρος*, *κάραβος*) was a sacred being, an emblem of inmost life and mysterious self-generation. They believed that he proceeded out of matter which he rolled into globules and buried in manure (see Suppl.).

ON. literature deals in no prose terms, but at once comes out with the poetic name *iötunox*, *iötunoxi* (giant-ox); as that giant maiden took the ploughman with his oxen and plough for crawling beetles (p. 540, Finn. *sontainen*, *sondiainen*, dung-beetle from *sonda*, *finus*), so conversely the real beetle might awaken the notion of a *iötunox*. To liken the small animal to the large was natural.

Our biggest beetle, the stately antlered stag-beetle, the Romans called *lucanus*, Nigid. in Pliny 11, 28 (34), with which I suppose is connected the well-known *luca bos*, *lucanus* or *lucana bos*, a name which got shifted from the horned beast to a tusked one, the elephant (Varro 7, 39. 40. O. Müll. p. 135). But we call the beetle *hirsch* (stag, Fr. *cerf volant*), and even ox and goat, all of them horned beasts, Pol. *ielonek*, O. Slav. *elenetz* (both stagling), Boh. *rohač* (corniger), Austr. *hörntler*, Swed. *horntroll*. Again, a Lat. name for *scarabaeus terrester* was *taurus*, Plin. 30, 5 (12), which keeps my *lucanus bos* or *cervus*, in countenance. To the female the Bohemians give the further name of *babka* (granny).

On p. 183 we came across a more significant name, *donnerguegi*, *donnerpuppe*, in obvious allusion to Donar, whose holy tree the beetle loves to dwell in; and with this, apparently, agrees a general term for beetles which extends through Scandinavia, viz. Westergötl. *torbagge*, Swed. *tortylvel*, Norweg. *torlivel*, Jutl. *torr*, *torre*. True, there is no Icelandic form, let alone ON., in which *Thôrr* can be detected; yet this 'tor' may have the same

might be the back and belly of one that was hidden away in such a *cheverpeunt*? He calls the ample cloak a chafer-pound or yard, in whose recesses you catch beetles. This *keverpiunt* answers to the AS. *ceafortün*.

¹ Slavic names are, Boh. *chraust*, Pol. *chrząszcz*; Boh. *brauk*, *bruk*, prob. from *bruchus*, *βροῦκος*. [Russ. *zhuk*; the 'gueg' of S. Germany?]

force it has in torsdag (p. 126) and tordön (p. 166); 'bagge,' says Ihre p. 122, denotes juvenis, puer, hence servant of the god, which was afterwards exchanged for dyfvel=diefvul, devil. Afzelius (Sagohäfder 1, 12. 13) assures us, that the torbagge was sacred to Thor, that in Norrland his larva is called *mulloxé* (earth-ox, our Swiss donnerpuppe? conf. iötunoxi), and that he who finds a *dung-beetle lying on his back* (ofvältés) unable to help himself, and *sets him on his legs* again, is believed by the Norrlanders to have atoned for seven sins thereby.

This sounds antique enough, and I do not hastily reject the proposed interpretation of tordyfvel, false as it looks. For the AS. *tordwifel* is plainly made up of 'tord,' stercus (Engl. turd) and the 'wifel' above, and answers to the Dan. skarnbasse, skarntorre (dungbeetle); consequently tordyfvel, torbasse crave the same solution, even though a simple 'tord' and 'vivel' be now wanting in all the Scandinavian dialects. The Icelandic has turned tordivel about into *torfdifill*, as if turf-devil, from torf, gleba. There is also the N. Neth. *tor*, *torre* beetle, and *drektorre* dungbeetle [or devil's coach-horse; also Engl. *dumble-dorr* cockchafer], to be taken into account (see Suppl.).

But who ever saw even a beetle lie struggling on his back, without compassionately turning him over? The German people, which places the stagbeetle in close connexion with thunder and fire, may very likely have paid him peculiar honours once.

Like other sacred harbingers of spring (swallows, storks), the *first cockchafer* (Maikäfer)¹ used to be escorted in from the woods with much ceremony; we have it on good authority, that this

¹ *Maikäfer* (like maiblume) sounds too general, and not a people's word. And there is no Lat. name preserved either. The Greek *μηλολόθη* designates our maikäfer or our goldkäfer; boys tied a string to it and played with it (Aristoph. Nub. 763), as our boys do. The It. *scarafaggio* is formed from *scarafone* (scarabaeus); the Fr. *hanneton* a dim. of the obsolete *hanne* horse, which may have been the term for the stagbeetle (still *petzgaul*, Bruin's horse, in the Wetterau), Fr. *cerf volant*, Dan. *eeghiort*, Swed. *ekhjort*, i.e. oak-hart. The Mecklenb. *eksäwer*, oak-chafer, as well as the simple *säwer*, *sewer*, *sebber* (Schütze's Holst. idiot. 4, 91) is applied to the maikäfer; in other parts of L. Saxony they say *maisävel*, *maisäbel*. This *säwer*, *zäwer* (Brem. wtb. 4, 592. 5, 310) is surely no other than käfer with change of *k* into *z*, *s*; Chyträus's Nomencl. saxon. has 'zever, and *goldzever*=goldkäfer.' Or does the HG. *ziefer* belong here, contrary to the etymol. proposed on p. 40? In the Westerwald *pöwritz*, *köwritz* is maikäfer, and in Ravensberg *porömmel* dungbeetle (Kuhn's Westfal. sagen 2, 188), almost agreeing with Esthon. *poua* chafer, beetle. Like the various names for the stagbeetle, maybeetle, dungbeetle, goldbeetle, the traces of ancient beetle-worship seem also to meet, first in one, then in another of them. A *scarafone* who brings succour occurs in Pentamer. 3, 5 (see Suppl.).

continued to be done by the spinning girls in parts of Schleswig as late as the 17th century.¹

Folk-tales of Up. Germany inform us: Some girls, not grown up, went one Sunday to a deserted tower on a hill, found the stairs strewn with sand, and came to a beautiful room they had never seen before, in which there stood a bed with curtains. When they drew these aside, the bed was *swarming with gold-beetles*, and jumping up and down of itself. Filled with amazement, the girls looked on for a while, till suddenly a terror seized them, and they fled out of the room and down the stairs, with an unearthly howl and racket at their heels (Mone's *Anz.* 7, 477). On the castle-hill by Wolfartsweiler a little girl saw a copper pot standing on three legs, quite new and *swarming full of horsebeetles* (roskäfer). She told her parents, who saw at once that the beetles were a treasure, and hastened with her to the hill, but found neither pot nor beetles any more (ibid. 8, 305). Here beetles appear as holy animals guarding gold, and themselves golden.

In Sweden they call the small goldbeetle (skalkräk) Virgin Mary's key-maid (jungfru Marie nyckelpiga), Dybeck's *Runa* 1844, p. 10; in spring the girls let her creep about on their hands, and say, 'hon märker mig brudhandskar,' she marks (fore-shews) me bride's gloves; if she flies away, they notice in which direction, for thence will come the bridegroom. Thus the beetle seems a messenger of the goddess of love; but the number of the black spots on his wings has to be considered too: if more than seven, corn will be scarce that year, if less, you may look for an abundant harvest, Afzel. 3, 112-3.

The little coccinella septempunctata has mythical names in nearly all our dialects: NHG. *gotteskühlein* (God's little cow),² *gotteskalb*, *herrgotteskalb*, *herrgotts-thierchen* (-beastie), *herrgots-vöglein* (-birdie), *Marienvöglein*, *Marienkäfer*, *Marienkälblein*; Engl. *ladycow*, *ladybird*, *ladyfly*; Dan. *Marihöne* (-hen); Boh. *krawka*, *krawicka* (little cow). In Up. Germany they call the small goldbeetle (*chrysomela vulg.*) *fraua-chüeli*, ladycow (Tobler

¹ An old description of the maygrave feast by Ulr. Petersen (in Falck's *New staatsb. mag.*, vol. 1, Schlesw. 1832, p. 655) speaks of it thus: 'A quaint procession of the erewhile amazons of the spinning-wheel at Schleswig, for fetching in of a *cantharis* or *maykäfer* with green boughs, wherent the town-hall of this place was decked out with greenery.' The feast was still held in 1630—40.

² The Russ. 'Bózhia koróvka, has exactly the same meaning.—TRANS.

204^b) and ‘*der liebe froue henje,*’ our lady’s hen (Alb. Schott’s *Deutsche in Piemont* 297), in contrast to *herra-chüeli* the coccinella (Tobler 265^a), though the name probably wavers between the two. By the same process which we observed in the names of plants and stars, Mary seems to have stepped into the place of Freyja, and Marihöne was formerly *Freyjuhæna*, which we still have word for word in *Froue henje*, and the like in *Fraua-chüeli*. And of Romance tongues, it is only that of France (where the community of views with Germany was strongest) that has a *bête à dieu, vache à dieu*; Span. and Ital. have nothing like it. At all events our children’s song:

Marienkäferchen, flieg aus! (fly away)
 dein häuschen brennt, (burns)
 dein mütterchen fiennt, (weeps)
 dein väterchen sitzt auf der schwelle; (sits on the threshold)
 flieg *in ’n himmel* aus der hölle! (into heaven out of hell)

must be old, for in England also they sing: ‘*Ladybird, ladybird, fly away home, your house is on fire, and your children will burn [all but little Bessie that sits in the sun].*’ With us too the children put the *Marienkäfer* or *sonnenkäfer* on their finger, and ask it, like the cuckoo: ‘*sunnenkieken* (sun’s chicken), ik frage di, wo lange schal ik leven?’ ‘Een jaar, twee jaar,’ etc., till the chafer flies away, its home being in the sun or in heaven. In Switzerland they hold the goldbeetle on their hand, and say: ‘*cheferli, cheferli, flüg us! i getter milech ond brocka ond e silberigs löffel de zue.*’ Here the chafer, like the snake, is offered ‘milk and crumbs and a silver spoon thereto.’ In olden times he must have been regarded as the god’s messenger and confidant (see Suppl.).

Lastly the *bee*, the one insect that is tamable and will live among men, and whose wise ways are such a lesson to them, may be expected to have old mythic associations. The bee is believed to have survived from the golden age, from the lost paradise (Chap. XXX.); nowhere is her worth and purity more prettily expressed than in the Servian lay of the rich Gavan, where God selects three holy angels to prove mankind, and bids them descend from heaven to earth, ‘as the bee upon the flower,’ *kako pchela po tsvetu* (Vuk 1, 128 ed. 2). The clear sweet honey,

which bees suck out of every blossom, is a chief ingredient of the drink divine (p. 319), it is the *ἡδεῖα ἐδωδή* of the gods, Hymn. in Merc. 560; and holy honey the first food that touches the lips of a new-born child, RA. 457. Then, as the gift of poesy is closely connected with *Ὀδhræris dreckr*, it is bees that bring it to sleeping Pindar: *μέλισσαι αὐτῶ καθεύδοντι προσεπέτοντό τε καὶ ἔπλασσον πρὸς τὰ χεῖλη τοῦ κηροῦ ἀρχὴ μὲν Πινδάρῳ ποιεῖν ᾄσματα ἐγένετο τοιαύτη*, Pausan. ix. 23, 2. And therefore they are called *Musarum volucres* (Varro de re rust. 3, 16). A kindermärchen (no. 62) speaks of the queen-bee settling on her favourite's mouth;¹ if she flies to any one in his sleep, he is accounted a child of fortune.

It seems natural, in connexion with these bustling winged creatures, to think of the silent race of elves and dwarfs, which like them obeys a queen. It was in the decaying flesh of the first giant that dwarfs bred as maggots; in exactly the same way bees are said to have sprung from the putrefaction of a bullock's body: 'apes nascuntur ex bubulo corpore putrefacto,' Varro, 2, 5; 'amissas reparari ventribus bubulis recentibus cum fimo obrutis,' Plin. 11, 20 (23); conf. Virg. Georg. 4, 284-558. Ov. Met. 15, 364. To this circumstance some have ascribed the resemblance between apis bee and Apis bull, though the first has a short *a*, and the last a long. What seems more important for us is the celebrated discovery of a golden bullock's-head amongst many hundred golden bees in the tomb of the Frankish king Childeric at Doornik (repres. in Eccard's Fr. or. 1, 39. 40).

Natural history informs us that clouds of bees fall upon the sweet juice of the ash-tree; and from the life-tree Yggdrasil the Edda makes a dew trickle, which is called a 'fall of honey,' and nourishes bees (Sn. 20).²

The Yngl. saga cap. 14 says of Yngvifrey's son, king Fiölnir (Siölm in the O. Swed. chron.), that he fell into a barrel of mead and was drowned; so in Saxo, king Hunding falls into sweet mead, and the Greek myth lets Glaucus drown in a honey-jar, the bright in the sweet. According to a legend of the Swiss Alps,

¹ Sederunt in ore infantis tum etiam Platonis, suavitatem illam praedulcis eloqui portendentes. Plin. 11, 17 (18).

² Ceram ex floribus, melliginem e lacrimis arborum quae glutinum pariunt, salicis, ulmi, arundinis succo.

in the golden age when the brooks and lakes were filled with milk, a shepherd was upset in his boat and drowned; his body, long sought for, turned up at last in the foaming cream, when they were churning, and was buried in a cavity which bees had constructed of honeycombs as large as town-gates (Mém. de l'acad. celt. 5, 202). Bees weave a temple of wax and feathers (Schwenk's Gr. myth. p. 129. Herm. Müller's Griechenth. 455), and in our Kinderm. no. 107, p. 130-1 a palace of wax and honey. This reminds us of the beautiful picture in Lohengrin p. 191 of Henry 2.'s tomb in Bamberg cathedral :

Sus lît er dâ in sîner stift
 di'er het erbouwen, als diu *bin* ir wift
 ûz maneger blüete wûrket, daz man honc-seim nennet.

(he lies in the minster he built, as the bee her web from many a blossom works, that we name honey-juice). In the various languages the working bee is represented as female, OHG. pîa, Lat. apis, Gr. μέλισσα, Lith. bitte, in contrast with the masc. fucus the drone, OHG. treno, Lith. tranas; but then the head of the bees is made a king, our weiser (pointer), MHG. wîsel, OHG. wîso, dux, Pliny's 'rex apium,' Lith. bittinis, M. Lat. chosdrus (Ducange sub v.), yet AS. beomôdor, Boh. matka. The Gr. ἑσσήνη is said to have meant originally the king-bee, and to have acquired afterwards the sense of king or priest, as μέλισσα also signified priestess, especially of Demeter and Artemis. Even gods and goddesses themselves are represented by the sacred animal, Zeus (Aristaeus) as a bee, Vishnu as a blue bee. A Roman Mellona (Arnob. 4, 131), or Mellonia (Aug. de civ. Dei 4, 24), was goddess of bees; the Lith. Austheia was the same, jointly with a bee-god Bybylus. Masculine too was the Lett. Uhsinsh, *i.e.*, the hosed one, in reference to bees' legs being covered with wax ('waxen thighs,' Mids. Dream 3, 1). From all these fancies, mostly foreign, we might fairly make guesses about our own lost antiquities; but we should have to get more exact information as to the legend of the *Bee-wolf* (pp. 369, 673) and the mythic relationship of the woodpecker (Lith. melleta) to the bee (see Suppl.).

CHAPTER XXII.

SKY AND STARS.

The visible heavens have in many ways left their mark on the heathen faith. Not only do gods, and the spirits who stand next them, have their dwelling in the sky, and get mixt up with the stars, but earthly beings too, after their dissolution, are transported thither, and distinguished heroes and giants shine as constellations. From the sky the gods descend to earth, along the sky they make their journeys, and through the sky they survey unseen the doings of men. And as all plants turn to the light of heaven, as all souls look up to heaven, so do the smoke of sacrifice and the prayers of mankind mount upwards.

Heaven covers earth, and our word 'himmel' comes from the root *hima* (*tego, involvo, vestio*, Gramm. 2, 55; conf. Lith. *dangus coelum*, from *dengiu tego*; OHG. *himilezi laquear*). The Goths and Old Norsemen agree in preferring the form *himins*, *himinn*, and most other Tentons *himil*; even Swed. Norw. Dan. have *himmel*. The Saxon race has moreover two terms peculiar to itself: one is OS. *hëbhan, hëvan*, AS. *hëofon*, Engl. *heaven*, and still in Lower Saxony and Westphalia, *heben, heven, häven, häwen*. I have endeavoured to make out the area over which this name extends (Gramm. I, xiv.). The Frisians did not use it, for the N. and W. Fris. patois of to-day owns to nothing but 'himmel.'¹ Nor does the Netherl. dialect know it; but it is found in Westphalia, in L. Saxony as far as Holstein, and beyond the Elbe in Mecklenburg and Pomerania. The AS. and Engl. are wholly destitute of the word *himel*; OS., like the present LS. and Westph., employs both terms alike, yet apparently so as to designate by *hëvan* more the visible heaven, and by *himil* the supersensual. Alb. of Halberstadt (ed. 1545, 145^b) uses

¹ *Himel*, Lapekoer fen Gabe scroar, Dimter 1834, p. 101. 103. *hemmel*, Hansens Geizhalz, Sonderbg. 1833. p. 148. *himel*, Friesche wetten 348. *himul*, As. 274.

hëben (rhy. *nëben*) of the place. Reinolt von der Lippe couples the two words: '*himel und hëben von vreuden muz irkrachen,*' burst with joy. People say: '*de heven steit nümmer to*'; '*wenn de heven fallt, ligg wi der all unner*'; '*de sterren an dem häven*'; in Westphalia *hebenscheer* means a sky overcast without rain, and even *heben* alone can signify cloud.¹ In *hävenhüne* (p. 156), in *kukuk vam häven* (p. 676), the physical sense preponderates, whereas one would hardly speak otherwise than of 'going to *himel*,' or *himelrik*. Yet this distinction seems to be comparatively recent: as the AS. *höfon* can be used in a purely spiritual sense, so the poet of our *Heliand* alternates between *himilríki* 149, 8 and *hëbanríki* 143, 24, *himilfader* 145, 12 and *hëbancuning* 143, 20. And of course *himil* had originally, and has everywhere in HG., the physical meaning too; hence *uphimil* in *Hel.* 88, 15, just like *upheofon* in *Cædm.* 270, 24. The root of *hëbhan*, *hëvan*, *höfon*, is probably a lost Gothic, '*hiba, haf,*' cognate with Lat. *capio*, so that it is the all-capacious, ON. *víðfeðmir*, wide-fathom-ing or encompassing sky.²

The other Saxon term may be placed on a level with the Gr. *αἰθήρ* (thin upper air), whilst *himil* and *hëvan* answer to *οὐρανός*; it is OS. *radur*, AS. *rodor*. In *Cædmon* we find *rodor* 183, 19. 207, 8. *uprodor* 179, 10. 182, 15. 205. 2. *rodortungol* (star), 100, 21. *rodorbeorht* 239, 10. Its root RAD lies buried as yet in obscurity; it has disappeared from all modern dialects [except as Rother in proper names?]. I am inclined to connect with it the ON. *röðull* (sol), which has nothing to do with *ranðr* (ruber). From the AS. poets using indifferently '*wuldres gim*' and '*heofones gim*' (*Beow.* 4142. *Andr.* 1269); *heofonbeorht*, *rodorbeorht*, *wuldorbeorht*; *hefontorht*, *swegltorht*, *wuldortorht*; we might almost infer that *wuldor* (glory) originally meant *coelum*, which would throw light on the OHG. name *Woldarhilt*. And the same with *swegel* (aether, *coelum*): conf. *swegles begong*,

¹ Sanskr. *nabas*, Slav. *nëbo* (*coelum*), pl. *nebesá*, Gr. *νέφος*, Lat. *nubes*, *nebula*; Ir. *neaml*, Wel. *nëv*, Armor. *nef*, Lett. *debbes* (*coelum*), *debbess* (*nubes*); conf. Lith. *dangus* above [and sky, *welkin*, with ON. *seʃ*, Germ. *wolke*, *cloud*].

² 'Hills of heaven' are high ones, reaching into the clouds, often used as proper names: *himinfiöll*, *Sæm.* 148^a. *Yngl. saga* cap. 39; *Himinbiörg*, *Sæm.* 41, 92^b is an abode of gods; spirits haunt the *Himilnberg* (*mons coelius*, *Pertz* 2, 10); *Himilsberg* in Hesse (*Kuchenbecker's Anal.* 11, 137. *Arnsb. urk.* 118); a *Himelsberg* in *Vestgötland*, and one in *Halland* (said to be *Heimðall's*); *Himelberg*, *Frauentienst* 199, 10.

Beow. 1713; under *swegle* (sub coelo), Beow. 2149; *sweglráð* (coeli currus), Cod. exon. 355, 47; OS. *suigli*.

I call attention to the AS. *sceldbyrig*, Cædm. 283, 23, which has no business to be translated refugium or sheltering city; it is distinctly our *schildburg* (aula clypeis tecta), a bit of heathenism the poet let fall inadvertently; so the Edda speaks of Valhöll as '*skiöldum þökt, lagt gyltum skiöldum, svâ sem spânþak*,' Sn. 2, thatched with golden shields as with shingle-roof (p. 702 and Suppl.).

Eddic names in Sæm. 49^b. Sn. 177; all masculine, some obviously founded on personification. Heaven is pictured as a husband, embracing the female earth; he is not however admitted into the circle of the gods, like *Oûpavós*, whereas Earth does stand among the goddesses. To us heaven signifies simply a certain space, the residence of gods. Two poetic names for it have reference to that enigmatical being Mîmir (p. 379): *hreggmîmir*, rain-shedder, from *hregg* imber; and *vetmîmir*, moistener? conf. *væta* humor.

To express star, constellation (sidus), our older speech, in addition to *stáirnó*, *stërno*, *stëorra*, *stiarna* (Gramm. 3, 392) and OHG. *himilzeichan* (Hymn. 4, 2), has a symbolical term, OHG. *himilzungâ*, Dint. 1, 526^b and Gl. Doc. 249; OS. *himiltungal*, Hel. 18, 2; AS. *heofontungol*, *rodortungol*; ON. *himintúngl*. Even the simple *tungol* has the same sense in AS., and a Gothic gloss on Gal. 4, 3, gives '*tuggl astrum*,' whilst in ON. *túngl* means the moon. This neuter noun *tungal*, *tungol*, *túngl*, is no doubt from *tunga* (lingua), which word itself appears in OHG. *himilzungâ* (Graff 5, 682): the moon and some of the planets, when partially illuminated, do present the appearance of a tongue or a sickle, and very likely some cosmogonic belief¹ was engrafted on that; I know of nothing like it in other languages.

All the heavenly bodies have particular spots, seats, *chairs* assigned them, which they make their abode and resting-place; they have their lodges and stages (*sterrôno girusti*, O. i. 17, 10). This holds especially of the sun, who daily sinks into his seat

¹ A translation of the tongue to heaven. Or was the twinkling of the stars likened to a *tingling* [züngeln, a quivering flickering motion like that of the tongue]? The moon's steady light does not bear that out, nor the OHG. form without the *l*.

or settle (see Chap. XXIII); but similar chairs (KM. 25), and a seat-going (*sedelgang*) are attributed to all the stars. N. Bth. 210. 223 says, Boötes 'trâgo ze *sedele* gange,' and 'tiu zeichen ne gânt nicht in *sedel*.' As chair and table are things closely connected, the stars may have had tables of their own, or, what comes to the same thing, may have been regarded as *tables* of the sky; in saying which, I am not thinking of the Egyptian sun-table, but more immediately of the '*bioðum* yppa,' sidera extollere, of the Völuspâ (Sæm. 1^b), the three creative 'Börs synir' having set up as it were the tables of the firmament: bioðr is the Goth. biuds, OHG. piot (pp. 38. 68). As the stationary stars had *chairs* and *tables*, the planetary ones, like other gods, had *steeds* and *cars* ascribed to them (see Suppl.).¹

The two principal stars are the *sun* and *moon*, whose gender and appellations I have discussed in Gramm. 3, 349. 350: a MHG. poet calls the sun 'daz *mêrere* licht,' the greater light, Fundgr. 2, 12. It is worth mentioning that some of the Eddic names for the moon are still preserved in patois dialects of Up. Germany. As the dwarfs named the moon *skîn* (jubar), the East Franks call her *schein* (Reinwald's Henneb. id. 2, 159).² In the underworld the moon bore the name of *hverfandi hvel*, whirling wheel, and in Styria (esp. the Bruck distr.) she is *gmoa-rat* (Sartori's Styria, p. 82), if I may translate that by *rota communis*, though it may perhaps mean *gemeiner rath* (*vorrath*), a common provision at the service of all men. That the sun was likened to a *wheel of fire*, and the element blazing out of him was represented in the shape of a wheel, has been fully shewn, p. 620. Tit. 2983 speaks of the *sun's wheel*. The Edda expressly calls the sun *fagrahvel*, fair wheel, Sæm. 50^a Sn. 177. 223. The Norse rune for S is named *sól* sun, the AS. and OHG. *sigil*, *sugil*, for which I have proposed (Andr. p. 96) the readings *segil*, *sagil*, *sahil*, and may now bring in support the Goth. *súuil* and Gr. ἥλιος. But the Gothic letter \odot (= HV) is the very symbol of the sun, and plainly shews the shape of a wheel; we must

¹ *Wagen* waggon belongs to *weg* way, as *carpentum* does to *carpere* (viam); the *car of heaven* is also that of the highest god. Otr. i. 5, 5. says of the herald angel: 'floug er sunnum pad, sterrôno strâza, *wega* volkôno.' The Indians also call the sky *path of clouds*, Somadeva 1, 17. 2, 157.

² So in Mod. Gr. φεγγάρι brilliance, a name whose surprising identity with the ON. *fengari* (Sn. 177) I have already noticed elsewhere.

therefore suppose it to have been the initial of a Goth. *hvil* = AS. *hweol*, ON. *hvél*. From 'hvel' was developed the Icel. *hiol*, Swed. Dan. *hjul*, O. Swed. *hiughl*; and from 'hweol, hweohl' the Engl. *wheel*, Nethl. *wiel*, and Fris. *fial* (Richth. 737). In view of all these variations, some have even ventured to bring in the ON. *jol*, Swed. Dan. *jul* (yule), the name of the winter solstice, and fasten upon it also the meaning of the wheel; on that hypothesis the two forms must have parted company very early, supposing the Gothic name of November *jiuleis* to be cognate.¹ The word *wheel* seems to be of the same root as *while*, Goth. *hweila*, OHG. *huîla*, i.e. revolving time; conf. Goth. *hveila-hvaírbs*, OHG. *huîl-huerbîc*, *volubilis*.

Another symbolic epithet of the sun seems to be of great age: the warlike sentiment of olden times saw in him a gleaming circular *shield*, and we noticed above (p. 700) that the sky itself formed a *sceldbyrig*. Notker cap. 71, finding in his text the words 'sinistra clypeum coruscantem praefererat (Apollo),' translates: 'an dero winsterûn truog er einen rôten skilt,' then adds a remark of his own: 'wanda selbiu diu sunna einemo skilte gelîh ist.' In German law and German poetry we catch the glimmer of these 'red shields.' Even Opitz 2, 286 calls the sun 'the beauteous *shield of heaven*.'

The very oldest and most universal image connected with the sun and other luminaries seems after all to be that of the *eye*. Ancient cosmogonies represent them as created out of eyes. To Persians the sun was the eye of Ahurômazdâo (Ormuzd), to Egyptians the right eye of the Demiurge, to the Greeks the eye of Zeus, to our forefathers that of Wuotan; and a fable in the Edda says Oðinn had to leave one of his eyes in pledge with Mîmir, or hide it in his fountain, and therefore he is pictured as one-eyed. In the one-eyed Cyclop's mouth Ovid puts the words (Met. 13, 851):

Unum est in media lumen mihi fronte, sed instar
ingentis clypei; quid, non haec omnia magno
sol videt e coelo? soli tamen *unicus orbis*.

¹ The Norse initial H is occasionally dropt: in Icel. both *hiula* and *jula* stand for the babbling of infants. The dialect of the Saterland Frisians has an actual *jule*, *jole* (*rota*). It is worthy of notice, that in some parts of Schleswig they used at Christmas-time to roll a *wheel* into the village, and this was called 'at *trills juul i by*,' trundling yule into town; Outzen sub. v. *jól*, p. 145.

Like the giant, the god (Wuotan, the sky) has but one eye, which is a wheel and a shield. In Beow. 1135 ' *beáccen Godes* ' is the sun, the great celestial sign.¹ With this eye the divinity surveys the world, and nothing can escape its peering all-piercing glance²; all the stars *look* down upon men.³ But the ON. poets, not content with treating sun, moon and stars as eyes of heaven, invert the macrocosm, and call the human eye the sun, moon, or star of the skull, forehead, brows and eyelashes; they even call the eye the *shield* of the forehead: a confirmation of the similar name for the sun. Another title they bestow on the sun is ' *gimsteinn himius* ' (gemma coeli); so in AS. ' *heofones gim,* ' Beow. 4142 and ' *wuldres gim,* ' Andr. 1289 (see Suppl.).

And not only is the sun represented as the god's eye looking down, but as his full *face* and *countenance*; and that is how we draw his picture still. Otfried says of the sun being darkened at the Saviour's death, iv. 33, 5 :

In ni liaz si nuzzi thaz scônaz annuzzi,
ni liaz in scânan thuruh thaz ira *gisiuni* blîdaz.

The Edda speaks of the *sun* and *moon* as brother and sister, children of a mythic *Mundilföri*. Several nations beside the Lithuanians and Arabs (Gramm. 3, 351) agree with us in imagining the moon masculine and the sun feminine. The Mexican *Meztli* (luna) is a man; the Greenlanders think of *Anningat*, the moon, as pursuing his sister *Mallina*, the sun. An Ital. story (Pentam. 5, 5) makes *Sole* and *Luna* children of *Tulia* (in Perrault they are named Jour and Aurore). The Slavs make the moon masc., a star fem., the sun neut.; thus in a Servian lay (Vuk 1, 134), God calls the sun (suntse, Russ. solntse, -tse dim. suff.) his child (chedo), the moon (mesets) being its brother, and the star (zvezda) its sister. To think of the stars as children or young suns is nothing out of the way. Wolfram says in Wh. 254, 5: ' *jungiu sünnelîn möhten wahsen.* '

¹ The Servians call the deepest part of a lake *oko* (eye), Vuk's Montenegro 62.

² When the Iliad 14, 344 says:

*οὐδ' ἂν νῶϊ διαδράκοι Ἥελίος περ,
οὔτε καὶ ὄξύτατον πέλεται φάος εἰσοράσθαι,*

it resembles the lay of Wolfram 8, 28 :

Obe der sunnen dri mit blicke wæren (if there were 3 suns looking),
sin möhten zwischen si geliuhten (they could not shine in between).

³ Πῆρεσβιστον ἄστρον νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός, Aesch. Sept. c. Th. 390.

Down to recent times, our people were fond of calling the sun and moon *fräu sonne* and *herr mond*.¹ Aventin 19^b: '*fräu Sonne geht zu rast und gnaden.*' In the country between the Inn and Salzach they say '*der hêr Mân,*' meaning no more than simply moon, Schm. 2, 230. 582. Gesner in Mithrid., Tur. 1555, p. 28: '*audio veteres Germanos Lunum quoque deum coluisse et appellasse hermon, id est dominum Lunum, quod forte parum animadvertentes aliqui ad Hermann, i.e. Mercurium translulerunt;*' this last guess has missed the mark. Hulderic. Eyben de titulo nobilis, Helmst. 1677. 4, p. 136: '*qua etiam ratione in veteri idololatrio luna non domina, dominus appellatur:*

bis gottwillkommen, *neuer mon, holder herr,*
mach mir meines geldes mehr!²

Also in Nicolaus Magni de Gawe (Superst. E, 10): '*vetulam novi, quae credidit solem esse deam, vocans eam sanctam dominam;*' and earlier still in Eligius (Sup. A): '*nullus dominos solem aut lunam vocet.*'³

In these invocations lingers the last vestige of a heathen worship; perhaps also in the *sonnenlehn*, sun-fief (RA. 278)? I have spoken on *bowing* to the sun, p. 31, and *cursing* by him, '*der sunnen haz varn,*' p. 19, where he is made equal to a deity.⁴ In the same way the *knees were bent* and the head bared to the *new moon* (Sup. E, .11). In taking an oath the fingers were extended *toward the sun* (Weisth. 3, 349); and even Tacitus in Ann. 13, 55 relates of Bojocalus: '*solem respiciens et cetera sidera vocans, quasi coram interrogabat, vellentne intueri inane solum*' (see Suppl.).

That to our remote ancestry the heavenly bodies, especially the sun and moon, were divine beings, will not admit of any doubt. Not only do such symbolic expressions as 'face, eye, tongue, wheel, shield, table, car' bring us face to face with a vivid personification; we have also seen how significantly Caesar

¹ *Frau Sonne* (Görres Meisterl. 184). Hence in O.Fr. *Solaus*, without the article, Bekker on Ferabras p. 163.

² His authority is Dynkelspuhl tract. 1, praec. 1, p. 59. Is this the Nicolaus Dinkelspuhl in Jöcher?

³ Conf. the wind addressed as *lord*, p. 631; and *dobropan*, p. 130 note.

⁴ Some would trace the name of Salzwedel, Soltwedel in the Altmark to heathen sun-worship, (Ledebur's Allg. arch. 14, 370. Temme's Altmark p. 29), though the first syll. plainly means salt; 'wedel' will be explained when we come to the moon.

couples together *Sol*, *Vulcanus* and *Iuna*, p. 103. conf. p. 602. As *Sól* is reckoned among *âsins* in the *Edda* (Sn. 39), and is sister to *Máni* (Sn. 12), this last has claims to an equal rank. Yet Sæm. 1^b calls *Sól* ‘*sinni Mâna*,’ companion of the moon, *sinni* being the Goth. *gasinþja*, OHG. *kasindeo*, *sindo*; and it is remarkable that the Merseburg Lay gives the divine *Sunnô* not a companion brother, but a sister *Sindgund* (supra p. 308), whose name however still expresses attendance, escort;¹ may she have been a morning or evening star? We should have to know first, what distinction a dim remote antiquity made between *sáuil* and *sunno* in respect of gender and mythical use; if ‘*sáuil*, *sagil*,’ like *sol* and *ἥλιος*, was masc., then *Sunnô* and *Sindgund* might be imagined as female moons like *Luna* and *Σελήνη*, yet *sól* is always fem. in ON., and our *sunne* so late as in MHG. strangely wavers between the two sexes, Gramm. 3, 350 (see Suppl.).

Be that as it may, we have a right to add in support of the sun’s divinity, that ‘she’ is described like other gods (pp. 17. 26. 324), as *blithe*, *sweet* and *gracious*. O. iv. 33, 6 speaks of her ‘*gisiumi blîdaz*, thes *sih ioh worolt frewita*,’ whereof the world had aye rejoiced; and a 13th cent. poem (*Zeitschr. f. d. alt.* 1, 493-4) thus describes the greetings addressed to her:

Wol dir <i>frouwe Sunne</i> !	‘Hail to thee, Lady Sun!’
du bist al der werlt wunne!	Art all the world’s delight.’
sô ir die Sunnen <i>vrvô</i> sehet,	When ye see the sun glad,
schœnes tages ir ir jehet,	The fair day to her ye ascribe,
der êren ir der Sunnen jehet,	To her ye give the honour,
swenn ir si in liechtem schîne sehet.	Whenever ye see, etc.

Other passages in point are reserved for next chapter.

The personality of the sun and moon shews itself moreover in a fiction that has wellnigh gone the round of the world. These two, in their unceasing unflagging career through the void of heaven, appear to be in flight, avoiding some pursuer. A pair of wolves are on their track, *Sköll* dogging the steps of the sun, *Hati* of the moon; they come of a giant race, the mightiest of whom, *Mânagarmr* (moon-dog), apparently but another name for *Hati*, is sure some day to *overtake and swallow the moon*. How

¹ Conf. *sunnahta*, *sunniht* (*solis iter*), p. 617 n., and *sunnan siðfet* (*iter*), *Cædm.* 182, 25.

extensively this tradition prevailed, has already been shewn (pp. 244-5).¹ A parhelion or mock-sun (vädersol) is in Swed. called *solvarg, solulf*, sun-wolf, Ihre's Dial. lex. 165.

One of the most terrific phenomena to heathens was an *eclipse* of the sun or moon, which they associated with a destruction of all things and the end of the world; they fancied the monster had already got a part of the shining orb between his jaws, and they tried to scare him away by loud cries. This is what Eligius denounces (Superst. A): 'nullus, si quando *luna obscuratur, vociferare* praesumat;' it is the cry of 'vince luna!' ² that the Indicul. paganiar. means in cap. 21 de defectione lunae, and Burchard (Sup. C, 193^b) by his '*clamoribus* aut auxilio *splendorem lunae deficientis restaurare.*' The Norse writings, while minutely describing the threatened deglutition, make no allusion to the shouting: it may have been more customary with Celts and Romans than with Teutons. A 5th cent. father, St. Maximus of Turin, in a Homilia de defectu lunae, preaches thus: 'Cum ante dies plerosque de vestrae avaritiae cupiditate pulsaverim, ipsa die circa vesperam tanta vociferatio populi exstitit, ut irreligiositas ejus penetraret ad coelum. Quod quum requirerem, quid sibi clamor hic velit, dixerunt mihi, quod *laboranti lunae* vestra *vociferatio subveniret, et defectum ejus suis clamoribus adjuvaret.*' ³ The same 'laborans' (in distress) is used by Juvenal 6, 442:

Jam nemo tubas, nemo aera fatiget;
una *laboranti* poterit *succurrere lunae.*⁴

I may safely assume that the same superstitious notions and practices attend eclipses among nations ancient and modern.⁵ The Indian belief is, that a serpent eats up the sun and moon when they are eclipsed (Bopp's Gloss. 148^a), or a demon (râhus) devours them (Bopp's Nalas, pp. 153. 272. Somadeva 2, 15. 187).

¹ I add from Fischart's Garg. 130^b: 'sah den *wolf* des *mons.*' Rabelais 1, 11 has: *la lune des loups*. In old calendars, eclipses are represented by two dragons holding the sun and moon in their mouths, Mone's Untersuch. p. 183.

² This would be in OHG. 'Karih mâno!' in Goth. 'jiukái mēna!' but we find nothing of the kind even later.

³ Ducange 6, 1618 quotes the passage sub v. *vinceluna*; but the reprint of the Hom. Maximî taurin. 'De defectu lunae' (in Mabillon's Mus. Ital., tom. i. pars 2, pp. 19. 20) has it not.

⁴ Conr. Tac. Annal. 1, 28 and Boeth. de consol. 4 metr. 5: 'lassant crebris pulsibus aëra.'

⁵ It is only among Greeks and Slavs that I have not come across them.

To this day the Hindus consider that a giant lays hold of the luminaries, and tries to swallow them (Broughton's Pop. poetry of Hind. p. 131). The Chinese call the solar eclipse *zhishi* (*solis devoratio*), the lunar *yueshi* (*lunae devoratio*), and ascribe them both to the machinations of a dragon. Nearly all the populations of Northern Asia hold the same opinion: the Tchuvashes use the phrase 'vubur siat,' daemon comedit (Guil. Schott de lingua Tschuw, p. 5); the Finns of Europe have a similar belief, the Esthonians say the sun or moon 'is being eaten,' and formerly they sought to hinder it by conjuring spells (Thom. Hiärn, Mitau 1794 p. 39). The Lithuanians think a demon (Tiknis or Tiklis) attacks the chariot of the sun, then darkness arises, and all creatures are in fear lest the dear sun be worsted; it has been staved off for a long time, but it must come to that at the end of the world (Narbutt 1, 127. 142). In eclipses of the moon, the Greenlanders carry boxes and kettles to the roofs of their houses, and beat on them as hard as they can (Cranz's Grönland 3, 294). An English traveller says of the Moors in Africa: When the sun's eclipse was at its height, we saw the people running about as if mad, and firing their rifles at the sun, to frighten the monster who they supposed was wishing to devour the orb of day. The plains and heights of Tripoli resounded with the death-dirge (the cry 'wulliali wu!'), and the same all along the coast. The women banged copper vessels together, making such a din that it was heard leagues away (see Suppl.).¹

A Mongolian myth makes out that the gods determined to punish Arakho for his misdeeds, but he hid so effectually, that no one could find out his lurkingplace. They therefore asked the sun, who gave an unsatisfactory answer; but when they asked the moon, she disclosed his whereabouts. So Arakho was dragged forth and chastised; in revenge of which, he pursues both sun and moon, and whenever he comes to hand-grips with one of them, an eclipse occurs. To help the lights of heaven in their sad plight, a tremendous uproar is made with musical and other instruments, till Arakho is scared away.² Here a noticeable

¹ Morgenblatt 1817 p. 159^a; conf. Niebuhr's Beschr. Arab. 119. 120.

² Benj. Bergmann's Nomad. streifereien 3, 41. Acc. to Georgii Alphab. tibetan. p. 189, it is monsters called Tracehn, with their upper parts shaped like men, and the lower like snakes, that lie in wait for the sun and moon. [South of L. Baikal it is the king of hell that tries to swallow the moon.—TRANS.]

feature is the *inquiry* made of the *sun and moon*, who overlook the world and know all secrets (Castrén's *Myth.* 62). So in our fairytales the seeker asks of the *sun, moon and stars* (Kinderm. no. 25. 88; conf. 3, 218-9), some of whom are found helpful and sympathizing, others cruel and cannibal (Vuk no. 10). In Serbian songs the *moon* and the *morningstar* (*danitsa*) hold a colloquy on the affairs of men (Vuk 3, 3). During an eclipse of the sun (I don't know whether of the moon also) our people cover the wells up, else their water would turn impure, Superst. I, 589.

Is there a trace of moon-worship to be found in the fact that people had an image of the moon carved on rocks and stones that marked a boundary? In R.A. 542 an Alamannic doc. of 1155 is given, which traces the custom all the way up to king Dagobert. In Westphalian docs. as late as the 17th cent. I find *halfmonds-schnad-stones*,¹ unless the word halfmoon here means something else.

In Bavaria there is a Mondsee, OHG. *Máninsêo* (lunae lacus), in Austria a *Mánhart* (lunae silva, ἡ Λούνα ἕλη in Ptolemy);² we may safely credit both with mythic associations.

As time is more easily reckoned by the changes of the moon, which visibly mark off the week (p. 126-7), than by the sun, our ancestors seem to have had, beside the solar year, a lunar one for common use, whose thirteen months answered to the twelve of the solar year. The recurring period of from 29 to 30 days was therefore called *ménôps, mânód*, from *mêna, mânô*. Hence also it was natural to count by *nights*, not days: 'nec dierum numerum sed *noctium* computant, sic constituunt, sic condicunt, nox ducere diem videtur,' Tac. Germ. c. 11. And much in the same way, the year was named by its *winter*, which holds the same relation to summer as night to day. A section of time was measured by the number of se'ennights, fortnights, months or winters it contained.

And that is also the reason why the phases of the moon had such a commanding influence on important undertakings. They are what Jornandes cap. 11 calls *lunae commoda incommodaque*. It is true, the performance of any kind of work was governed by

¹ Defence of Wulften castle, Vienna 1766. suppl. p. 71-2. 162.

² Can Manhart have come from Maginhart? Helbl. 13, 190 has *Meinharts-berc*.

the day and solar time, whether of warriors (RA. 297), or of servants (353), or of tribunals especially (814-6). If, on the other hand, some new and weighty matter was to be taken in hand, they consulted the moon; which does not mean that the consultation was held or the action begun in the night, but on those days whose nights had an auspicious phase of the moon: 'coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum inciderit, certis diebus, quum aut inchoatur luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspiciatissimum initium credunt,' Tac. Germ. 11. So in Tac. Ann. 1, 50 a *nox illunis* is chosen for a festival.

Now the moon presents two distinct appearances, one each fortnight, which are indicated in the passage just quoted: either she is beginning her course, or she has attained her full orb of light. From the one point she steadily increases, from the other she declines. The shapes she assumes between are not so sharply defined to the sense.

Her invisibility lasts only the one night between the disappearance of her last quarter and the appearance of her first, at new-moon (conjunction of sun and moon); in like manner, full-moon lasts from the moment she attains perfect sphericity till she loses it again. But in common parlance that 'nox illunis' is included in the new-moon, and similarly the decline is made to begin simultaneously with the full.

¹The Gothic for *πανσέληνον* was *fulliþs* m., or *fulliþ* n. (gen. pl. *fulliþê*), from which we may also infer a *niujþs* for *νομήνια*. Curiously, this last is rendered *fulliþ* in Col. 2, 16, which to my mind is a mere oversight, and not to be explained by the supposition that the Goths looked upon full-moon as the grander festival. The AS. too must have called full-moon *fylleð*, to judge by the name of the month 'winterfyllið,' which, says Bede (de temp. rat. 13), was so named 'ab hieme et plenilunio'; but the later writers have only *niwe mōna* and *full mōna*. So there may have been an OHG. *niuwid* and *fullid*, though we can only lay our finger on the neuters *niumāni* and *folmāni*,¹ to which Graff 2, 222 adds a *niwilune*; MHG. *daz niuwæne* and *volmwæne*, the last in Trist. 9464. 11086. 11513 (see Suppl.).

¹ Also *niuwewer māno*, N. ps. 80, 4. *foller māno*, ps. 88, 38. In Cap. 107-8 he uses *vol* and *wan* (empty), and in Cap. 147 *hornacht*, *halbschaftig* and *fol*; conf. Hel. 111, 8 *wanod* *ohtho wahsid*.

In ON. the two periods are named by the neuters ‘*ný* ok *nið*,’ habitually alliterating; *ný* answers to novilunium, it signifies the new light, and *nið* the declining, dwindling, from the lost root *niða* *nað*, from which also come the adv. *niðr* (deorsum) and the noun *náð* (quies, OHG. *ginâda*). So that *ný* lasts from the beginning of the first quarter to the full, and *nið* from the decrease of the full to the extinction of light in the last quarter. The two touch one another at the border-line between the faintest streaks of waxing and of waning brightness. But *nið* meant especially the absence of moonlight (interlunium), and *niðamyrkr* total darkness (luna silens). Kind gods created these for men of old to tell the year by: ‘*ný* ok *nið* skôpo nýt regin öldum at âr-tali,’¹ Sæm. 34^a. ‘*Máni* stýrir göngu tângls, oc ræðr *nýjum* oc *niðum*,’ Sn. 12, *Máni* steers the going of the moon, and rules new moons and full. Probably even here personification comes into play, for in *Völuspâ* 11 (Sæm. 2^b) *Nýji* and *Niði* are dwarfs, *i.e.* spirits of the sky, who are connected, we do not exactly know how, with those lunar phases *ný* ok *nið*.² Of changeful things it is said ‘þat gengr eptir *nýum* ok *niðum*,’ *res alternatur et subit lunae vices*. O. Swed. laws have the formula ‘*ny* oc *niðar*,’ for ‘at all times, under any phase,’ *Gutalagh* p. 103. So ‘*i ny* ok *niða*,’ *Sudh. bygn.* 32. *Upl. vidh.* 28, 1. *Vestg. thiuv.* 22, 1; but here the second word seems to have given up its neut. form, and passed into a personal and masc. *Mod. Swed.* has ‘*ny* och *nedan*’; *Dan.* ‘*ny* og *næ*,’ ‘det gaaer efter *nye* og *næe*,’ ‘hverken *i nye* eller *næ*,’ *i.e.* never, ‘naar *nyet* tændes,’ *quando nova luna incenditur*; this *næ* was in *O. Dan. ned, need*. To the *niðamyrkr* above answers a *Swed. nedmörk*, pitchdark. The Norse terminology differs in so far from the *H. Germ.*, that it expresses the total obscuration by *nið*, while we designate it by *neumond* (*i.e.* *ný*); with us new-moon is opposed to full-moon, with the Scandinavians *nið* to *ný*, each of them standing for one half of the moon’s course. Since a mention of the first and last quarters has come into use, full-moon and new-moon signify simply the points of fullness and vacancy that lie between; and now the Swedes and Danes have equally adopted a *fullmåne*, *fuldmaane*, as counter-

¹ Acc. to *Alvismâl*, the álfar call the moon *ârtali* (OHG. *jârzalo*?), Sæm. 49^b.

² Comp. with ‘*nið* ok *ný*’ the *Gr. ἐρη καὶ νέα*.

part to *nymâne*, *nymaane*, whereby the old 'ned, næ' has become superfluous, and the meaning of 'ny' somewhat modified.¹

Though the OHG. remains do not offer us a neuter *niuvi*,² such a form may have existed, to match the Norse *ný*, seeing that the Mühlhausen statute of the 13th cent. (Grasshof p. 252), in granting the stranger that would settle in the town a month's time for the attempt, says 'ein *nuwe* und ein *wedil*, daz sint vier wochin;' that Martin von Amberg's Beichtspiegel has 'das *vol* und das *neu*,' Dasypodius still later 'das *newe*, interlunium,' and Tobler 331^b 'das *neu*, der wachsende mond.' For the waning moon, Tobler 404^b gives '*nid* si gehender (going down),' which reminds one of *nið*; otherwise 'der *schwined* mo,' OHG. 'diu *suîmenta mâuin*,' N. ps. 88, 38, its opposite being 'diu *folla*' (see Suppl.).

I have yet to bring forward another expression of wide range and presumably old, which is used by turns for one and another phase of the moon's light, oftenest for plenilunium, but sometimes also for interlunium: MHG. *wedel*: 'im was unkunt des mânen *wedel*,' Martina 181^c; NHG. *wadel*, *wâdel*, but more among the common folk and in the chase than in written speech. Pictorius 480, Stald. 2, 456, Tobler 441^b have *wedel*, *wâdel* full-moon, *wâdeln* to become full-moon, when her horns meet, *i.e.*, when she completes her circle. Keisersperg's Postille 138^b: 'ietz so ist er nüw, ietz fol, ietz alt, ietz die erst quart, ietz die ander quart, ietz *ist es wedel*'; here full-moon and *wedel* are not so clearly defined as in another passage of Keisersperg (Oberlin 1957) on March: 'wan es ist sein *wedel*, sein volmon.' In Dasypodius: 'plenilunium, der volmon, *wâdel*.'³ The Germans in Bohemia commonly use *wâdel* for full-moon, and Schm. 4, 22 produces other notable authorities. But the word is known in Lower Germany too; Böhmer's Kantzow p. 266 spells it *wadel*,⁴

¹ Modern Icel. names are: *bláný* (black new, interlunium); *þrim* (nova luna), also *nýqveikt tungl*; *hálfvaxid tungl* (first quarter); *fullt tungl* (plenilunium); *hálfþrotid tungl* (last quarter). Here too the old names have gone out of use, 'bláný' replaces *nið*, and 'þrim' *ný*.

² Notker's Capella 100 has 'mânen niwi' fem.

³ Yet under luna he has 'plenilunium vollmon oder *bruch*,' and the same under *bruch* (=abbruch) a breaking off, falling off, defectus; which confirms my view, that we reckon the wane from full-moon itself (Wtb. 2, 408). Acc. to Muchar's Noricum 2, 36 the waxing and waning moon are called the *gesunde* and the *krankte man* (well and ill).

⁴ Following Tacitus, he says, the Germani always chose either new or full-moon, for *after the wadel* they thought it unlucky. *Wadel* then comprehends the two phases of new and full moon, but seems to exclude those of the first and last quarter.

the Brem. wtb. 5, 166 '*waal*, vollmond' (like aal for adel, a swamp), and Kilian '*waedel*, senium lunae.' From the phraseology of Superst. I, 973 one would take *wädel* to be a general name for the moon, whether waxing or waning, for 'the bad wädel' [new-moon] surely implies a good wädel favourable to the operation. Now *wadel*, *wedel* means that which wags to and fro, and is used of an animal's tail, flabrum, flabellum, cauda; it must either, like *zungâ* and *tûngl*, refer to the tip or streak of light in the crescent moon, or imply that the moon cruises about in the sky.¹ The latter explanation fits a passage in the AS. poem on Finnesburg fight, line 14: '*nû scîneð þes môna waðol under wolenum*,' i.e., the moon walking [wading] among the clouds, *waðol* being taken for the adj. *vagus*, *vagabundus*. Probably even the OHG. *wadal* was applied to the moon, as an adj. *vagus* (Graff I, 776), or as a subst. *flabellum* (I, 662). But, as this subst. not only signifies *flabellum* [whisk], but *fasciculus* [wisp], the name may ultimately be connected with the bundle of brushwood that a myth (to be presently noticed) puts in the spots of the full-moon (see Suppl.).

Lith. *júunas menû* novilunium, *pilnatis* plenilunium, *puspilis* first quarter, *pusedylis* last qu., *delezia* luna decrescens, lit. trunca, worn away, *tarpijos* interlunium (from tarp, inter); *puspilis* means half-full, *pusedylis* half-worn, from the same root as *delezia* truncation, decrease. There is also a '*menû tusezias*,' vacant moon; and the sickle-shaped half-moon is called *dalgakynos*. Lettic: *jauns mehnes* novilun., *pilna mehnes* plenilun., *mehnes punte* luna accrescens, *wezza mehnes*² luna senescens.—Finnic: *uusikuu* novil., *täysikuu* plenil., *ylikuu* luna accr., *alakuu* decr., formed with *nusi* novus, *täysi* plenus, *yli* superus, *ala* inferus, which supports our explanation of the ON. *nið*.—The Servians divide thus: *miyena* novil., *mladina* luna accr., lit. young, *puna* plenil., *ushtap* luna decr. Slovèn *mlay*, *mlad* novil., *polna* plenil., *ship* plenil., but no doubt also luna decr., from *shipati* to nip, impair. Pol. *now* and Boh. *nowy* novil., Pol. *pełnia* and Boh.

¹ The Engl. *waddle*, which is the same word, would graphically express the oscillation of the (visible) moon from side to side of her path; and if *wedel* meant that oscillation, it would apply equally to new and to full moon.—TRANS.

² *Wezza mehnes*, the old moon. In a Scotch ballad: 'I saw the new moon late yestreen wi' he auld moon in her arm.' Jamieson I, 159. Percy I, 78. Halliwell pp. 167-8.

auplnck plenil. Here we see another instance of the ruder races having more various and picturesque names for natural phenomena, which among the more cultivated are replaced by abstract and uniform ones. No doubt Teutonic speech in its various branches once possessed other names beside *nið* and *wadel*.

Tacitus merely tells us that the Germani held their assemblies at new moon or full moon, not that the two periods were thought equally favourable to all enterprises without distinction. We may guess that some matters were more suitable to new moon, others to full; the one would inspire by its freshness, the other by its fulness.¹

Caesar I, 50 reports to us the declaration of wise women in the camp of Ariovistus: 'non esse fas Germanos superare, si *ante novam lunam* proelio contendissent.' A happy issue to the battle was expected, at all events in this particular instance, only if it were fought at new moon.

As far as I can make out from later remnants of German superstition, with which that of Scotland should be compared (Chambers 35^b. 36^a), *new-moon*, addressed by way of distinction as 'gracious lord' p. 704, is an auspicious time for commencements properly speaking. Marriages are to be concluded in it, houses to be built: 'novam lunam observasti pro domo facienda aut conjugii sociandis' (Sup. C, 193^b), the latter just the same in Esth. Sup. no. 1. Into a new house you must move at new moon (Sup. I, 429), not at the wane (498); count money by the new moon (223), she will increase your store (conf. p. 704); on the other hand, she loves not to look into an empty purse (107). All through, the notion is that money, married bliss and house stores will thrive and grow with the growing light. So the hair and nails are cut at new-moon (French Sup. 5. Schütze's Holst. id. 3, 68), to give them a good chance of growing; cattle are weaned in the waxing light (I, 757), in the waning they would get lean; Lith. Sup. 11 says, let girls be weaned at the wane,

¹ New-moon was peculiarly holy to ancient peoples, thus to the Greeks the *ἐνη και νέα*, which was also expressed by *ἐνη* alone = Sanskr. *amā* (new moon). The return of Odysseus was expected at that season, Od. 14, 162:

τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἰσταμένοιο.

Râmâ's birth is fixed for the new-moon after vernal equinox (Schlegel on Râmây. i. 19, 2). Probably bealteine were lighted at this new-moon of spring.

boys at the full, probably to give the one a slim elegant figure, and the other a stout and strong. Healing herbs and pure dew are to be gathered at new-moon (tou an *des mánen niwi* gelesen, N. Cap. 100, conf. 25), for then they are fresh and unalloyed. When it says in I, 764 that weddings should take place at full-moon, and in 238 that a new dwelling should be entered with the waxing or full moon, this full-moon seems to denote simply the utmost of the growing light, without the accessory notion of incipient decline. If our ancestors as a rule fought their battles at new-moon, they must have had in their eye the springing up of victory to themselves, not the defeat and downfall of the enemy.¹

At *full-moon* (as opposed to new), i.e. by a waning light, you were to perform operations involving severance or dissolution, cutting down or levelling. Thus, if I understand it rightly, a marriage would have to be annulled, a house pulled down, a pestilence stamped out, when the moon is on the wane. Under this head comes in the rule to cut wood in the forest when it is wadel, apparently that the timber felled may dry. In a Calendar printed by Hupfuff, Strasb. 1511: 'with the moon's wedel 'tis good to begin the hewing of wood.' The same precept is still given in many modern forest-books, and full-moon is therefore called *holz-wadel*: 'in the bad wädel (crescent moon) fell no timber,' Sup. I, 973. In Keisersperg's *Menschl. baum*, Strasb. 1521, 19: 'Alway in wedel are trees to be hewn, and game to be shot.'² Grass is not to be mown at new, but at full moon (Lith. Sup. 7); that the hay may dry quickly? and treasures must be lifted at full-moon. If a bed be stuffed when the moon is growing, the feathers will not lie (I, 372. 914); this operation too requires a waning light, as if to kill the new-plucked feathers completely, and bring them to rest. If you open trenches by a waxing moon, they will soon grow together again; if by a waning, they keep on getting deeper and wider. To open a vein with the moon declining, makes the blood press downwards and

¹ The Esthonians say to the new-moon: 'Hail, moon! may you grow old, and I keep young!' Thom. Hiärne p. 40.

² In Demerara grows a tree like the mahogany, called walala; if cut down at new-moon, the wood is tough and hard to split, if at full, it is soft and splits easily. Bamboo planks cut at new-moon last ten years, those cut at full-moon rot within the year.

load the legs (Tobler 404^b); set about it therefore by the mounting moonlight. Vuk sub v. miyena says, the Servian women will wash never a shirt at new-moon, they declare all the linen would get mooned (omiyeniti) in the water, i.e. bulge and pucker, and soon tear; one might find another reason too for washing by the waning moon, that stains and dirt should disappear with the dwindling light (see Suppl.).

Behind superstitious practices I have tried to discover a meaning, which may possibly come near their original signification. Such symbolical coupling of means and end was at all events not foreign to antiquity anywhere: the holy water floats all misfortune away with it (p. 589), the spray from the millwheel scatters all sickness (p. 593). So the sufferer stands with his face to the waning moon, and prays: 'as thou deceasest, let my pains diminish' (I, 245); he can also go on the other tack, and cry to the new moon: 'may what I see increase, and what I suffer cease' (492). Turning the face toward the luminary I take to be a relic of heathen moon-worship.¹

Superstitions of this kind have long been banished to the narrower limits of agriculture and cattle-breeding; we should arrive at a clearer knowledge of them, had their bearing on public life been described for us in early times. Observation of the lunar changes must in many ways have influenced sacrifices, the casting of lots and the conduct of war. Some things now appear bewildering, because we cannot review all the circumstances, and some no doubt were different in different nations. German superstition (I, 856) thinks it a calamity for the master of the house to die during the moon's decline, for then the whole family will fall away; the Esthonian view (41) is, that a death at new-moon is unlucky, perhaps because more will follow? Fruits that grow *above ground* are to be sown at the waxing, those *under ground* at the waning (Jul. Schmidt p. 122); not so Westendorp p. 129: 'dat *boven den grond* wast, by *afnemende maan*, dat *onder den grond* wast, by *toenemende maan te zaaien*.' Gutschlaf (Wöhlanda p. 49, conf. errata) remarks, that winter-crops are not to be sown while the moon stands at the idle quarter (third,

¹ Whoever at play turns his back to the moon, has bad luck (I, 801). But the seaman in his hammock takes care not to face the full-moon, lest he be struck with blindness.

kus se kuh määl). In the sermon of Eligius (Sup. A), the sentence ‘nec luna nova quisquam timeat aliquid operis arripere’ is unintelligible so long as we do not know what sort of operation is meant.

The *spots* or shady depressions on the full-moon’s disc have given rise to grotesque but similar myths in several nations. To the common people in India they look like a *hare*, i.e. Chandras the god of the moon carries a *hare* (sasa), hence the moon is called sasin or sasânka, hare mark or spot.¹ The Mongolian doctrine also sees in these shadows the figure of a *hare*.² Bogdo Jagjamuni or Shigemuni [the Buddha Sakyâ-muni], supreme ruler of the sky, once changed himself into a *hare*, simply to serve as food to a starving traveller; in honour of which meritorious deed Khormusta, whom the Mongols revere as chief of the tenggri [genii], placed the figure of a hare in the moon. The people of Ceylon relate as follows: While Buddha the great god sojourned upon earth as a hermit, he one day lost his way in a wood. He had wandered long, when a *hare* accosted him: ‘Cannot I help thee? strike into the path on thy right, I will guide thee out of the wilderness.’ Buddha replied: ‘Thank thee, but I am poor and hungry, and unable to repay thy kindness.’ ‘If thou art hungry,’ said the hare, ‘light a fire, and kill, roast and eat me.’ Buddha made a fire, and the hare immediately jumped in. Then did Buddha manifest his divine power, he snatched the beast out of the flames, and set him in the moon, where he may be seen to this day.³ To the Greenlander’s fancy these spots are the marks of Malina’s fingers, with which she touched the fine reindeer pelisse of Anninga (Majer’s Myth. taschenb. 1811. p. 15).

An ON. fable tells us, that Mâni (the moon) took two children, Bil and Hiuki, away from the earth, just as they were drawing water from the well Byrgir, and carrying the pail Sægr on the pole Simul between their shoulders. These children walk behind

¹ Schlegel’s Ind. bibl. 1, 217. Acc. to Bopp’s Gloss. 346^a, a Sanskrit name for the moon means *lepore praeditus*, *leporem gerens*.

² Bergmann’s Streifer. 3, 40. 204. Majer’s Myth. wtb. 1, 540.

³ Douce’s Illustr. of Shaksp. 1, 16 from the lips of a French traveller, whose telescope the Cingalese had often borrowed, to have a good look at the hare in the moon.

Máni, as one may see from the earth (svá sem síá má af iörðu), Sn. 12. That not the moon's phases but her spots are here meant, is plain enough from the figure itself. No change of the moon could suggest the image of *two children with a pail slung on their shoulders*. Moreover, to this day the Swedish people see in the spots of the moon two persons carrying a big *bucket on a pole*.¹ *Bil* was probably a girl, and *Hiuki* a boy, the former apparently the same as the *âsynja* named together with *Sól* in Sn. 39; there it is spelt *Bil*, but without sufficient reason; the neuter 'bil' signifies momentum, interstitium, a meaning that would suit any appearance of the moon (conf. p. 374 on OHG. pil). What is most important for us, out of this heathen fancy of a *kidnapping man of the moon*, which, apart from Scandinavia, was doubtless in vogue all over Teutondom, if not farther, there has evolved itself since a christian adaptation. They say the man in the moon is a *wood-stealer*, who during church time on the holy sabbath committed a trespass in the wood, and was then transported to the moon as a punishment; there he may be seen with the *axe on his back* and the *bundle of brushwood* (*dornwelle*) *in his hand*. Plainly enough the water-pole of the heathen story has been transformed into the axe's shaft, and the carried pail into the thornbush; the general idea of theft was retained, but special stress laid on the keeping of the christian holiday; the man suffers punishment not so much for cutting firewood, as because he did it on a Sunday.² The interpolation is founded on Numb. 15, 32-6, where we are told of a man that gathered sticks on the sabbath, and was stoned to death by the congregation of Israel, but no mention is made of the moon and her spots. As to when this story first appeared in Germany I have no means of telling, it is almost universally prevalent now;³ in case the full-moon's name of *wadel*, *wedel* in the sense of a *bunch of twigs*⁴

¹ Dalin 1, 158: men ännu fins den meningen bland vår almoge. Ling's Eddornas sinnebildslära 1, 78: ännu säger allmänheten i Södraswerge, att måuens fläckar äro tvenne varelser, som bära en bryggså (bridge-bucket, slung pail).

² A Westphalian story says, the man dressed the church with thorns on Sunday, and was therefore put, bundle and all, into the moon.

³ Hebel has made a pretty song about it, pp. 86-9: 'ne het em gsait der *Dieterle*,' on which Schm. 2, 583 asks: is this Dietrich of Bern, translated in classic fashion to the sky? We must first make sure that the poet found the name already in the tradition.

⁴ In the Henneberg distr. *wadel* means brushwood, twigs tied up in a bundle, esp. fir-twigs, *wadeln* to tie up brushwood (Reinwald 2, 137); this may however come from the practice of cutting wood at full-moon.

has itself arisen out of the story (p. 712), it must be of pretty high antiquity. In Tobler's Appenzell sprachsch. 20^b we are told: An arma ma (a poor man) het alawil am sonnti holz ufg'lesa (picked up wood). Do hed em der liebe Gott d'wahl g'loh (let him choose), öb er lieber wött i' der sonn verbrenna, oder im mo' verfrüra (burn in sun, or freeze in moon. Var.: in'n kalta mo' ihi, oder i' d' höll abi). Do will' er lieber in'n mo' ihi. Dromm sied ma' no' ietz an' ma' im mo' inna, wenn's wedel ist. Er hed a' *püscheli* uff'em rogga (bush on his back). Kuhn's Märk. sagen nos. 27. 104. 130 give us three different accounts: in one a broom-maker has bound twigs (or a woman has spun) on a Sunday, in another a man has spread manure, in the third he has stolen cabbage-stumps; and the figure with the bunch of twigs (or the spindle), with the dungfork, with the cabbage-stalk, is supposed to form the spots in the moon. The earliest authority I know of is Fischart's Garg. 130^b: 'sah im mon ein *männlin*, *das holz gestohlen hett*;' Praetorius says more definitely, Weltbeschr. 1, 447: the superstitious folk declared the dark spots on the moon to be the man that gathered sticks on the sabbath and was stoned therefor. The Dutch account makes the man steal vegetables, so he appears in the moon with the 'bundel *moes*' on his shoulders (Westendorp p. 129). The English tradition seems pretty old. Chaucer in his Testament of Creseide 260-4 describes the moon as lady Cynthia:

Her gite (gown) was gray and ful of spottis blake,
and on her brest a *chorl* paintid ful even
bering a bush of thornis on his bake,
which for his *theft* might clime no ner the heven.

In Ritson's Anc. songs (Lond. 1790), p. 35 is a 'song upon the man in the moon,' beginning thus:

Mon in the mone stond and strit (standeth and strideth),
on his bot forke is burthen he bereth;
hit is muche wonder that he na doun slyt (slideth),
for doutelesse he valle, he shoddreth and shereth,
when the forst freseth much chele he byd (chill he bideth);
the thornes beth kene, is hattren to-tereth.

Shivering with cold, he lugs on his fork a load of thorns, which tear his coat, he had cut them down and been impounded by the forester; the difficult and often unintelligible song represents

him as a lazy old man, who walks a bit and stands a bit, and is drunk as well; not a word about desecration of the sabbath. Shakspeare alludes more than once to the man in the moon; *Tempest* ii. 2: 'I was the man i' th' moon, when time was' . . . 'I have seen thee in her, and I do adore thee: my mistress shewed me thee and thy *dog* and thy *bush*.' *Mids. N. Dr.* iii. 1: 'One must come in with a *bush of thorns* and a lanthorn, and say he comes to present the person of Moonshine.' In Gryphius too the player who acts the moon ties a bush round his body (conf. *Ir. elfenm.* no. 20).

Two more, and those conflicting, interpretations of the moon's spots are likewise drawn from the Bible. Either it is Isaac *bearing a burthen of wood* for the sacrifice of himself on Mount Moriah (*Praetor. Weltbeschr.* 1, 447); or it is Cain carrying a *bundle of thorns on his shoulders*, and offering to the Lord the cheapest gift from his field.¹ This we find as far back as Dante, *Parad.* 2, 50.

che sono i segni bui
di questo corpo, che laggiuso in terra
fan di Cain favoleggiare altrui?

And *Inferno* 20, 126: *Caino e le spine*. On this passage Landino remarks: 'cioè la luna, nella quale i volgare vedendo nna certa ombra, credono che sia Caino, c' habbia in *spalla una forcata di pruni*.' And another commentator: 'accommodandosi alla favola del volgo, che sieno quelle macchie Caino, che *inalzi una forcata di spine*.'²

Nearly all these explanations agree in one thing: they suppose the spots to be a human figure carrying something on its shoulder, whether a hare, a pole and bucket, an axe and thorns, or the load of thorns alone.² A wood-stealer or fratricide accounts for the spots of the moon, as a chaff-stealer (p. 357) does for the streaks in the milky way.

There must have been yet more traditions. A Netherl. poet of the 14th century speaks of the dark stripes that stand

¹ The story of the first fratricide seems to have made a peculiarly deep impression on the new converts from heathenism; they fancy him a wicked giant, conf. *Beow.* 213 seq., and *supra* p. 525.

² Water, an essential part of the Norse myth, is wanting in the story of the man with the thornbush, but it re-appears in the Carniolan story (for *kramerisch* read *krainerisch*) cited in Brentano's *Libussa* p. 421: the man in the moon is called Kotar, he makes her grow by pouring water.

recht int midden van der mane,
dat men in duitsche heet *ludergheer* ;

in another passage it is *lendeqher*¹ (for leudegheer?); and Willems in *Messenger de Gand*, 1, 195, following a MS. of 1351, reads, ' dat men in dietsch heet *lodegeer* ;' but none of these forms is intelligible to me. Perhaps the proper name Ludgêr, Leodegarius, OHG. Liutkêr, has to do with it, and some forgotten legend of the Mid. Ages. A touching religious interpretation is handed down by Berthold 145, surely not invented by himself, that the moon is Mary Magdalene, and the spots her tears of repentance (see Suppl.).

The *Sun* has had a slighter influence than the moon on superstitious notions and observances. Magical herbs must be gathered, if not by moonlight, at least *before sunrise* (p. 621), and healing waters be drawn *before sunrise* (p. 586). The mounting sun dispels all magic, and bids the spirits back to their subterranean abode.

Twice in the year the sun changes his course, in summer to sink, in winter to rise. These *turning-points* of the sun were celebrated with great pomp in ancient times, and our St. John's or Midsummer fires are a relic of the summer festival (p. 617 seq.). The higher North, the stronger must have been the impression produced by either solstice, for at the time of the summer one there reigns almost perpetual day, and at the winter one perpetual night. Even Procopius (ed. Bonn. 2, 206) describes how the men of Thule, after their 35 days' night, climb the mountain-tops to catch sight of the *nearing sun*. Then they celebrate their holiest feast (see Suppl.).

Tacitus tells us (cap. 45), that the sun after setting shoots up such a radiance over the Suiones, that it pales the stars till morning. '*Sonum insuper audiri, formas deorum et radios capitis aspici, persuasio adjicit.*' I would have turned this passage to account in Chap. VI., as proving the existence of Germanic gods,

¹ Van Wyn's *Avondstonden* 1, 306. *Bilderdijk's Verklarende gestachtlijst der naamwoorden* 2, 198 has *ludegeer, ludegaar*, and explains it, no doubt wrongly, as *luikenaar* (leodiensis). However, he tells the old story: ' 't mannetjen in de maan, dat gezegd werd een doornbosch op zijn rug te heben, en om dat hy 't gestolen had, niet hooger ten hemel te mogen opklimmen, maar daar ingebannen te zijn.' Exactly as in Chaucer.

had it not seemed credible that such accounts may not have reached the Romans from Germany itself, but been spread among them by miscellaneous travellers' tales. Strabo 3, 1 (Tsch. 1, 368) quotes from Posidonius a very similar story of the *noise* made by the *setting sun* in the sea between Spain and Africa: *μείζω δύνειν τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τῇ παρωκεανίτιδι μετὰ ψόφου παραπλησίως, ὡσανεὶ σίζοντος τοῦ πελάγους κατὰ σβέσειν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὸν βυθόν.* But the belief may even then have prevailed among Germans too; the *radiant heads*, like a saint's glory, were discussed at p. 323, and I will speak of this marvellous music of the rising and setting sun in the next chapter. Meanwhile the explanation given of the red of morning and evening, in the old AS. dialogue between Saturn and Solomon (Thorpe's Anal. p. 100), is curious: 'Saga me, forhwan byð seo sunne *reál on æfen?*' 'Ic þe secge, forþon heo lôcað on helle.' 'Saga me, hwî scîneð heo swâ *reáde on morgene?*' 'Ic þe secge, forþon hyre twyneað hwæðer heo mæg oðe [orig. þe] ne mæg þisne middaneard condiscînan swâ hyre beboden is.' The sun is red at even, for that she looketh on hell; and at morn, for that she doubteth whether she may complete her course as she is bidden.

Not only about the sun and moon, but about the other *stars*, our heathen antiquity had plenty of lore and legend. It is a very remarkable statement of Jornandes cap. 11, that in Sulla's time the Goths under Dicenaëus, exclusive of planets and signs of the zodiac, were acquainted with 344 stars that ran from east to west. How many could we quote now by their Teutonic names?

The vulgar opinion imagines the *stars* related to each individual man as *friend* or *foe*.¹ The constellation that shone upon his birth takes him under its protection all his life through; this is called being born under a good or lucky star. From this guidance, this secret sympathy of dominant constellations, fate can be foretold. Conversely, though hardly from native sources, it is said in the Renner 10984 that every star has an angel who directs it to the place whither it should go.

¹ Swem die sternen werdent gram,
dem wirt der mâne lihte alsam. Frid. 108, 3.

There is a pious custom of saluting the celestial luminaries before going to bed at night (Sup. I, 112), and among the Mod. Greeks, of offering a prayer when the evening star is on the rise.

According to the Edda, all the stars were sparks of fire from Muspells-heim, that flew about the air at random, till the gods assigned them seats and orbits, Sn. 9. Sæm. 1.

Ignited vapours, which under a starry sky fall swiftly through the air like fiery threads—Lat. *trajectio stellae*, *stella transvolans*, Ital. *stella cadente*, Fr. *étoile filante*, Span. *estrella vaga*, Swed. *stjernfall*, Dan. *stjernskud* (star-shoot), what the Greeks call *διάγειν* *trajicere*—are by our people ascribed to a trimming of the stars' light; they are like the sparks we let fall in snuffing a candle. We find this notion already in Wolfram's Wh. 322, 18:

Dehein sterne ist sô lieht,	No star so bright
ern fürbe sich etswenne. ¹	but trims itself somewhen.

Hence our phrase of 'the stars snuffing themselves,' and our subst. *sternputze*, *sternschnuppe*. These falling stars are ominous,² and whoever sees them should say a prayer (Sup. I, 595): to the generous girl who has given away her all, they bring down with them [or turn into] gold-pieces (Kinderm. 153); nay, whatever wish you form while the snuff is falling, is fulfilled (Tobler 408^b). The Lithnians beautifully weave shooting stars into the fate-mythus: the *verpeya* (spinneress) begins to spin the thread of the new-born on the sky, and each thread ends in a star; when a man is dying, his thread snaps, and the star turns pale and drops (Narbutt, I, 71).

A comet is called *tail-star*, *hair-star* in Aventin 74^b. 119^b, *peacock-tail* (Schm. I, 327); and its tail in Detmar I, 242 *schin-schove*, from *schof* a bundle of straw. Its appearing betokens events fraught with peril, especially the death of a king (Greg. tur. 4, 9): 'man siht an der zît einen sterren, sam einen *pfawen zagel wît* (wide as a peacock's tail), sô müezen siben sachen in der werlt ergân,' MsH. 3, 468^b (see Suppl.).

Our old heathen fancies about the fixed stars have for the most part faded away, their very names are almost all supplanted by

¹ MS. n. reads 'sûbere sich.' Even OHG. has *furban* (mundare, expiare).

² So with the Greeks (Reinh. fuchs p. lxxii.). In a poem of Béranger: 'mon enfant, un mortel expire, son étoile tombe à l'instant.'

learned astronomic appellations; only a few have managed to save themselves in ON. legend or among the common people.

Whether the planets were named after the great gods, we cannot tell: there is no trace of it to be found even in the North. Planet-names for days of the week seem to have been imported, though very early, from abroad (p. 126 seq.) Other reasons apart, it is hardly conceivable that the heathen, who honoured certain fixed stars with names of their own, should not have distinguished and named the travelling stars, whose appearances and changes are so much more striking. The evening and morning Venus is called *eveningstar*, *morningstar*, OHG. *âpantsterno*, *tagasterno*, like the Lat. *vesper* and *lucifer*.¹ The *tunkelsterne* in Ms. 1, 38^b seems to be *vesperugo*, the eveningstar beginning to blaze in the twilight, conf. Gramm. 2, 526. An OHG. *uhtosterno* morningstar, N. Bth. 223, is from *uhtâ*, Goth. *uhtvô crepusculum*. Gl. Trev. 22^b have *stelbôm* *hesperus*; can this be *stellbaum*, the bird-catcher's pole? But in Rol. 240, 27 'die urmâren *stalboume*' stands for stars in general, and as every star was provided with stool or stand (p. 700-1), we may connect *stelboun*, *stalboum* with this general meaning. There is perhaps more of a mythic meaning in the name *nahtfare* for eveningstar (Heumann's opusc. 453. 460), as the same word is used of the witch or wise-woman out on her midnight jaunt. The Anglo-Saxons called the eveningstar *swâna steorra* (*bubulcorum stella*), because the swains drove their herd home when it appeared. Again, in O. iv. 9, 24 Christ is compared to the sun, and the apostles to the eleven daystars, 'dagasterron' here meaning not so much *luciferi* as the signs of the zodiac. There are no native names for the polar star (see Suppl.).

Twice the Edda relates the origin of particular stars, but no one knows now what constellations are meant. The legend of *Orvandils-tû* and the AS. *Earendel*, OHG. *Orentil*, has been cited, p. 374; this bright luminary may have meant the morningstar. Then the âses, having slain the giant *Thiassi*, had to atone for it to his daughter *Skaði*. *Oðinn* took *Thiassi's* eyes and threw them against the sky, where they formed two stars, Sn. 82-3. These *augu Thiassa* are most likely two stars that stand near

¹ In an old church-hymn *Lucifer* is provided with a chariot: *currus jam poscit phosphorus* (*reita giu fergôt tagastern*), Hymn. 2, 3.

each other, of equal size and brightness, perhaps the Twins? This is another instance of the connexion we found between stars and *eyes*; and the *toe* translated to heaven is quite of a piece with the 'tongues' and the correspondence of the parts of the body to the macrocosm, p. 568 (see Suppl.).

The *milky-way* and its relation to *Irmin* I have dealt with, pp. 356-8.

Amongst all the constellations in our sky, three stand prominent to the popular eye: Ursa major, Orion and the Pleiades. And all of them are still known by native names; to which I shall add those in use among the Slavs, Lithuanians and Finns, who give them the same place of honour as we do.

The Great Bear was doubtless known to our ancestors, even before their conversion, as *waggon*, *wain*; which name, un-borrowed, they had in common with kindred [Aryan] nations, and therefore it is the common people's name for it to this day: they say, at dead of night the heavenly wain turns round with a great noise, conf. p. 745. So the Swiss (Tobler 264^a): when the *herra-waga* stands low, bread is cheap, when high, it is dear. O. v. 17, 29 uses the pl. '*waganô* gistelli,' meaning at once the greater waggon and the less; which last (Ursa minor) Berthold calls the *wegelin*.¹ So '*des wagenes* gerihte,' Wackern. lb. 772, 26. It comes of a lively way of looking at the group, which circling round the polar star always presents the appearance of four wheels and a long slanting pole, *deichsel* (temo), on the strength of which the AS. sometimes has *þísl* alone: *wænes þísla* (thill), Boeth. Rawlins. 192^b. References are given at p. 151, also the reasons for my conjecture that the waggon meant is that of Wuotan the highest god. True, an O. Swed. chronicle connects the Swed. name *karlwagen* with Thôrr, who stepping into his chariot holds the seven stars in his hand (Thor statt naken som ett barn, siu stjernor i handen och Karlewagn), which I will not absolutely deny; but it is Wôden stories in particular that are transferred to the Frankish Charles (p. 153). When in Gl. Jun. 188 'Arturus' is rendered *wagan* (though Gl. Hrab.

¹ Ich hân den glanzen *himelwagen* und daz gestirne beschen, Troj. 19062. There may for that matter be several himelwagens, as there were many gods with cars. Cervantes too, in a song of the gitanilla (p. m. 11), says: Si en el cielo hay estrellas, que *lucientes curros* forman.

951^b has 'arctus' the bear = *wagan in himile*), that is explained by the proximity of the star to the Great Bear's tail, as the very name *ἄρκτοῦρος* shews.¹ I have to add, that Netherland cities (Antwerp, Gröningen) have the stars of the Great or the Lesser Bear on their seals (Messenger de Gand 3, 339), and in England the Charles-wain is painted on the signboards of taverns.

The Greeks have both names in use, *ἄρκτος* bear, and *ἄμαξα* waggon, the Romans both *ursa* and *plaustrum*, as well as a *septentrio* or *septentriones* from trio, plough-ox. Fr. *char*, *charriot*, Ital. Span. *carro*. Pol. *woz* (*plaustrum*), *woz niebieski* (heavenly wain), Boh. *wos*, and at the same time *ogka* (thill, sometimes og, wog) for Boötes; the Illyrian Slavs *kola*, pl. of *kolo* wheel, therefore wheels, *i.e.* wain, but in their *kola rodina* and *rodokola*² I cannot explain the adjuncts *rodo*, *rodina*. Lith. *gryžulio rats*, *gryždo rats*, from *ratas* (*rota*), while the first word, unexplained by Mielcke, must contain the notion of waggon or heaven;³ Lett. *ratti* (*rotae*). Esth. *wankri tähhed*, waggon-stars, from *wanker* (*currus*); Hung. *göntzöl szekere*, from *szeker* (*currus*), the first word being explained in 'Hungaria in parabolis' p. 48 by a mythic Göntzöl, their first waggoner. Prominent in the Finnish epos are *päiwä* the sun, *kuu* the moon, and *otawa*, which Castrén translates *karla-vagnen*, they are imagined as persons and divine, and often named together; the Pleiades are named *seulainen*.

Never, either in our OHG. remains, or among Slavs, Lithuanians and Finns,⁴ do we find the name borrowed from the animal (*ursa*), though these nations make so much of the bear both in legend and perhaps in worship (p. 668).

The *carro menor* is called by Spanish shepherds *bocina*, bugle;⁵ by Icelanders *fiosakonur á lopti*, milkmaids of the sky, Biörn sub v. F. Magnusen's Dag. tid. 104-5 (see Suppl.).

¹ [From *oûros* keeper, not *oûrá* tail]. *Ἄρκτοφύλαξ* [bear-ward, or as we might say] Waggoner, is Boötes, of whom Greek fable has much to tell. Arcturus stands in Boötes, and sometimes for Boötes. An OHG. gloss, Diut. 1. 167^a, seems curiously to render Boötes by *stufala*, Graff 6, 662. Is this *stuphila*, *stipula*, stubble?

² Bosnian Bible, Ofen 1831. 3, 154. 223. In Yuk *roda* is stork, whence the adj. *rodin*, but what of that? This *roda* seems to be *rota*, *rad*, wheel over again.

³ Lith. Bible, Königsb. 1816, has in Job 9, 9 *gryžo wezinmas*; *gryzdas*, *grizulas* is thill, and *wezinmas* waggon.

⁴ Can this be reconciled with the statement, p. 729, that Finn. *otawa* = bear? The Mongol. for bear is *ütögö*.—TRANS.

⁵ Don Quixote 1, 20 (ed. Ideler 1, 232; conf. 5, 261).

The small, almost invisible star just above the middle one in the waggon's thill has a story to itself. It is called *waggoner*, *hind*, in Lower Germany *dümeke*, thumbkin, dwarf, Osnabr. *dümke*, Meckl. *duning*, in Holstein '*Hans Dünken*, *Hans Dümkl sitt opm wagn*.' They say that once a waggoner, having given our Saviour a lift, was offered the kingdom of heaven for his reward; but he said he would sooner be driving from east to west to all eternity (as the wild hunter wished for evermore to hunt). His desire was granted, there stands his waggon in the sky, and the highest of the three thill-stars, the 'rider' so-called, is that waggoner. Another version in Müllenhoff's Schles. Holst. sagen no. 484. I daresay the heathen had a similar fiction about Wôdan's charioteer. Joh. Praetorius De suspecta poli declinatione, Lips. 1675, p. 35: 'qui hanc stellam non praeteriissent, etiamsi minor quam *Alcor*, das *knechtgen*, der *dümeke*, das *reuterlein*, *knechtfinck* fuisset;' and again on the thief's thumb, p. 140: 'fabula de *pollicari auriga*, *dümeke*, *fuhrman*.' That the same fancy of the waggoner to this constellation prevails in the East, appears from Niebuhr's Arabia, and the Hungarian *Göntzöl* seems closely related to him; in Greek legend likewise Zeus places the waggon's driver (*ἡνίοχος*) or inventor *Erichthonius* among the stars, though not in the Great Bear, but between Perseus and the Twins in the galaxy. The Bohemian *formánek*, *wozataq* (auriga) or *bowozny* signify Arcturus, Boötes and Erichthonius (Jungm. 1, 550. 3, 401), and *palečky u wozu* thumbplings on waggon. But in Slovènic, it seems, *hervor* (Murko 85. Jarnik 229^b) and *burovzh* mean the waggoner and the Polar Star.

The cluster of brilliant stars in which the Greeks recognised the figure of *Orion*¹ had various Teutonic names, the reasons of which are not always clear to us now. First, the three stars in a line that form Orion's belt are called in Scandinavia *Friggjar-roekr*, *Friggerok* (pp. 270. 302-3), and also by transfer to Mary *Mariärok*, *Marirok* (Peter Syv in the Danske digtek. middelald. 1, 102), *Mariteen*; here is plain connecting of a star-group with the system of heathen gods. The same three stars are to this day called by the common folk in Up. Germany the *three mowers*, because they stand in a row like mowers in a meadow: a homely

¹ Our MHG. poets adopt *Orión* without translating it, MS. 1, 37^a. The Romans, acc. to Varro and Festus, called it *Jugula*, it is not known why.

designation, like that of waggon, which arose in the childlike fancy of a pastoral people. OHG. glosses name Orion *pfluoc* (aratum), and in districts on the Rhine he is called the *rake* (rastrum): he is a tool of the husbandman or the mower. The Scotch *pleuch*, Engl. *plough*, is said of Charles's wain. Some AS. (perhaps more OS.) glosses translate Orion by *eburðring*, *eburðrung*, *ebirdring*, *ebirthiring* (Gl. Jun. 369. 371),¹ which in pure AS. would have been *eoforðryng*, *eforðring*; it can mean nothing but boar-throng, since *þryng*, as well as *þrang*, Mid. Lat. *drungus*, is turba. How any one came to see a herd of wild boars in the group, or which stars of Orion it included, I do not know: the wild huntsman of the Greek legend may have nothing to do with it, as neither that legend nor the group as seen by Greek eyes includes any hunted animal; the boars of the Teutonic constellation have seemingly quite a different connexion, and perhaps are founded on mere comparison. OHG. glosses give us no *epurdrunc*, but its relation to Iuwaring and Iring was pointed out, p. 359 note. In the latter part of the Mid. Ages our 'three mowers' or the Scandinavian 'Mary's distaff' is called *Jacobs-stab*, Boh. *Jahubahûl*; the heathenish spindle, like the heathenish Irmin-street (p. 357 note), is handed over to the holy apostle, who now staff in hand, paces the same old heavenly path; in some parts *Peter's staff* is preferred. The Esthonians call Orion *warda tähhed*, spear stars, from 'wardas' spear, and perhaps staff, like St. James's staff. The Lithuanians *szenpjuwis*, hay-star? from 'szen' foenum (Nesselmann 515), as August is called *szenpjutis*; because the constellation rises at hay-harvest? perhaps also with reference to the 'three-mowers'? for in the same way several Slav nations have the name *kosi* scythes, Boh. *kosy* (Jungm. 2, 136), Pol. *kosy* (Linde 1092^a), Slovèn. *koszi* (Murko 142) mowers. Other Slavic names of Orion are *shtupka* (Bosn. Bible, 3, 154), for which we ought to read *shtapka*, in Vuk *shtaka* crutch, crosier, from our stäbchen, Carniol. *pälize* staves, in Stulli *babini setapi* old wives' staves; and *kružilice*,² wheelers, rovers? from 'kružiti' vagari (see Suppl.).

¹ The second passage has 'eburðnung,' an error, but an evidence of the MS.'s age, for in the 8-9th cent. the second stroke of *r* was made as long as that of *n*.

² Dobrowsky's Slavin p. 425; the Pol. *kružic* is crocklet, mug. Hanka's Altböhm. glossen have 66, 857 *kruzlyk* circulea, 99, 164 *krusslyk* lix, which I do not understand. Can it be crutch?

Between the shoulders of the Bull is a space thickly sown with stars, but in which seven (really six) larger ones are recognisable; hence it is called *sieben-gestirn*, OHG. thaz *sibunstirri*, O. v. 17, 29. Diut. i. 520^a. Gl. Jun. 188 (where it is confounded with the Hyades not far off, in the Bull's head). Beside this purely arithmetical denomination, there are others more living: Gr. Πλειάδες, Ion. Πληϊάδες, seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione, whom Zeus raised to the sky, Il. 18, 486. Od. 5, 272, and who, like the Norse Thiassi and Örvandill, are of giant kin; but some explain these Pleiads from *πλειάς* wild dove, which is usually *πέλεια*.¹ Lat. *Vergiliae*, of which Festus gives a lame explanation. A German poet writes *virilie*, Amgb. 42^b.

The picture of the Pleiades that finds most favour among the people in Germany and almost all over Europe is that of a *hen and seven chickens*, which at once reminds us of the Greek *seven doves*.² Mod. Gr. *πούλια* (Fauriel 2, 277). Our *klucke, kluckerin, kluckhenne, brut-henne mit den hünlein*; Dan. *aften-høne*, evening-hen (-*høune*, Dansk. digtek. middelald. 1, 102); Engl. *hen with her chickens*; Fr. *la poussinière*, in Lorraine *poucherosse, covrosse* (couveuse, brood-hen, qui conduit des poussins)³; Gris. *cluotschas* or *cluschas* the cluck-hens; Ital. *gallinelle*; Boh. *slepice s kuřátky* hen with chickens; Hung. *fiastik, fiastyuk* from *tik, tyuk* gallina, and *fiazom pario*. The sign of the *cluck-hen* seems to me intergrown with our antiquity. Nursery tales bring in a peculiar feature, viz. that three nuts or eggs having been given as a present, out of them come a golden dress, a silver dress, and a *cluckie with seven* (or twelve) *chickies*, the three gifts representing sun, moon and seven-stars. Kinderm. no. 88 (2, 13). So in the Introd. to the Pentamerone, out of the miraculous nut comes a *voccia co dudece polecine*. Now the Hungarian tale in Gaal p. 381 has '*golden hen and six chickens*,' meaning the Pleiades; and the maiden, seeking her lost lover, has to obtain access to him by the valuables contained in three nuts; these were three dresses, on which severally were worked the sun, the moon, and the seven-stars (conf. Wigal. 812), being gifts of Sun, Moon, and Seven-

¹ The Suppl. adds: 'the Pleiades, like doves, carry ambrosia to Zeus, but *one always gets lost* in passing the Planctæ rocks, and Zeus fills up their number again, Athen. 4, 325-6.'—Homer tells the story simply of doves, *πλειαι*, Od. 12, 61.—TRANS.

² Conf. Pentam. 4, 8 'li sette palommielle,' seven children transformed.

³ Mém. des antiq. 4, 376. 6, 121-9.

stars, bestowed upon her in her wanderings. The third dress tradition at last converted into the cluckie herself. 'Treasure-hunters dig for the costly cluckie with her chicks; conf. the sunken hoard, Chap. XXXII. A 'hen and twelve hünkeln' was also an earthly fine, Weisth. 1, 465. 499. I am not sure that we are entitled to connect the nut with 'Iduns huot'; but what is 'sun, moon and cluckie' with us, is with the Finns far more plainly 'päiwä, kuu, otawa,' i.e. sun, moon, bear. The Span. name is 'las siete cabrillas' seven kids.¹ Pol. *baby* old wives, Russ. *baba* old wife [and *nasédka* sitting hen], Linde 1, 33^a; Serv. *vlashitsi* (Vuk 78), *vlashnitsi*, (Bosn. Bible 3, 154, 223), Slovèn. *vlastovtse* swallows? but Jarnik 229^b explains it 'ramstäbe,' which I do not understand. The O. Boh. name too is obscure, *szyetnyjeze* pleiades (Hanka's Glossen 58^b) = štětnice, bristly ones, from štětina seta? Slovèn. *gostosévtsi*, *gostozhirtsi* the thick-sown? The last name agrees with the Lith. and Finn. view, viz. the constellation is a *sieve* having a great many holes, or sifting out a heap of flour: Lith. *sėtas* Lett. *setinsh*, Esth. *sööl* or *söggel*, Finn. *seula*, *seulainen*. Why does Suchenwirt 4, 326 say, 'daz her daz tailt sich in daz lant gleich recht als ain *sibenstirn*'? because the army is so thickly spread over the land? (see Suppl.).

The origin of the Pleiades is thus related: Christ was passing a baker's shop, when He smelt the new bread, and sent his disciples to ask for a loaf. The baker refused, but the baker's wife and her six daughters were standing apart, and secretly gave it. For this they were set in the sky as the *Seven-stars*, while the baker became the cuckoo (p. 676 baker's man), and so long as he sings in spring, from St. Tiburtius's day to St. John's, the Seven-stars are visible in heaven. Compare with this the Norwegian tale of Gertrude's bird (p. 673).

There may be a few more stars for which popular names still exist.² In Lith. the Kids are *artojis su jáucezis* plougher with oxen, and Capella *neszeja walgio* food-bearer (f.). Hanka's O. Boh. gl. 58^b gives *hrusa* for Aldebaran, *przyczek* for Arcturus. We might also expect to find names for the Hyades and Cas-

¹ Don Quixote 2, 41 (Idel. 4, 83; conf. 6, 242).

² Cymric and Gaelic Bibles (Job 9, 9), retain the Latin names from the Vulgate; from which it does not follow that these languages lack native names for stars. Armstrong cites Gael. *crannarain*, baker's peel, for the Pleiades, and *dragblod*, fire-tail, for the Lesser Bear.

siopeia. But many stars are habitually confounded, as the Pleiades with the Hyades or Orion, and even with the Wain and Arcturus; ¹ what is vouched for by glosses alone, is not to be relied on. Thus I do not consider it proved as yet that the names *plough* and *eburdrung* really belong to Orion. By 'plough' the Irish Fairy-tales 2, 123 mean the Wain rather than Orion, and who knows but the 'throng of boars' may really stand for the *Ῥάδες* (from *ῆς*)² and the Lat. *Suculae*? (see Suppl.).

Still more unsafe and slippery is the attempt to identify the constellations of the East, founded as they are on such a different way of looking at the heavens. Three are named in Job 9, 9: *שָׁךְ* *âsh*, *כִּמֶה* *kîmeh*, *כְּסִיל* *ksîl*; ³ which the Septuagint renders *πλειάδες*, *ἔσπερος*, *ἀρκτούρος*, the Vulgate 'Arcturus, Orion, Hyades,' and Luther 'the Wain, Orion, the Glucke (hen).' In Job 38, 31 *kîmeh* and *ksîl* are given in the LXX as *πλειάδες*, *Ἦρίων*, in Vulg. as 'Pleiades, Arcturus,' in Diut. 1, 520 as 'Siebenstirni, Wagan,' and in Luther as 'Siebenstern, Orion.' For *ksîl* in Isaiah 13, 10 the LXX has *Ἦρίων*, Vulg. merely 'splendor,' Luther 'Orion.' In Amos 5, 8 *kîmeh* and *ksîl* are avoided in LXX, but rendered in Vulg. 'Arcturus, Orion,' and by Luther 'the Glucke, Orion.' Michaelis drew up his 86 questions on the meaning of these stars, and Niebuhr received the most conflicting answers from Arabian Jews; ⁴ on the whole it seemed likeliest, that (1) *âsh* was the Arabian constellation *om en nâsh*, (2) *kîmeh* or *chima* the Arab. *torîye*, (3) *ksîl* the Arab. *sheil* (*sihhêl*); the three corresponding to *Ursa major*,

¹ Keisersperg's Postil 206: 'the sea-star or the Wain, or *die henn mit den hünlin* as ye call it.' Grobianus 1572 fol. 93^b: 'wo der wagen steht, und wo die *gluck mit kinkeln* geht.' Several writers incorrectly describe the 'dümke, düming' as 'siebengestirn'; even Tobler, when he says 370^b 'three stars of the siebeng. are called the *horses*, near which stands a tiny star, the *waggoner*,' is evidently thinking of the Wain's thill [Germans often take the 'seven-stars' for *Ursa* instead of *Pleiades*].

² It has long been thought a settled point, that *Suculae* (little sows) was a blundering imitation of *Ῥάδες*, as if that came from *ῆς* a sow, whereas it means 'the rainers' from *ῆω* to rain ('ab imbribus,' Cicero; 'pluvio nomine,' Pliny). Does the author mean to reopen the question? Did the later Greeks and Romans, ashamed of having these 'little sows' in the sky, invent the 'rainers' theory? May not *Sueulae* at all events be a genuine old Roman name, taken from some meritorious mythical pigs?—TRANS.

³ In Hebr. the three words stand in the order 'âsh, k'sîl, kîmâh; and their transposition here does some injustice to the Vulg. and Luther. As a fact, two out of the four times that k'sîl occurs, it is *Ἦρίων* in LXX, and the other two times it is Orion in Vulgate. Luther and the Engl. version are consistent throughout.—TRANS.

⁴ Besch. von Arabien p. 114; some more Arabian names of stars, pp. 112—6.

Pleiades and Sirius. If we look to the verbal meanings, *nâsh*, which some Arabs do change into *ash*, is feretrum, bier or barrow,¹ a thing not very different from a 'wain'; *kimeh*, *kima* seems to signify a thick cluster of stars, much the same sense as in that name of 'sieve': *ksîl*, means foolish, ungodly, a lawless giant, hence Orion.

Constellations can be divided into two kinds, according to their origin. One kind requires *several* stars, to make up the shape of some object, a man, beast, etc.; the stars then serve as ground or skeleton, round which is drawn the full figure as imagination sees it. Thus, three stars in a row form St. James's staff, distaff, a belt; seven group themselves into the outline of a bear, others into that of a giant Orion. The other kind is, to my thinking, simpler, bolder, and older: a whole man is seen in a *single* star, without regard to his particular shape, which would disappear from sheer distance; if the tiny speck drew nearer to us, it might develop itself again. So the same three stars as before are three men mowing; the seven Pleiads are a hen and her chickens; two stars, standing at the same distance on each side of a faintly visible cluster, were to the ancient Greeks two asses feeding at a crib. Here fancy is left comparatively free and unfettered, while those outline-figures call for some effort of abstraction; yet let them also have the benefit of Buttmann's apt remark,² that people did not begin with tracing the complete figure in the sky, it was quite enough to have made out a portion of it; the rest remained undefined, or was filled up afterwards according to fancy. On this plan perhaps the Bear was first found in the three stars of the tail, and then the other four supplied the body. Our Wain shews a combination of both methods: the thill arose, like the Bear's tail, by outline, but the four wheels consist each of a single star. One point of agreement is important, that the Greek gods put men among the stars, the same as Thôrr and Oðinn do (pp. 375. 723; see Suppl.).

The appearance of the *rainbow* in the sky has given rise to a number of mythic notions. Of its rounded arch the Edda makes a heavenly *bridge* over which the deities walk; hence it is called

¹ Bocharti hierorz., ed. Rosenmüller 2, 680.

² Origin of the Grk constell. (in Abh. der Berl. acad. 1826, p. 19-63).

Asbrú (Sæm. 44^a), more commonly *Bif-röst* (OHG. would be *pipa-rasta*) the quivering tract, for *röst*, Goth. and OHG. *rasta*, means a definite distance, like mile or league. It is the best of all bridges (Sæm. 46^a), strongly built out of three colours; yet the day cometh when it shall break down, at the end of the world, when the sons of Muspell shall pass over it, Sn. 14. 72. The tail of this bridge¹ extends to Himinbiörg, Heimdall's dwelling (Sn. 21), and Heimdallr is the appointed keeper of the bridge; he guards it against hrímthurses and mountain-giants,² lest they make their way over the bridge into heaven, Sn. 18. 30. The whole conception is in keeping with the cars in which the gods journey through heaven, and the roads that stretch across it (conf. p. 361). It was Christianity that first introduced the O. Test. notion of the celestial *bow* being a sign of the covenant which God made with men after the *rain* of the Deluge: OHG. *reganpogo*, AS. *scúrboğa*, shower-bow, Cædm. 93, 5. Meanwhile some ancient superstitious linger still. The simple folk imagine, that on the spot where the rainbow springs out of the ground, there is a *golden dish*, or a treasure lies buried; that gold coins or pennies drop out of the rainbow. When gold-pieces are picked up, they are called *regenbogen-schüsselein* (-dishes), patellae Iridis, which the sun squanders in the rainbow. In Bavaria they call the rainbow *himmelring*, *sonnenring*, and those coins *himmelring-schüsseln* (Schm. 2, 196. 3, 109: conf. supra p. 359 note). The Romans thought the bow in rising drank water out of the ground: 'bibit arcus, pluet hodie,' Plaut. Curcul. 1, 2; 'purpureus pluvias cur bibit arcus aquas?' Propert. iii. 5, 32. Tibull. i. 4, 44. Virg. Georg. 1, 380. Ov. Met. 1, 271. One must *not point with fingers* at the rainbow, any more than at stars, Braunschw. anz. 1754, p. 1063. *Building on the rainbow* means a bootless enterprise (note on Freidank p. 319. 320, and Nib. Lament 1095. Spiegel, 161, 6); and setting on the rainbow (Bit. 2016) apparently

¹ *Brúar-spodr* (we still speak of a bridge's *head*, tête de pont), as if an animal had laid itself across the river, with head and tail resting on either bank. But we must not omit to notice the word *spodr* (prop. cauda piscis); as *röst*, *rasta* denote a certain stadium, so do the Goth. *spaurds* OHG. *spurt* a recurring interval, in the sense of our '(so many) times': thus, in Fragg. theot. 15, 19, dhrim spurtim (tribus vicibus), where *rastóm* would do as well. Do the 'rúnar á brúarsporði,' Sæm. 196^a mean the rainbow?

² Giants are often made bridge-keepers (p. 556 n.): the maiden Móðguðr guards giallarbrú, Sn. 67.

exposing to great danger? Is 'behûsen unebene ûf regenbogen' (Tit. Hahn 4061) to be unequally seated? In H. Sachs ii. 287 a man gets pushed off the rainbow. The Finns have a song in which a maiden sits on the rainbow, weaving a golden garment. Might not our heathen ancestors think and say the like of their piparasta? There is a remarkable point of agreement on the part of the Chinese: 'tunc et etiamnum viget superstitio, qua *iridem orientalem digito monstrare nefas esse credunt; qui hanc monstraverit, huic subito ulcus in manu futurum. Iridem habent Sinae pro signo libidinis effrenatae quae regnat.*'¹

The Slavic name for the rainbow is O. Sl. *duga*, Serv. and Russ. *duga*, *duga nebeskia*, Boh. *duha*, prop. a stave (tabula, of a cask), hence bow; the Servians say, any male creature that passes under the rainbow turns into a female, and a female into a male (Vuk sub v.).² Two Slovènic names we find in Murko: *mávra*, *mávritsa*, which usually means a blackish-brindled cow; and *bozhyi stolets*, god's stool, just as the rainbow is a *chair* of the Welsh goddess *Ceridwen* (Dav. Brit. myth. 204); conf. 'God's chair,' supra p. 136. Lett. *warrawihksne*, liter. the mighty beech? Lith. *Laumés yosta*, Lauma's or Laima's girdle (sup. p. 416); also *dangaus yosta* heaven's girdle, *kilpinnis dangaus* heaven's bow, *årorykszte* weather-rod; more significant is the legend from Polish Lithuania, noticed p. 580, which introduces the rainbow as messenger after the flood, and as counsellor. Finn. *taiwancaari*, arcus coelestis. In some parts of Lorraine *courroie de S. Lienard*, *couronne de S. Bernard*. In Superst. Esth. no. 65 it is the thunder-god's sickle, an uncommonly striking conception.

To the Greeks the *ἶρις* was, as in the O. Test., a token of the gods, Il. 11, 27; but at the same time a half-goddess *Ἰρις*, who is sent out as a messenger from heaven. The Indians assigned the painted bow of heaven to their god *Indras*. In our own popular belief the souls of the just are led by their guardian-angels into heaven over the rainbow, Ziska's Oestr. volksm. 49. 110.

As for that doctrine of the Edda, that *before the end of the*

¹ Chi-king ex lat. P. Lacharme, interpr. Jul. Mohl, p. 242.

² Like the contrary effects of the planet Venus on the two sexes in Superst. I, 167.

world Bifröst will break, I find it again in the German belief during the Mid. Ages that for a number of years before the Judgment-day the rainbow will no longer be seen: 'ouch hört ich sagen, daz man sîn (the regenbogen) nicht ensehe *drîzich jâr* (30 years) vor deme suontage,' Diut. 3, 61. Hugo von Trimberg makes it 40 years (Renner 19837):

Sô man den regenbogen siht,
 sô enzaget diu werlt niht
 dan darnâch über *vierzec jâr*;

so the rainbow appear, the world hath no fear, until thereafter 40 year. Among the signs the Church enumerates of the approach of the Last Day, this is not to be found (see Suppl.).

CHAPTER XXIII.

DAY AND NIGHT.

All the liveliest fancies of antiquity respecting day and night are intertwined with those about the sun, moon and stars: day and night are holy godlike beings, near akin to the gods. The Edda makes Day the child of Night.

Nörvi, a iötunn, had a daughter named *Nótt*, black and dingy like the stock she came of (svört oc döck sem hon átti ætt til);¹ several husbands fell to her share, first Naglfari, then Anar (Onar)² a dwarf, by whom she had a daughter Iörð, who afterwards became Oðin's wife and Thôr's mother. Her last husband was of the fair race of the áses, he was called Dellíngr, and to him she bore a son *Dagr*, light and beautiful as his paternal ancestry. Then All-father took *Night* and her son *Day*, set them in the sky, and gave to each of them a horse and a car, wherewith to journey round the earth in measured time. The steeds were named the rímy-maned and the shiny-maned (p. 655-6).

The name Dellíngr, the assimilated form of *Deqlíngr*, includes that of the son *Dagr*, and as -líng if it mean anything means descent, we must either suppose a progenitor *Dagr* before him, or that the order of succession has been reversed, as it often is in old genealogies.

For the word 'dags, dagr, dæg, tac' I have tried to find a root (Gramm. 2, 44), and must adhere to my rejection of Lat. 'dies' as a congener, because there is no consonant-change, and the Teutonic word develops a *g*, and resolves its *a* into *o* (uo); yet conf. my Kleinere schriften 3, 117.³ On the other hand, in 'dies' and all that is like it in other languages, there plainly appeared

¹ This passage was not taken into account, p. 528; that Night and Helle should be black, stands to reason, but no conclusion can be drawn from that about giants as a body. Notice too the combination 'svört ok döck,' conf. p. 445. Here giant and dwarf genealogies have evidently overlapped.

² Conf. Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 144.

³ [Sansk. *dah* urere, ardere (Bopp's Gl. 165) does seem the root both of dies and Goth. dags, which has exceptionally kept prim. *d* unchanged. MHG. tac still retained the sense of heat: 'für der heizen sunnen tac,' MS. 2, 84^a.—SUPPL.]

an interlacing of the notions 'day, sky, god,' p. 193. As Day and Donar are both descended from Night, so Dies and Deus (Zeus) fall under one root; one is even tempted to identify Donar, Thunor with the Etruscan Tina (dies), for the notion day, as we shall see, carries along with it that of din: in that case Tina need not stand for Dina, but would go with Lat. tonus and tonitrus. Deus is our Tiw, Ziu, for the same name sometimes gets attached to different gods; and it is an additional proof how little 'dies' has to do with our 'dæg, tag'; likewise for coelum itself we have none but unrelated words, p. 698-9. From the root *div* the Ind. and Lat. tongues have obtained a number of words expressing all three notions, gods, day and sky; the Greek only for gods and sky, not for day, the Lith. for god and day, not sky, the Slav. for day alone, neither god nor sky, and lastly our own tongue for one god only, and neither sky nor day. Here also we perceive a special affinity between Sanskrit and Latin, whose wealth the remaining languages divided amongst them in as many different ways. The Greek ἡμαρ, ἡμέρα I do regard as near of kin to the Teut. himins, himil; there is also Ἡμέρα a goddess of day.

The languages compared are equally unanimous in their name for night: Goth. *nahts*, OHG. *naht*, AS. *niht*, ON. *nótt* (for *nátt*), Lat. *nox noctis*, Gr. *νύξ νυκτός*, Lith. *naktis*, Lett. *nakts*, O. Sl. *noshti*, Pol. and Boh. *noc* (pron. *nots*), Slovèn. *noz*, Serv. *notj*, Sanskr. *nakta* chiefly in compounds, the usual word being *niś*, *niśá* (both fem.). Various etymologies have been proposed, but none satisfactory.¹ As day was named the shining, should not the opposite meaning of 'dark' lurk in the word night? Yet it is only night unilluminated by the moon that is lightless. There is a very old anomalous verb 'nahan' proper to our language, from whose pret. *nahta*² the noun *nahts* seems to come, just as from *magan mahta*, *lisan lista* come the nouns *mahts*, *lists*. Now

¹ [Bopp 198^b and Pott 1, 160 explain *niśá* as 'lying down' from *sí* to lie; and *naktam* as 'while lying.' Benfey assumes two roots, *nakta* 'not-waking,' 2, 369 and *niś* conn. with Lat. *niger* 2, 57.—SUPPL.]

² The plurals of Goth. *ganah*, *binah* are lost to us; I first assumed *ganahum*, *binahum*, but afterwards *ganaúhum*, because *bináúht* = *ἐξέσσι* in 1 Cor. 10, 23, and *ganaúha* *αὐτάρκεια* occurs several times. The *u* (*áu* before an *h*) is the same as in *skal skulum*, *man munum*, OHG. *mac mugum*, in spite of which the noun is *maht*. But the Goth. *mag magum* proves the superior claim of *a*, so that *nahts* (*nox*) would presuppose an older *nah nahum*, *nahta*, even though Ulphilas had written *nah naúhum*, *naúhta*.

Goth. *ganahan*, OHG. *kinahan*, means *sufficere*, so that *nahts* would be the *sufficing*, *pacifying*, *restful*, *quiet*, at the same time *efficient*, *strong*, ἄρκια, which seems to hit the sense exactly. Add to this, that the OHG. *duruh-naht* is not only *pernox*, *totam noctem durans*, but more commonly *perfectus*, *consummatus*, ‘*fullsummed in power*,’ MHG. *durnehte*, *durnehtece*, where there is no thought of night at all. Where did Stieler 1322 find his ‘*durchnacht*, *nox illunis*’? = the Scand. *níð* (p. 710), and meaning the height of night (see *Suppl.*).

Both day and night are exalted beings. Day is called the holy, like the Greek *ἱερὸν ἡμῶν*: ‘*sam mir der heilic tac!*’ *Ms.* 2, 311. ‘*sâ mir daz heilige licht!*’ *Roth.* 11^b. ‘*die lieben tage*,’ *Ms.* 1, 165^a. ‘*der liebe tag*,’ *Simplic.* 1, 5. Hence both are addressed with greetings: ‘*heill Dagr*, *heilir Dags synir*, *heil Nótt ok nipt! ðreiðom augom lítit ockr þinnig, ok gefit sitjondom sigur!*’ they are asked to look with gracious eyes on men, and give victory, *Sæm.* 194^a; and the adoration of day occurs as late as in *Mart. von Amberg’s Beichtspiegel*. ‘*diu edele naht*,’ *Ms.* 2, 196^b. ‘*diu heilige naht*,’ *Gerh.* 3541. ‘*sam mir diu heilic naht hînt!*’ so (help) me Holy Night to-night, *Helbl.* 2, 1384. 8, 606. ‘*frau Naht*,’ *Ms. H.* 3,428^a (see *Suppl.*).

Norse poetry, as we saw, provided both Night and Day with cars, like other gods; but then the sun also has his chariot, while the moon, as far as I know, has none ascribed to her. Night and Day are drawn by one horse each, the Sun has two; consequently day was thought of as a thing independent of the sun, as the moon also has to light up the dark night. Probably the ear of Day was supposed to run before that of the Sun,¹ and the Moon to follow Night. The alternation of sexes seems not without significance, the masculine Day being accompanied by the feminine Sun, the fem. Night by the masc. Moon. The Greek myth gives chariots to Helios and Selene, none to the deities of day and night; yet Aeschylus in *Persæ* 386 speaks of day as *λευκόπῳλος ἡμέρα*, the *white-horsed*. The riddle in *Reinmar von Zweter*, *Ms.* 2, 136, lets the chariot of the year be drawn by seven white and seven black steeds (the days and nights of the week). Here also the old heathen notion of riding

¹ *i. e.* day or morning is there *before the sun*, who backs them up, so to speak: *unz daz diu sunne ir liehtez schînen bôt dem morgen über berge*, *Nib.* 1564, 2.

or driving deities peeps out. Again, a spell quoted in Mone's Anz. 6, 459 begins with 'God greet thee, *holy Sunday!* I see thee there come *riding.*' This is no doubt the heathen god *Tag* riding along on *Scinfahso* with his shiny mane (ON. *Skinfaxi*, Sn. 11); but if we took it for the white god *Paltar* on his foal (p. 222-4), we should not be altogether wrong. We shall have more to say presently on the personification of Day; but that spell is well worthy of consideration (see Suppl.).

Nevertheless our poets express the break of day by the sun's uprising, and more especially the fall of night by his setting; but neither the beginning nor end of night by the moon, whose rising and setting are seldom simultaneous with them. I will now give the oldest set phrases that express these phenomena.

The sun rises, climbs: Goth. *sunna ur-rinniþ*, Mk. 4, 6. 16, 2. OHG. *ar-rinnit*; *daranâh ir-ran* diu sunna, N. ps. 103, 22; MHG. *si was ûf er-runnen*, Mar. 189. ON. *þâ rannu* dagr upp, Ol. helg. cap. 220. *Rinnan* is properly to run, to flow, and here we see a strict analogy to the O. Rom. idiom, which in like manner uses *manare* of the rising day: '*diei principium m̄ane, quod tum m̄anat dies ab oriente,*' Varro 6, 4 (O. Müller p. 74); '*manar solem dicebant antiqui, cum solis orientis radii splendorem jacere coepissent*' (Festus sub v.). Ulphilas never applies *ur-reisan* (*surgere*) to the sun. The Span. language attributes to the rising sun a pricking (*apuntar*): '*yxie el sol, dios, que feroso apuntaba,*' Cid 461; '*quando viniere la mañana, que apuntare el sol,*' Cid 2190. After rising the sun is *awake*, 'with the sun awake' means in broad daylight (Weisth. 2, 169. 173. 183), 'when sunshine *is up*' (2, 250). AS. '*hâdor heofonleoma com blîcan,*' Andr. 838 (see Suppl.).

The sun sinks, falls: Goth. *sagq sunnô* (pron. sank), Lu. 4, 40. *gasagq sâuil*, Mk. 1, 32. *dissigqái* (occidat), Eph. 4, 26. OHG. *sunnâ pifeal* (ruit), *pisluae* (occidit),¹ Gl. Ker. 254. Diut. 1, 274^a. MHG. *sîget*: diu sunne sîget hin, Trist. 2402. diu sunne was ze tal gesigen, Wh. 447, 8. nu begund diu sunne sîgen, Aw. 1, 41. ON. both *sôlarfall* and *sôlsetr*, Engl. *sunset*; so OHG. '*denne sunnâ kisaz,*' cum sol occumberet, Diut. 1, 492^a, implying that he sits down, and that there is a *seat* or *chair* for him to drop into

¹ Intrans., as we still say niederschlagen, zu boden schlagen.

at the end of his journey. His setting is called OHG. *sedalkanc*, Hym. 18, 1; *sedal ira kât* (goeth) 14, 2. AS. *setelgong*,¹ *setlûal*, Cædm. 184, 19. *oððæt sunne gewât tô sete glûdan*, Andr. 1305. *oððæt beorht gewât sunne swegeltorht tô sete glûdan* 1248. OS. *sêy sunne tô sedle*, Hel. 86, 12. *sunne ward an sedle* 89, 10. *geng thar âband tuo, sunna ti sedle* 105, 6. *serêd wester dag, sunne te sedle* 137, 20. *sô thuo gisêgid warth sedle nâhor hêdra sunna mid hebantunglon* 170, 1. Dan. *for vesten gaær solen til súde*, DV. 1, 90, in contrast to 'sól er í austri (east),' Vilksaga p. 58-9. The *West* (occasus) stands opposed to the *East* (oriens), and as OHG. *kibil* means pole, and Nordkibel, Sunkibel the north and south poles (N. Bth. 208), a set phrase in our Weisthümer may claim a high antiquity: 'bis (until) die sonne unter den Westergibel geht' (1, 836); 'bis die sonne an den Wg. schint' (2, 195); 'so lange dat die sonne in den Westergevel schint' (2, 159). The first of these three passages has the curious explanation added: 'till 12 o'clock.'² Ovid's 'axe sub hesperio' Met. 4, 214 is thus given by Albrecht: in den lichten westernangen. The similar expression in ON. seems to me important, Grâgâs 1, 26: 'fara til lögbergs, at sól sê â giðhamri enum vestra,' giðhamarr being chasmatis rupes occidentalis. I shall have more to say about that in another connexion; conf. however Landnâma bók 215: sól í austri ok vestri. MHG. *diu sunne gie ze sedele*, Diut. 3, 57. *als diu sunne in ir gesedel solde gân*, Morolt 38^a; but what place on earth can that be, whose very name is told us in 14^b, 'ze Geilât, dâ diu sunne in ir gesedel hât'? the capital of India? (see p. 743 note.) I suppose *kadam*, MHG. *gaden* (cubiculum), Mor. 15^a is equivalent to *sedal*, unless the true reading be 'ze guâden.' The sun gets way-worn, and longs for rest: *dô hete diu müede sunne*

¹ ON. and AS. distinguish between two periods of the evening, an earlier *aptan æfen*=vespera, and a later *qveild, cwilt*=conticinium: 'at qveldi,' Sæm. 20^a. 73^b, means at full evening, when night has fallen and its stillness has set in. I derive *cwilt, qveild* from *ewellan, qvelja* to quell or kill, as in many passages it means *liter. interitus, occisio, nex*; so we may explain it by the falling or felling of the day (*cadere, whence caedere*), or still better by the deathlike hush of night; conf. Engl. 'dead of night, deatime of n.', the conticinium, AS. *cwiltid*. If 'chuiltiwereh' in a doc. of 817 means *ewildweore*, work in the late evening, which is not to be put upon maidservants, then OHG. too had a *chuilt* corresp. to *ewild* and *qveild, qvöld*. In Cædm. 188, 11 I propose to read: 'ewildrôfu eodon on lâðra lâst,' i.e. (*belluae*) *vesperi famosae ibant in vestigia malorum*.

² In fixing boundary-lines *Westergibel* is even used topographically, Weisth. 1, 464-5. 485. 498. 550-6.

ir liechten blic hinz ir gelesen, Parz. 32, 24. He goes to his bed, his bedchamber : Dan. 'solen ganger til *senge*,' DV. 1, 107. 'solen gik til *hvile*,' 1, 170. MHG. diu sunne gerte lâzen sich zuo *reste*, Ernst 1326. diu sunne dô ze *reste* gie, Ecke (Hag.) 110. nu wolte diu sunne ze *reste* und onch ze *gemache* nider gân, Dietr. 14^d; so M. Opitz 2, 286 : 'muss doch zu *rüste* gehen, so oft es abend wird, der schöne himmels-schild.' OE. the sun was gon to *rest*, Iwan 3612. Our *gnade* (favour), MHG. genâde, OHG. kinâda, properly means inclining, drooping, repose (p. 710), which accounts for the phrase 'diu sunne gienc ze *gnâden*' (dat. pl.), Mor. 37^a. Wolfdietr. 1402. Even Agricola no longer understood it quite, for he says in Sprichw. 737 : 'it lasted till the sun was about to *go to gnaden*, i.e. to set, and deny(!) the world his *gnade* and light by going to rest.' Aventin (ed. 1580 p. 19^b) would trace it back to our earliest heathenism and a worship of the sun as queen of heaven : 'never might ye say she set, but alway that she went to *röst* and *gnaden*, as the silly simple folk doth even yet believe.' The last words alone are worth noticing ; the superstition may be of very old standing, that it is more pious, in this as in other cases, to avoid straightforward speech, and use an old half-intelligible euphemism. On this point Vuk 775 has something worthy of note : you must say '*smirilo se suntse*' (the sun is gone to rest, conquivit), and not *zadye* (is gone) nor *syede* (sits) ; if you say *zadye*, he answers '*zashao pa ne izishao*' (gone, not come out) ;¹ if you say *syede*, he tells you '*syeo pa ne ustao*' (sat down, not risen) ; but to '*smiri se*' the answer is '*smiryó se i ti*' (rest thee also thou).² And with this I connect the Eddic saw on the peculiar sacredness of the setting sun : '*engi skal gumna i gögn vega síðskínandi systor Mana*,' Sæm. 184^b, none shall fight in the face of the late-shining sister of the Moon (see Suppl.)

Lye quotes an AS. phrase '*ær sun go to glade*,' which he translates '*priusquam sol vergat ad occasum, lapsum.*' The noun formed from *glīdan* (labi) would be *glād*, and *glīdan* is

¹ Kopitar tells me, '*zashao* etc.' is rather an imprecation : mayst thou go in (perhaps, lose thy way) and never get out ! So '*syeo* etc.', mayst thou sit down and never get up !

² Mod. Greek songs say, *ὁ ἥλιος ἐβασίλευε, ἐβασίλευσε* (Fauriel 1, 56. 2, 300. 432), i.e. has reigned, reigns no more in the sky, is set ; and the same of the setting moon (2, 176).

actually used of the sun's motion : heofones gim glâd ofer grundas, Beow. 4140 [and 'tô sete glîdan' twice in Andreas]. But 'gongan tô glâde' seems nonsense ; perhaps we ought to suppose a noun glæde with the double meaning of splendor and gaudium. Both the ON. glaðr and OHG. klat signify first splendidus, then hilaris, two notions that run into one another (as in our heiter = serenus and hilaris) ; *klat* is said of stars, eyes, rays (Graff 4, 288), and the sun, O. ii. 1, 13 : êr wurti sunna sô *glat* (ere he grew so bright). The MHG. poet quoted on p. 705 says (Warnung 2037) :

sô ir die sunnen vrô sehet,	When ye see the sun glad,
schœnes tages ir ir jehet,	Ye own the fine day is hers,
des dankt ir ir, und Gote niht.	Ye thank her, not God.

In Switzerland I find the remarkable proper name *Sonnenfroh* (Anshelm 3, 89. 286). But now further, the notions of bliss, repose, chamber, lie next door to each other, and of course brightness and bliss. The setting sun beams forth in heightened splendour, he is entering into his bliss : this is what 'gongan tô glæde' may have meant. In ON. I have only once fallen in with *sôlarglaðun* (occasus), Fornald. sög. 1, 518. We learn from Ihre's Dialectlex. p. 57^a 165^a, that in Vestgötland 'gladas' is said of the sun when setting : solen *gladas* or *glaas* (occidit), *soleglanding*, *solglädjen* (occasus), which may mean that the setting sun is glad or glitters. That is how I explain the idiom quoted by Stald. 1, 463. 2, 520 : the sun *goes gilded* = sets, i.e. glitters for joy. So in Kinderm. no. 165 : sunne *z'gold gange* ; in a song (Eschenburg's Denkm. 240) : de sunne *ging to golde* ; and often in the Weisthümer : so die sun *für gold gat* (1, 197), als die sonne *in golt get* (1, 501). Again, as the *rising* sun presents a like appearance of splendour, we can now understand better why the vulgar say he *leaps for joy* or *dances* on great festivals (p. 291) ; he is called 'the paschal piper,' Haupt's Zeitschr. 1, 547. Nor would I stop even there, I would also account for that *noise*, that *clang* once ascribed to the *rising* and *setting* sun (p. 720-1) by a deep affinity between the notions of light and sound, of colours and tones, Gramm. 2, 86-7. A strophe in Albrecht's Titurel describes more minutely the music of sunrise :

Darnâch kund sich diu sunne
 wol an ir zirkel rîden (writhe):
 der sÛeze ein überwunne,
 ich wæn die sÛeze nieman möht erlîden.
 mit dône dô diu zirkel ruorte;
 seitenklanc und vogelsanc
 ist alsam glîch der golt gÛen kupfer fuorte.

(Then in his orb the sun to whirling took, I ween such glut of sweetness none might brook; with dulcet din his orb he rolled, that clang of strings or bird that sings were like as copper beside gold.) Who can help thinking of the time-honoured tradition of *Memnon's statue*, which at sunrise sent forth a sound like the clang of a harpstring, some say a joyful tone at the rising and a sad at the setting of the sun.¹ Further on we shall be able to trace some other fancies about the break of day and the fall of night, to light and sound (see Suppl.).

But whither does the evening sun betake himself to rest, and where is his chamber situated? The oldest way of putting it is, that he dives into the sea, to quench his glow in the cool wave. The AS. Bth. (Rawl. 193^a): 'and þeáh monnum þyuceð þæt hio on mere gange, under sæ swife, þonne hio on setl glîdeð.' So the ancients said *δύναι* and *mergere* of the sun and stars, 'occasus, interitus, vel solis in oceanum mersio' (Festus).² Boëth. 4 (metr. 5) says of Boötes: *cur mergat seras aequore flammas*; and metr. 6: *nec, cetera cernens sidera mergi, cupit oceano tingere flammas*; which N. 223 translates: *alliu zeichen sehende in sedel gân, niomer sih ne gerôt kebadôn (bathe) in demo merewazere*. So, 'sol petit *oceanum*,' Rudlieb 4, 9. But the expression comes so naturally to all who dwell on the seacoast, that it need not be a borrowed one; we find it in ON. 'sôl gengr í ægi,' Fornm. sög. 2, 302, and in MHG. 'der sê, dô diu sunne ûf gêt ze reste,' MS. 2, 66^b. And, as other goddesses after making the round of the country are bathed in the lake, it is an additional proof of the Sun's divinity that 'she' takes a bath, a notion universally preva-

¹ Pausan. 1, 42. Philostr. Vita Apoll. 6, 4. Heroic. 4. Pliny 36, 11. Tac. Ann. 2, 61. Juven. 15, 5.

² Setting in the lake is at the same time depositing the divine eye as a pledge in the fountain. I will add a neat phrase from Wolfram, Parz. 32, 24: *dô hete diu müede sunne ir lichten blic hinz ir gelesen*.

lent among the Slavs also: at eve she sinks into her bath to cleanse herself, at morn she emerges clean with renewed grandeur. The sea was thought to be the Sun's mother, into whose arms she sank at night.¹

To inhabitants of the inland, the horizon was blocked by a wood, hence the phrases: *sól gengr til víðar* (Biörn sub v. vidr); *solen går under vide* (Ihre sub v.).² But the AS. word in: 'hâdor sægl wuldortorht gewât *under wâðu scriðan*,' Andr. 1456, seems to be a different thing, the OHG. *weidi* (p. 132 n.). We say the sun goes behind *the hills*, to which corresponds the AS. 'sunne gewât *under niflan næs*,' sub terrae crepidinem, Andr. 1306 (conf. *under neolum næsse*, El. 831); a Dan. folksong: *solen gik til iorde*, down to earth, DV. 1, 170; Ecke (Hagen) 129: *diu sunne ûz dem himel gie*. Or, the sun is *down*, MHG. 'der sunne (here masc.) *hinder gegât*,' MS. 2, 192^b (see Suppl.).³

We will now examine other formulas, which express *daybreak* and *nightfall* without any reference to the sun.

What is most remarkable is, that day was imagined in the *shape of an animal*, which towards morning advances in the sky. Wolfram begins a beautiful watchman's song with the words: '*sîne klâwen durch die wolken sint geslagen* (his claws through the clouds are struck), *er stîget ûf mit grôzer kraft, ih sih ihn grâwen, den tac*;' and in part third of Wh. (Cass. 317^a) we read: '*daz diu wolken wâren grâ, und der tac sîne clâ hete geslagen durch die naht*.⁴ Is it a bird or a beast that is meant? for our language gives claws to both. In AS. there is a proper name *Dæg-hrefn*, Beow. 4998, which in OHG. would be *Taka-hraban*; and Beow. 3599 describes daybreak in the words: '*hræfn blâca heofones wynne blîð-heort bodôde*,' niger corvus coeli gaudium laeto corde nuntiavit.⁵ That piercing with the claw to raise a storm (p. 633) makes one think of an *eagle*, while an Oriental picture, surprisingly

¹ Hanusch, Slav. myth. p. 231, who connects with it the splashing with water at the Kupalo feast, and derives that name from *kupel*, *kapiel*.

² Esth. *pâw katsub metsa ladwa*, the sun walks on the tips of the wood.

³ Gudr. 116, 2: '*der sunne schîn gelac verborgen hinter den wolken ze Gustrâte verre*' I understand no better than *Geilâte* (p. 739); but both seem to mean the same thing.

⁴ So in a Weisthum (3, 90): '*de sunne uppe dem hogesten gewest clawendich*.'

⁵ Conf. *volucris dies*, Hor. Od. iii. 28, 6. iv. 13, 16.

similar, suggests rather the king of beasts, who to us is the bear.¹ Ali Jelebi in his *Humayun-nameli* (Diez p. 153) describes the beginning of day in language bombastic it may be, yet doubtless a faithful reflex of ancient imagery: 'When the falcon of the nest of the firmament had scattered the nightbirds of the flickering stars from the meadow of heaven, and at sight of the *claws of the lion of day* the roe of musk-scented night had fled from the field of being into the desert of non-existence.' The night, a timid roe, retires before the mighty beast of day: a beautiful image, and full of life. Wolfram again in another song makes day press forward with resistless force (see Suppl.).

But the dawn is also pictured in human guise, that of a beautiful youth, sent like Wuotan's raven as *harbinger* of day: 'dæg byð Dryhtnes *sond*' says the Lay of Runes. And in this connexion we ought to consider the formation of such names as *Bældæg*, *Swipdæg*, etc., for gods and heroes. This messenger of the gods stations himself on the mountain's top, and that *on tiptoe*, like the beast on his claws, that he may the sooner get a glimpse of the land: 'jocund day *stands tiptoe* on the misty mountain tops,' Rom. and J. 3, 5; a popular image, I have little doubt, and one that Hebel also uses about Sunday morning: 'und *listi uf de zeche goht* und heiter uf de berge stoht de sunntig.' He climbs and pushes on swiftly, irrepressibly: der tac *stîgende* wart, Trist. 8942. der tac *begund herdringen*, Wolfd. 124. In AS. 'þâ wæs morgen leoht *scofen* and *scynded*' (praecipitatus et festinatus, shoved and shindied), Beow. 1828. Hence our poets call him *der rîche*, the mighty, as they do God (p. 20): *rîche* alsô der tac, MS. 1, 163^a. *rîche muotes* alsam der tac, Wigal. 5222. der tac wil *gerîchen* (prevail, prosper), MS. 1, 27^b. 2, 23^b; he is not to be checked, he chases night away. Put impersonally: thô iz zi dage *want* (turned), Otrf. iii. 8, 21; but also: der tac wil *nîht erwînden* (turn aside, give it up), MS. 1, 147^b. *morge fruo*, als der tac *erstarkt* (gathers strength), Eracl. 587. dô die naht der tac *vertreip*, Frauend. 47. 58. He hurls her from her throne, and occupies it himself; ez taget, diu naht muoz *ab ir trône*, den sie ze Kriechen hielt mit ganzer vrône, der tac *wil in besitzen*, MS. 1, 2^b; conf. βασιλεύειν said of the sun (see Suppl.).

¹ The Arabs call the first glimmer of dawn *the wolf's tail*, Rückert's *Hariri* 1, 215.

Sometimes it appears as if the day, whether pictured as man or as beast, were *tethered*, and delayed in dawning: *ligata, fune ligata* dies, Reinh. lxiv; he approaches slowly, hindered by the bands: ein *nacht* doch nicht *gepunden* ist an einen *stekchen*, hoer ich sagen, Suchenw. 22, 30. Has that in Fergât 1534, 'quam die daeh *ghestrict* in die sale,' anything to do with this? In a Hungarian fairy-tale (Mailath 1, 137), midnight and dawn are so *tied up*, that they cannot get forward, and do not arrive among men. Stier's Volksm. pp. 3. 5. One MHG. poem represents day as *on sale* and *to be had for money*, Zeitschr. f. d. a. 1, 27; like a slave bound by a cord?

The Romance tongues (not the Teut.) often signify the break of day by a word meaning to prick: Fr. *poindre*, Sp. *puntar*, *apuntar* (said of the sun also, p. 738), It. *spuntare*; thus, à la *pointe* du jour, at daybreak. This may indeed be understood of the day's first advance, as though it presented a sharp point, but also it may refer to day as a *rider* who *spurs* his steed, or to the tramping and trotting of a beast, which is also *poindre*, Reinh. p. xxxix (see Suppl.).

But more significant and impressive are the phrases that connect with daybreak (as well as with sunrise) the idea of a *flutter* and *rustle*, which might be referred to the pinions of the harbinger of day, but which carries us right up to the highest god, whose sovereign sway it is that shakes the air. Wuotan, when spoken of as Wuomo, Wôma, is a thrill of nature (p. 144), such as we actually experience at dawn, when a cool breeze sweeps through the clouds. Expressions in point are the AS. *dæg-wóma* Cædm. 199, 26. Cod. exon. 175, 4. *dægrêd-wóma*, Andr. 125, 8. Cod. exon. 179, 24. *morgen-swég*, Beow. 257. *dyne* on *dægrêd*, Cædm. 289, 27. ær *dægrêde* þæt se *dyne* becom, Cædm. 294, 4; conf. Introd. to Andr. and El. xxx. xxxi, and the allusion to Donar, p. 736. To this I would trace the 'clang' sent forth by the light of sunrise and sunset. And I venture to put the same sense on an O. Fr. formula, which occurs only in Carolingian poems: Gerard De Viane 1241, 'lou matin *par son l'aube* esclarcie.' Cod. reg. 7183, 3^a, 'un matin *par son l'aube*, quant el fu aparue'; ibid. 5^a, 'un matin *par son l'aube*, quant li jor esclaira'; ibid. 161^c, 'au matin *par son l'aube*, si con chante li gaus (gallus).' Cod. 7535, 69^c, 'a matin *par son l'aube*. I

add a few instances from the Charlemagne, ed. Michel 239, 'al matin *sun* la (?) *lalbe*'; 248. 468. 727, 'al matin *par sun lalbe*'; 564, 'le matin *par sun lalbe*.' Was it not originally *per sonum* (sonitum) *albae*? Later they seem to have taken it in a different sense, viz. son = summum, summitas, Fr. sommet; Michel in Gloss. to Charlem. 133 gives a passage which spells 'par *som* laube,' and elsewhere we find 'par son leve,' on the top of the water, 'en sun cel pin,' up on this pine, Charlem. 594. 760, 'en son,' on the top, Renart 2617. In Provençal, Ferabras 182, 'lo mati *sus* en lalba'; 3484, 'lo matinet *sus* lalba.' In It., Buovo p. m. 84. 99. 155, una mattina *su* l'alba, i.e. sur l'aube, which gives only a forced meaning, as though it meant to say 'when the alba stood over the mountain top.'

The English use the expression '*peep* of day': 'the sun began to *peep*' says a Scotch song, Minstr. 2, 430; so the Danes have *pipe frem*: 'hist *piper* solen *frem*, giv Gud en lyksom dag!' says Thom. Kingo, a 17th cent. poet (Nyerup's Danske digtek. middelalder I, 235). Both languages now make it a separate word from 'to pipe,' Dan. 'pibe.' But, just as in the Fr. 'par son' the sound became a coming in sight, so the old meaning of 'piping' seems to have got obliterated, and a new distinction to have arisen between *peep* and *pipe*, Dan. *pipe* and *pibe*. Our Gryphius therefore is right in saying (p. m. 740), 'the moon *pipes* up her light.' It is the simultaneous breaking forth of light and noise in the natural phenomenon. We have the same thing in '*skreik* of day' (Hunter's Hallamsh. gloss. p. 81), which can mean nothing but 'shriek'; and in the Nethl. '*kriek*, *krieken* van den dag,' Plattd. 'de *krik* vam dage' for the morning twilight, the chirking (so to speak) of day, as the chirping insect is called cricket, *kriek*, *krikel*, *krekel* (cicada). A remarkable instance of the two meanings meeting in one word is found in the Goth. *svigla* (αὐλός), OHG. *suëkala* (fistula), by the side of the AS. *swegel* (lux, æther), OS. *suigli* (lux).

Our own word *anbrechen* (on-break) implies a crash and a shaking, MHG. *sâ dô der ander tac ûf brach* (Frauend. 53. 109);¹

¹ Conf. Bon. 48, 68; and I must quote Ls. 3, 259: '*dô brach* der tac *dâ herfür*, diu naht von dem tac wart *kinent* (became yawning, was split? conf. supra p. 558), diu sunne wart wol schinent.' The Gute Frau has twice (1539. 2451): '*dô der tac durch daz tach* (thatch) *lûhte* unde *brach*.' We might perh. derive '*ûf brach*' from *brechen*, but we now say *anbrechen*, *anbruch*.

Engl. *break* (as well as *rush*, *blush*) of day. Span. 'el alva rompe.' O. Sp. 'apriessa cantan los gallos, e quieren *quebrar* albores,' Cid 235. 'ya *quiebran* los albores, e vinie la mañana' 460. 'trocida es la noche, ya *quiebran* los albores' 3558. O. Fr. 'Panbe *crieve*,' Ren. 1186. 'ja estoit l'aube *crevee*' 1175. 'tantost con l'aube se *creva*' 16057. Prov. 'can l'alba fo *crevada*,' Ferabr. 3977. This romper, quebrar, crevar (Lat. crepare) is the quivering and quaking of the air that precedes sunrise, accompanied by a perceptible chill; and *crepusculum* contains the same idea. The Spaniard says also 'el alva se *rie*,' laughs; and the Arab 'the morning *sneezes*' (see Suppl.).¹

But here the notion of Twilight, and the oldest words by which it is expressed, have to be examined more minutely.

The very first glimmer of dawn, or strictly that which precedes it, the latter end of night, is expressed by the Goth. *uhtwô* (*ἔρνωχρον*), Mk. 1, 35, OHG. *uhtâ*, or as N. spells it *uolta*, OS. *uhta*, AS. *uhte* (most freq. 'on uhtan,' Cædm. 20, 26. 289, 31. 294, 2. Cod. exon. 443, 24. 459, 17. 460, 14. 'on uhtan mid ærdæge,' Beow. 251), ON. *ôtta* (Biörn says, from 3 to 6 a.m.). The root has never been explained; probably the Swiss Uchtland and Westphalian Uchte may be named from *uhtâ*. Closely bordering on it is the AS. *ærdæg* (*primum tempus*), Beow. 251. 2623. 5880; ON. *ârdagi* (conf. *ârdegis*, mane); an OHG. *êrtac* or *êrtago* is unknown to me. Next comes the notion of diluculum, ON. *dagsbrûn*, *dagsbiarmi*, *dagsbirta*, from *brûn*=ora, margo, as if supercilium, and *biarmi*, *birta*=lux: but OHG. *tagarôd*, *tagurôt* (Graff 2, 486-7); AS. *dægrêd*, Cædm. 289, 27. 294, 4; MLG. *dagerât*, En. 1408; M. Nethl. *dagheraet* (Huyd. op. St. 2, 496): a compound whose last syllable is not distinctly traceable to *rôt* (*ruber*), but is perhaps allied to the *rodur*, *röðull* (*coelum*) on p. 699. The gender also wavers between masc. and fem.² We catch glimpses of a mythic personality behind, for N. in Cap. 102 translates Leucothea (the white bright goddess, a Perahta) by 'der *tagerod*,' and carries out the personification: 'nbe der

¹ Rûckert's *Hariri* 1, 375. In the *Novelas of Maria de Zayas* 1, 3 is a song beginning: 'si se *rie* el alva,' elsewhere she has 'quando el alva muestra *su alegre risa*;' conf. p. 502 on laughter that shakes one. The Ital. 'fare *ridere* una botta' is an expressive phrase for shaking a cask so that it runs over.

² Yet conf. OHG. *morgan-rôt*, *-rôto*, and *-rôtâ* (Graff 2, 486); MHG. *ûfgênder morgenrôt* (is it *morgen rôt*?), *Walth.* 4, 6; but *daz morgenrôt*, *Trist.* 8285. 9462.

tagerod sina facchelun iuzundet habe,' have kindled his torches. And in urkunden we meet with a man's name *Dagharot* (Falke's Trad. corb. p. 5), also a place named *Wirin-tagaroth* (Höfer's Zeitschr. 2, 170). When OHG. glosses put *tagarôd* for crepusculum, it comes of unacquaintance with the Latin idiom; it can be nothing but diluculum, aurora. In O.Fr. there is a woman's name *Brunmatin* = dawn, Ren. 15666. 15712. 16441 [conn. with *dagsbrûn*, SUPPL.]. The ON. has no *dagsrod*, but it has *sólarrod* aurora, Fornm. sög. 8, 346. [SUPPL. adds 'með *dagræðom*,' Sæm. 24^a]. The M. Nethl. has a second term *dachgrake*, *dagherake* (fem.), *graken* for the night's blackness brightening into *gray*; so MHG. der *grâwe* tac, daz *grâwe* licht, MS. 2, 49^a, der tac wil *grâwen*, Wolfr. 4, 11; 'si kôs den alten jungen *grâwen grîsen* (tac)'; 'junc unde *grâ* der morgen ûf gât,' MsH. 3, 427^b (see Suppl.).

After aurora follows the full morning, Goth. *máurgins*, OHG. *morkan*, OS. *morgan*, ON. *morgun*, strictly *ἄριον*. I suspect it has a sense allied to the day's 'breaking or bursting,' for the Goth. *gamaúrgjan* means to cut and shorten, like *ginnen*, *secare* (see Suppl.).

To names for the rising day stand opposed those for the sinking. For *ὄψέ, ὄψια* Ulphilas puts *andanahiti*, the times towards night, but also *seibu* (serum), as the Mod. Greeks call evening the slow, late, *τὸ βράδν*, and morning the swift, early, *τὸ ταχύ*, therefore also the short (conf. *gamaúrgjan*). The OHG. *âpant*, OS. *âband*, AS. *æfen*, ON. *aptan* is of one root with *aba*, *afar*, *aptr*, which expresses a falling off, a retrograde movement. The OHG. *dëmar*, our *dämmerung*, stands especially for crepusculum, and is connected with AS. *dim*, Lith. *tamsus*, Slav. *temni* [dark, from *tma*, *tenebræ*]. AS. *æfenvîm*, *æfenglom* crepusculum. What has peculiar interest for us, the *Tagarôd* above is supported by an undoubtedly personal *Apantrôd*, a giant of our heroic legend: *Abentrôt* is the brother of *Ecke* and *Fasolt*, in both of whom we recognised phenomena of the sea and air (pp. 239. 636). If day was a godlike youth, morning and evening twilight may have been conceived as the giants *Tagarôd* and *Apantrôd* (see Suppl.).¹

¹ MHG. der *âbentrôt*, Walth. 30, 15; but 'dô diu *âbentrôt* (f.) witen ir licht der erden bôt,' Uolrich 1488.

To the Greeks and Romans *Ἥως*, *Aurora*, was a goddess, and she is painted in the liveliest colours. She rises from the *couch* (ἐκ λεχέων, as our sun goes to bed, p. 740) of her husband Tithonos, Od. 5, 1; she is the early-born (ἠριγένεια), the rosy-fingered (ρόδοδάκτυλος, Il. 1, 477); she digs her ruddy fingers into the clouds as day does his claws, p. 743; she is also called χρυσόθρονος golden-throned, like Hera and Artemis. The Slavs, instead of a goddess of dawn, appear to have had a god, *Yutribogh* (see Suppl.).

There is another belief of the Slavs and Hungarians, which, having strayed over to us, must not be passed over in silence. In Hungary dawn is called *hajnal* (Esth. *haggo*), and the watchmen there cry to one another: '*hajnal* vagyon szep piros, *hajnal*, *hajnal* vagyon!' aurora est (erumpit) pulcra purpurea, aurora, aurora est. The same word *heynal*, *cynal* is in use among the Poles, who cry: '*heynal* świta!' aurora lucet (Linde 1, 623). Now Dietmar of Merseburg tells us under the year 1017 (7, 50 p. 858): 'Audivi de quodam baculo, in cujus summitate manus erat, unum in se ferreum tenens circulum, quod cum pastore illius villae Silivellun (Selben near Merseb.), in quo (l. qua) is fuerat, per omnes domos has singulariter ductus, in primo introitu a portitore suo sic salutaretur: vigila *Hennil*, vigila! sic enim rustica vocabatur lingua, et epulantes ibi delicate de ejusdem se tueri custodia stulti autumabant.' And, coming to our own times, I quote from Ad. Kuhn's *Märk. sagen* p. 330: 'An old forester of Seeben by Salzwedel used to say, it was once the custom in these parts, on a certain day of the year, to fetch a tree out of the common-wood, and having set it up in the village, to dance round it, crying: *Hennil*, *Hennil* wache!' Can this have come out of Dietmar? and can this 'Hennil, wake!' and 'Hennil vigila!' so far back as the 11th cent. have arisen through misunderstanding the Hung. *vagyon* (which means 'est,' not 'vigilat')? Anyhow, the village watchman or shepherd, who went round to all the houses, probably on a certain day of the year, carrying the staff on which was a hand holding an iron ring, and who called out those words, seems to have meant by them some divine being. A Slovak song in Kollar (*Zpievanky* p. 247, conf. 447) runs thus:

<i>Hainal</i> svitá, giž den biely,	H. shines, now day is white,
stavayte velky i maly !	arise ye great and small !
dosti sme giž dluho spali.	long enough have we now slept.

Bohemian writers try to identify this *Hajnal*, *Heynal*, *Hennil* with a Servian or Bohemian god of herdsmen *Honidlo*;¹ I know not how it may be about this god, but *honidlo* is neuter in form, and the name of a tool, it must have been *gonidlo* in Polish, and totally unconnected with *eynal*, *heynal* (see Suppl.).

We saw that the rising sun uttered a *joyful* sound, p. 741-2 that the rustling dawn *laughed*, p. 747; this agrees with the oft-repeated sentiment, that the day brings *bliss*, the night *sorrow*. We say, 'happy as the day,' and Shaksp. '*joycund* day'; Reinolt von der Lippe 'er *verblide* als der dag'; MS. 2, 192 of departing day, 'der tac *sîn wunne* verlât.' Especially do birds express their joy at the approach of day: 'gæst inne swæf oþþæt hræfn blâca *heofenes wynne blið-heort* bodôde,' Beow. 3598; the heaven's bliss that the raven blithe-hearted announces is the breaking day. 'I am as glad as the hawks that dewy-faced behold the dawn (*dögglitir dagsbrún síð*),' Sæm. 167^b; 'nu verðr hann svâ feginn, *sem fugl degi*,' Vilks. saga, cap. 39, p. 94; 'Horn was as fain o' fight as is the *foule of the light* when it ginneth dawe,' Horn and Rimen. 64, p. 307; 'ich warte der frouwen mîn, reht als *des tages* diu kleinen *vogellîn*,' MS. 1, 51^a; 'fröit sich mîn gemüete, sam diu kleinen *vogellîn*, sô si *sehent den morgenschîn*,' MS. 2, 102^b. Hence the multitude of poetic set-phrases that typify the break of day by the song of cocks (*han-krât*) or nightingales. Biarkamâl near the beginning: 'dagr er upp kominn, dynja hana fiaðrar,' cocks' feathers make a din. 'à la mañana, quando los gallos cantaran,' Cid 317. 'li coc cantoient, pres fu del esclairier.' 'l'aube est percie, sesclere la jornee, cil oisellon chantent en la ramee.' 'biz des morgens vruo, daz diu nahtigal rief,' En. 12545 (see Suppl.).

Night is represented as swift, overtaking, taking unawares, *θοῆ νόξ*, Il. 10, 394, for does not she drive a chariot? She *falls* or sinks from heaven, 'la nuit *tombe*, nuit *tombante*, à la *tombée* de la nuit;' she *bricht ein* (breaks or bursts *in*, down), whereas day *bricht an* (on, forth); she gathers all at once, she surprises. In

¹ Jungmann 1, 670. 724. Hanusch pp. 369-70.

Matth. 14, 15, where the Vulg. has 'hora jam praeteriit,' Luther Germanizes it into 'die nacht fällt daher' (on, apace); and O. Germ. already used the verbs *ana gân*, *fallan* in this sense: âband unsih *anu geit*, ther dag ist sînes sindes, O. v. 10, 8. in *ane gâenda* naht, N. Bth. 31. der âbent begunde *ane gân*, Mar. 171. schiere *viel dô* diu naht *an*, Roth. 2653. dô diu naht *ane gie*, Er. 3108. unz daz der âbent *ane gie*, Flore 3468. Ls. 1, 314. Wigal. 1927. 6693. als der âbent *ane gêt*, Wigal. 4763. biz daz der âbent *ane lac*, Ls. 1, 243. diu naht diu *gât* mich an, Wolfd. 1174. diu naht *gêt* uns vaste *zuo*, Livl. chron. 5078. In the same way *sîgen* (sink): dô der âbent *zuo seic*, Diut. 3, 68. alsô iz zuo deme âbände *seic* 3, 70. nû *seig* ouch der âbent *zuo*, Frauend. 95, 20. diu naht begunde *zuo sîgen*, Rab. 102. begunde *sîgen an*, 367. dô diu naht *zuo seic*, Dietr. 62^b. diu naht *sîget an*, Ecke 106. der âbent *seic* ie nâher, Gudr. 878, 1. ze tal diu sunne was genigen, und der âbent *zuo gesigen*, Diut. 351, diu naht begunde *sîgen an*, Mor. 1620. 3963.¹ diu tageweide diu wil hin (the day's delight it will away), der âbent *sîget* vaste *zuo*, Amgb. 2^a. der tach is ouch an uns gewant, uns *sîget* der âbent *in die hant*, Ssp. pref. 193. in der *sinkenden* naht, Cornel. releg., Magd. 1605, F. 5^a. in *sinklichter* nacht, Schoch stud. D. 4^a. And we still say 'till sinking night.'² Much the same are: nû der âbent, diu naht *zuo geflôz* (came flowing up), Troj. 13676. 10499. AS. 'æfen com sigeltorht *swungen*,' Andr. 1246.—But this setting in, gathering, falling can also come softly, secretly, like a thief: diu naht begunde *slîchen an* (creep on), Dietr. 68^b. nû was diu naht *geslîchen* gar über daz gevilde (fields), Christoph. 413. do nû diu naht *her sleich*, und diu vinsten in *begreif* (darkness caught him) 376: sô thi u naht *bifêng*, Hel. 129, 16. dô *begreif* in die nacht, Flörsheim chron. in Münch 3, 188. wie mich die nacht *begrif*, Simplic. 1, 18. hett mich die nacht schon *begriffen*, Götz v. Berl. p. m. 164. In MHG. we find predicated of night 'ez benemen,' to carry off (the light? the victory?): unz inz diu naht *benam*, Gudr. 879, 1. ne hete *iz* in diu naht *benomen*, Diut. 3, 81 (conf. Gramm. 4, 334). Hroswitha says, in Fides et spes: 'dies abiit, nox *incumbit*.'

¹ Both times 'segn' in text; if *sigen an* (vincere) were meant, we should expect the word day in the dative.

² Goethe says sweetly: For Evening now the earth was rocking, And on the mountains lung the Night.

Clearly in many of these expressions Night is regarded as a *hostile, evil power*, in contrast to the kindly character of Day, who in tranquil ease climbs slowly up above the mountains; hence night is as leisurely about ending, as she is quick in setting in: 'diu naht *gemechlich* ende nam,' slowly the night took ending, Frauend. 206, 21. 'Night is no man's friend' says the proverb, as though she were a demon (see Suppl.).

Between Day and Night there is perennial strife. Night does not rule till day has given up the contest: 'unz der tac *liez sînen strît*,' Parz. 423, 15. 'der tac nam ein ende, diu naht den sigewan,' the victory won, Wolfd. 2025. 'dô der tac *verquam*, und diu naht daz licht nam,' En. 7866. 'Nû begunde ouch *strûchen* der tac, daz sîn schîn vil nâch *gelac*, unt daz man durch diu wolken sach, des man der naht ze boten jach, manegen stern der balde gienc, wand er der naht herberge vienc. Nâch der naht baniere kom sie selbe schiere.'¹ In this pleasing description the stars of evening precede the Night herself, as pioneers and standard-bearing *heralds*, just as the morning star was *messenger* of Day.²

On p. 742 we had a sunrise taken from the Titirel; a description of failing day, which immediately precedes, deserves to stand here too:

Dô diu naht zuo *slîchen*
 durch nieman wolte lâzen,
 und ir der tac entwîchen
 muoste, er fuor sâ *wester hin die strâzen*,
 alsô daz man die *erd* in sach *verslinden*,
 unz er ir môht empfliehen,
 dô kund' er sich von ôrient ûf winden.³

Earth devours the departing day (see Suppl.).

I find the older poets dwelling more on the sense of *gloominess*:

¹ The Day 'gan founder then and fall, and much was shent his wonted sheen, till thro' the clouds might they be seen, whom couriers of the Night we call, full many a star that fleetly fares, and harbourage for her prepares. Next her banners, soon Night herself came on.

² Lucifer interea præco scandebat Olympo, Walthar. 1188. Lucifer ducebat diem, Aen. 2, 801. Evening is called in Sanskr. *rajanimukha*, night's mouth, which reminds one of 'Hella's mouth:': so is morning *ahamukha*, day's mouth. Bopp's gloss. 27^a. 284^b.

³ Then Night came creeping on, for no man would she stay, and Day must needs be gone, retreating down the western way; the earth devouring him thou see'st, until that he might from her flee, then could he hoist him up from east.

νύξ ὀρφναίη the dusky, in Homer. 'thô warth âband cuman, *nacht* mid *neflu*,' Hel. 170, 25. 'die *finstere ragende nacht*,' gloomy lowering (jutting), Schreckensgast, Ingolst. 1590, p. 114. 'die *eitele und finstere nacht*,' Kornmann's Mons Ven. 329. '*nipende niht*,' Beow. 1088. 1291, conf. *genip* (caligo). '*scaduhelm*,' Beow. 1293. '*nihthelm* gesweare deorc ofer dryhtguman' 3576. '*nihthelm tô glâd*,' Andr. 123. El. 78: to her, as a goddess, is ascribed, quite in the spirit of our olden time, a terrible and fearful *helmet*, like a cloak-of-darkness, '*niht helmade*' (put on her helmet) we are told in Andr. 1306. Still finer perhaps is that '*eye of black night*,' *κελαινῆς νυκτὸς ὄμμα* in Aeschylus (Pers. 428) for thick darkness as opposed to the bright eye of night, the moon, p. 702 (see Suppl.).¹

The poetic images I have here collected remove all doubt as to Day and Night having been in the remotest antiquity both alive and divine. But the sentiment must very early have lost some of its hold over the Teutons, from the time they laid aside that name for day, which of itself bespoke his kinship with the gods.

Reckoning by nights instead of days does indeed rest on the observance of lunar time (p. 708), but may have another reason too, the same that prompted men to count winters and not summers. The heathens used to fix their holy festivals for, or prolong them into, the night, especially those of the summer and winter solstices, as we see by the Midsummer and Christmas fires; the fires of Easter and May also bear witness to festal nights. The Anglo-Saxons kept a *hærfestniht* (ON. *haustnôtt*, *haustgrîma*), the Scandinavians a *hökunótt* (F. Magn. Lex. 1021). Bede in his *De temp. rat. cap. 13* has preserved a notable piece of information, though its full meaning is beyond our ken: 'Incipiebant annum (antiqui Anglorum populi) ab octavo cal. Jan. die, ubi nunc natale Domini celebramus; et ipsam noctem, nunc nobis sacrosanctam, tunc gentili vocabulo *modranecht* (*môdra niht*),² i.e. *matrum noctem* appellabant ob causam, ut suspicamur, ceremoniarum quas in ea pervigiles agebant.' Who were these mothers?

¹ Images now familiar to us, about quenching the lamps of day, I have not met with in the old poets; but the night burns her tapers too. Shakspeare describes the end of night by 'night's candles are burnt,' Rom. & J. 3, 5.

² Afzelius 1, 4. 13 has no right to speak of a *modernatt*, which is not founded on Norse docs., but simply borrowed from Bede. [Can 'môdre niht' have meant 'muntere nacht,' wakeful night? conf. 'pervigiles.']

CHAPTER XXIV.

SUMMER AND WINTER.

The Seasons, which, like day and night, depended on the nearness or distance of the sun, have maintained their personality a great deal more vigorously and distinctly. Their slow revolution goes on with a measured stateliness, while the frequent change of day and night soon effaced the recollection of their having once been gods.

Day and night resemble summer and winter in another point, viz. that the break of day and the arrival of summer are greeted with joyful songs by the birds, who mourn in silence during night and winter. Hence the Eddic kenningar of *gleði fugla* (laetitia volucrum) for summer, and *sát ok stríð fugla* (dolor et angor avium) for winter. This sympathy of nature finds utterance no end of times in the lays of our minnesingers (see Suppl.).

The olden time seems at first to have recognised only two seasons in the year, afterwards three, and lastly four. To this the very names bear witness. Our *jahr*, Goth. *jér*, OHG. *jâr*, M. Nethl. *jaer*, OS. *gér*, AS. *gear*, Engl. *year*, ON. *ár*, is plainly the Pol. *iar*, *iaro*, Boh. *gar*, *garo*, which signify spring.¹ In the same way the Slavic *lèto*, *lieto*, *liato*, strictly summer, and seemingly akin to our *lenz*, OHG. *lenzo*, *lenziz*, MHG. *lenze*, *lengez*, AS. *lencten*, *lengten* (lent, spring) has come by degrees to cover the whole year. Thus both *jâr* and *lèto* mean the warmer season (spring or summer); and southern nations reckoned by them, as the northern did by winters.

Ulphilas renders *ἔρος* by *jér*, and *ἐνιαυτός* either by *apn*, Gal. 4, 10, or *atapni*, John 18, 13, a word that has died out of our language everywhere else, but still lingers in the Gothic names Athanagildus, Athanaricus (Aþnagilds, Aþnareiks); it seems

¹ The Pol. *iar* looks like *ἔαρ*, but this is understood to be for *Ἐἔαρ*, *Ἐἔσαρ*, Lat. *vēr* for *verer*, *veser*, closely conn. with Lith. *wasara* (aestas) and Sanskr. *vasanta*, Benfey 1, 309. Of the same root seems the Slav. *vesna*, *wiosna* (spring), but hardly the ON. *vásaðr*, which means sharp winter.

akin to ἔτος, perhaps to the Slavic *gód*, *godína*, which in Russ. and Serv. mean a year, while in O.Sl. they stood, as the Pol. *gód*, Boh. *hód*, *hodine* still stand, for time in general. The relation between ἔτος and ἐνιαυτός remains uncertain, for in Od. 1, 16 (ἔτος ἦλθε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν, a year went past with circling seasons) ἐνιαυτοί are sections of a year, while other accounts make an ἐνιαυτός contain three ἔτη. This comp. ἐνιαυτός holds in it the simple ἔνος, Lat. *annus*¹ (see Suppl.).

The year was supposed to make a circle, a ring (*orbis*, *circulus*): *jâres umbi-hring*, *jâr-hring*, *umbi-laurft*; MHG. *jâres umbe-ganc*, -ring, -vart, -trit; and the completion and recommencement of this ring was from a very early period the occasion of solemn festivities. Eligius preaches: 'nullus in kal. Jan. nefanda aut ridiculosa, vetulos aut cervulos aut joticos faciat, neque mensas super noctem componat, neque strenas aut bibitiones superfluas exerceat.' This was apparently a Celtic and Roman custom, 'strenae ineunte anno' are mentioned by Suetonius (Cal. 42. Aug. 57), and the holy mistletoe was plucked amid joyful cries of 'a-gui-lan-neuf!' [Michelet 2, 17: *guy-na-né*, *maguillanneu*, *gui-gne-leu*. SUPPL.]. Nothing of the kind seems to have been known in Germany; but it is worth while to notice the New-year's hymns and wishes in Clara Hätzlerin's book as late as the 14th cent. (57^b. 77^a, espec. 196—201 in Haltaus's ed.) where the year is pictured as a *newborn babe*, a *newborn god*, who will grant the wishes of mortals. Immediately, no doubt, this referred to Christmas and the Saviour's birth, in places where the new year began with that day; yet some heathen practices seem to have got mixed up with it too, and I cannot overlook the use in these hymns of the bare adj. *new*, without the addition of 'year' or 'child' (just as in naming the new-moon, p. 710, *nÿ*, *niuwi*): ['des günn dir alles der *newgeborn!*' this the Newborn grant thee all, Hätzl. 196_b. So in other new-year's wishes: 'wunsch ich dir ain vil gût jâr zû disem *new*,' Wolkenst. p. 167. 'gen disem saeligen guoten *newen*,' Ad. Keller's Altd. ged. p. 10.—SUPPL.].

Otherwise I hardly find the *year as a whole* (conf. the riddle, p. 737) exalted into a person, except in adjurations, spells and

¹ For *annus*, says Bopp's Gloss. Skr. 16^b; Benfey 1, 310 explains ἐνιαυτός by Skr. *amâvat*, *ἔνη* being *amâ*, new-moon.

curses: 'sam mir daz heilec jâr!' so (help) me holy year, Ls. 1, 287. Haupt's Zeitschr. 7, 104. The two following refer to the year's commencement only: 'ein sælec jâr gang dich an!' a blessed year betide thee, Ls. 3, 111; and 'daz dich ein veiges jâr müez ane komen!' a doomed (fey) year be thy dole, Ls. 1, 317. In AS. 'oð þæt oðer com gear in geardas,' Beow. 2260 (see Suppl.).

But even in the earliest times the year had fallen into *halves*, to which AS. and ON. give the curious name of *missere*, *misseri*, and the AS. poems seem to reckon chiefly by these. We find 'missera worn,' store of m., Cædm. 71, 10; 'fela missera' 180, 23. Beow. 306; 'hund missera,' Beow. 2996. 3536 = the 50 winters in 4413; 'misserum frôð, missarum frôð,' Cædm. 104, 30. 141, 16 (wise with age, like 'gearum, dægrîme, fyrndagum frôð,' Gramm. 1, 750). In the Edda I find only 212^{a,b}, 'ein misseri' (per unum annum), and 'sams misseris' (eodem anno); but the Grâgâs has also *misseri* (semestrium). The etymology of the word is not easy: one would expect to find in it the words half (medius, dimidius) and year, but the short vowel of the penult conflicts with the ON. âr and AS. gear, and it appears to be masc. besides (einn misseri, not eitt m.); the ON. *misæri* (bad year, *annonae caritas*, neut.) is quite another thing. Again, why should the *d* of the AS. *midde* (Goth. *midja*, OHG. *mitti*) have passed into *ss*? It must be admitted however, that in the relation of Lat. *medius* to Goth. *midja* we already observe a disturbance in the law of change; *misseri* may have come down and continued from so remote an antiquity that, while in appearance denying its kindred, it will have to own them after all, and the 'miss' is in the same predicament as the Gr. μέσος, μέσσοσ compared with Sanskr. *madhyas*, or *βυσσός* = *βυθός*. No 'misseri, missiri' meets us in the OHG. remains, but the lost hero-lays may have known it, as even later usages retain the reckoning by half-years; when the Hildebr.-lied says 'ih wallôta *sumaro enti wintro sehstic ur lante*,' it means only 60 *misseri* (30 summers and 30 winters), which agrees with the '30 years' of the more modern folk-song; and we might even guess that the 'thirteen years' and 'seven years' in Nib. 1082 and 1327, 2, which make Chriemhild somewhat old for a beauteous bride, were at an older stage of the epos understood of half-years. In the

North, where winter preponderates, so many winters stood for so many years, and 'tôlf *vetra* gamall' means a twelve-year-old. That in OHG. and even MHG. summer and winter represent the essential division of the year, I infer even from the commonly used adverbs *sumerlanc*, *winterlanc*, while we never hear of a *langezlane* or *herbestlanc*; the ON. *sumarlângr*, *vetrlângr*, are supplemented by a *haustlângr* (the whole autumn).

The Greek year has only *three* seasons, *ἔαρ*, *θέρος*, *χειμών*, autumn is left out. Our two great anniversaries, the summer and winter solstices, marked off *two* seasons; the harvest-feast at the end of Sept. and the fetching-in of summer are perhaps sufficient proof of a third or fourth. The twofold division is further supported by the AS. terms *midsumor* and *midwinter*, ON. *miðsumar*, *miðvetr*, which marked the same crises of solstice, and had no midhearfest to compete with them; an AS. *midlencten* (Engl. *midlent*) does occur, and is about equivalent to our *mitfasten*. Now in what relation did the *missere* stand to *midsumor* and *midwinter*? The day (of 24 hours) likewise fell into two halves of 12 hours each, the AS. *dôgor*, ON. *dægr*; and *dôgor* bears the same relation to *dæg* as *missere* to *gear*. Our ancient remains have no *tuogar* attending upon *tac*, but a Gothic *dôgr* by the side of *dags* may be inferred from *fidurdôgs* and *ahtáudôgs* in Ulphilas (see Suppl.).

Tacitus, after saying that the Germans cultivate grain only, and neither enclose meadows nor plant orchards, adds: 'unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: *hiems* et *ver* et *aestas* intellectum ac vocabula habent; *auctumni* perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.' Here *auctumnus* evidently refers to garden-fruit and aftermath, while the reaping of corn is placed in summer, and the sowing in spring. But when we consider, that North Germany even now, with a milder climate, does not get the grain in till August and September, when the sun is lower down in the sky; and that while August is strictly the *ernt-month*¹ and Sept. the *herbst-month*, yet sometimes Sept. is called the *augstin* and October the *herbst-month*; the Tacitean view cannot have been universally true even in the earliest times. Neither does the OHG. *herpist*, *herbist*, AS. *hearfest*, seem at

¹ OHG. *aranmânôt*, from *aran* (messis), Goth. *asans*; the O. Saxons said *bewôd* or *beo*, Hel. 78, 14. 79, 14; Nethl. *bouw*, *bouwd*.

all younger than other very old words. More correct surely is the statement we made before, that as we go further north in Europe, there appear but two seasons in all, *summer* and *winter*; and as we go south, we can distinguish three, four, or even five.¹ Then also for mythical purposes the *two* seasons are alone available, though sometimes they are called spring and winter, or spring and autumn² (see Suppl.).

With the Goth. *vintrus* (hiems) we have a right to assume a masc. *sumrus* exactly like it, though Ulph. in Mk 13, 28 (and prob. in Matth. 24, 32 and Lu. 21, 30) rendered *θέρος* by asans (harvest-time). The declension follows from OHG. *sumar* = *sumaru* (for a Goth. *sumrs* of 1 decl. would bring in its train an OHG. *somar*); also from AS. *sumor* with dat. *sumera*, not *sumere*. The ON. *sumar* being neut. in the face of a masc. *vetr*, OHG. *wintar*, AS. *winter*, seems inorganic; it must have been masc. once. The root assumed in my Gramm. 2, 55 runs upon sowing and reaping of crops.

The Edda takes us at once into the genealogy of these two worthies. *Sumar* is the son of *Svâsuðr* (Sæm. 34^b. Sn. 23. 127), a name derived from *svâs* (*carus*, *proprius*, *domesticus*), Goth. *svês*, OHG. *suâs*, for he is one that blesses and is blest, and after him is named all that is sweet and blithe (*svâslegt*, *blîtt*). But the father of *Vetr* is named *Vindlóni* or *Vindsvalr* (windbringer, windcool), whose father again was *Vâsaðr* (*ibid.*) the dank and moist: a grim coldhearted kindred. But both sets, as we should anticipate, come before us as *giants*, *Svâsuðr* and *Sumar* of a good friendly sort, *Vâsaðr*, *Vindsvalr* and *Vetr* of a malignant;

¹ Spaniards divide spring into *primaverà* and *verano* (great spring), see Don Quix. 2, 53 and Ideler 6, 305. After *verano* comes *estio*, Fr. *été*, both masc., while Ital. *esta*, *estate* remains fem, like *aestas*.

² The Slavs too, as a race, hold with two principal seasons: summer and year are both *lêto*, i.e. the old year ends with winter, and with summer the new begins; *lêto*, like our *jahr*, is neut., and of course impersonal. Winter they call *zimà* (fem.). When intermediate seasons have to be named, they say *podlêti* (subaestas) for spring, *podzim* (subhiems) for autumn. But other names have also come into vogue, beside the *garo*, *iaro* above: Russ. and Boh. *vesnà*, Pol. *wiosna*; Slovèn. *vy-gred* (e-grediens, in Germ. Carinthia *auswärt*), *mlado lêto* (young summer), *mladlêtie*, *po-mland*, *s-pomlad*, *s-prot-lêtie* (fr. *s-prot*, against), all denoting spring; the South Slavs espec. felt the need of parting spring from summer. Autumn is in Serv. *yêsen*, Slovèn. *yêzen* or *predzima* (prae-hiems), Russ. *ôsen*. *Zimà* must be very old, Lith. *žiema*, Gr. *χειμών*, Lat. *hiems*, Skr. *hêmanta*. Our *frühling*, *frühjahr* (early year) is neither O. nor MHG., but formed during the last few cents. on the model of printemps or primavera; *spâtling*, *spâtjahr* (late year) is also used for autumn. On *auswärts* and *einwärts* conf. Schm. 1, 117. 4, 161.

so that here again the twofold nature of giants (p. 528-9) is set in a clear light. The *Skâldskaparmâl* puts them down among the ancient *iötnar*: 209^b *Somr* (al. *Sômir*) ok *Svásuðr*, 210^a *Vindsvafr* ok *Viðarr* (l. *Vetr*). Even now *Summer* and *Winter* are much used as proper names, and we may suppose them to have been such from the beginning, if only because [as names of seasons] they do not agree with any in the Non-Teutonic tongues. An *urkunde* in *Neugart* no. 373 (as early as A.D. 958) introduces us to two brothers named *Wintar* and *Sumar*. *Graff* I, 631 has the proper name *Wintarolf* in the augmentative form (see p. 762 n.)

Now I will produce plain marks of their personality, which have long maintained themselves in popular phrases and poetic turns of speech. We say every day: *Summer*, *Winter* is at the door, comes in, sets in. *H. Sachs* iv. 3, 21^a: ‘till *Summer* step this way.’¹ In *MHG.* the one is commonly called *lieb* (lief, dear), the other *leid* (loathly, sad): ‘der *liebe Sumer* urloup genam,’ took leave, *Ben.* 344. ‘urloup nam der *Winder*,’ 362. Both are provided with a retinue: ‘*Sumer*, *dîne holden* (retainers) von den huoben sint gevarn,’ 304. ‘*Sumer*, *dîn gesinde*,’ 406. ‘*mîn sanc süle des Winters wâpen* tragen,’ my song should W.’s livery wear, *MS.* I, 178^b. ‘*Winder* ist mit *sînen vriunden* komen,’ *Ben.* 414. Evidently they have marched up with their men, each with intent to war upon and chase away his foe: ‘der *leide Winder* hât den *Sumer* hin verjaget,’ 381. ‘er (der *Winter*) ist dir gehaz, er en-weiz niht umbe waz, selten er des ie vergaz, swenne er *dînen stuol* besaz, er en-ructe in vür baz, sîn gewalt wol tûsend ellen vür den *dînen gât*,’ he hateth thee, he wot not why; he seldom forgat, when thy chair he besat, but he pushed it further; his power passeth thine, etc. *MsH.* 3, 258. *Ben.* 303. ‘*Winter*² hât ez hic gerûmet’ cleared out, *Ben.* 437.—Again, as summer begins with *May*, we have that month acting as its representative, and just as full of life and personality. (All three receive the title of lord: ‘*mîn herre Winter!*’ *MsH.* 3, 267^a. ‘*her Meie!*’ 3, 443^b. ‘*her Meige!*’ *Walth.* 46, 30). *May* makes his entry: ‘sô der *Meige in gât*,’ *Meist. Alex.* 144^b. ‘sô der vil süeze *Meige in gât*,’ *Trist.* 537. ‘*Meige* ist komen in diu lant,’ *Ms.* I,

¹ Also die *Somer* quam int lant, *Reinaert* 2451. also de *Sommer* quème int lant, *Reineke* 2311. dô here de *Summer* trat, *Wiggert* 2, 48.

² Without article, therefore not com. noun; conf. p. 704 note, *Solaus*.

13^b. Ben. 364. 'der Meie sîn *ingesinde* hât,' has his retinue 1,
 14^b. 'des Meien *tür* ist *ûf getân*, MsH. 3, 296^a. 'der Mei ist in
 den landen hie' 3, 230^a. 'sô der Meie sînen *krâme* schouwen
 lât (his store displays), unde *în gât* mit vil manigem liechten
 mâle' 30, 30^b. 'vil manager hande varwe (full many a hue)
 hât in sînem *krâme* der Meige,' MS. 1, 59^a. 'der Meie hât
briefe für gesant, daz sie künden in diu lant sîne kunft den
 vrnoten,' Ben. 433; like a king who after a long absence
 returns victorious, he sends letters on before, to announce his
 coming. 'da ist der Meie und al sîn kraft, er und sîn geselle-
 schaft diu (sic l.) ringent manige swære (lighten many a
 burden); Meie hât im angesiget' overcome him (winter), Ben.
 449. 'ich lobe dich, *Meie*, dîner kraft, du tuost *Sumer* sigehaft,'
 thou makest S. victorious (both prop. n.), MS. 2, 57^a. 'ob der
 Meige ze velde lac,' Ls. 1, 199. 'sô der Meige alrêrst *în gât*.'
 Frauend. 14. 'der Mei hât sîn *gezelt* bestellt,' set up his tents,
 camp, MsH. 3, 303^b. 'des Meien *schilt*,' 3, 307^a. 'Sumer der
 hât sîn *gezelt* nu gerihet überal,' Ms. 2, 57^a. 'des Meien
waldenære kündet an die sumerzît,' May's forester announces
 summertime, MsH. 3, 230^b. 'die (waldes ougenweide, forest's
 eye-feast) hât der Meie für gesant, daz si künden in diu lant sîn
 kunft' 3, 227^b. 'der Meie vüeret den walt *an sîner hende*,' leads
 the wood by the hand, MS. 2, 81^b; he is provided with hands
 (like Wish, p. 142). Men worship him with thanks and bowing,
 like a king or god making his progress (p. 213, Freyr); like
 them he has his *strete* (highway): 'des Meigen *strâze*,' Ben. 42.
 'ûf des Meien *strâzen*,' MS. 23^a. 'Meie, ich wil dir *nîgen*,' bow
 to, Ben. 398. '*êrent* den Meien,' Ben. 184. MsH. 1, 147^{a, b}.
 'der Meie habe des *danc*!' thanks thereof,¹ Ben. 434. May and
 Summer put on their *verdant attire*: 'der Meie ist ûf sîn *grüenez*
zwî gesezzen,' MS. 2, 75^a. May hears complaints, he commands
 his flowers, 1, 3^b. 'des Meigen vriunt (attendant), der grüene
 wase (sword), der het ûz bluomen angeleit (laid on) sô wüeneclîche
 sumerkleit,' Trist. 562. 'der Sumer sneit sîn kleit,' Ben. 159.
 'der Meie sendet dem walde kleider' 436. 'der *Sumer* gab diu

¹ In Gramm. 4, 725 is a coll. of the oft-recurring phrases 'des Meigen *êre* (honour), d. M. *güete*, des Sumers *güete* (goodness),' which seem to imply an ancient worship (p. 29, *êra*). I add a few more references: MsH. 1, 52^a. 60^a. 61^a. 194^a. 305^a. 348^b. 3, 222^b. Notice: 'Got gebe daz der *herbest* sîn *êre* volbringe!' that autumn his worship fulfil, MS. 2, 180^a.

selben kleit, *Abrelle* maz, der *Meie* sneit,' April measured, May cut out, MS. 2, 94^b. 'diu (kleider) het gegeben in (to them) der Meie z'einer niuwen wât (weeds, clothing),' MsH. 3, 286^b. 'Mei hât enprozzen berg und tal' 3, 188^b. 'Sumer hât gesendet ûz sîn wunne, der Meie spreit ûf diu lant sîn wât' (2, 291).¹ 'der blüenden *heide voget* (heath's controller) ist mit gewalt ûf uns gezoget (has rushed), høert wi er mit winde broget (blusters) ûf walt und im gevilde,' MsH. 1, 193^a (see Suppl.).

But more especially does the antithesis demand attention. In *Winter's* train come *Rime* and *Snow*, still personifications, and giants from of old (p. 532). They declare war against Summer: 'dir hât widerseit beidiu *Rîfen* and *Snê*,' Ben. 398. 'der Meie lôste bluomen ûz *Rîfen bande*' 437. 'manegen tac stark in sînen *banden* lac diu heide (the heath lay fast in Winter's bonds); uns was verirt der *wunne hirt* von des argen Winter's nît,' long did we miss our shepherd of bliss by wicked W.'s envy, MsH. 1, 192^a. 'der W. und *sîne knechte* (his men), daz ist der *Rîfe* und der *Wind*,' Hartm. erst. büchl. 834. MsH. 3, 232^a. What Summer clothed, Winter strips bare: 'über diu *ôren*² er dem *wald* sîn kleider brach,' tore the wood's clothes over his ears (ibid.). 'dâ daz niuwe loup (leafage) ê was entsprungen, des hâstu nu *gevüllet dînen sac*' 2, 386^b; like an enemy or robber, he fills his sack with booty (saccage). 'bluomen unde loup was des *Rîfen* êrster roup (first plunder), den er *in die secke schoup* (shoved into his sacks), er enspielt in noch enkloup,' Ben. 304. Yet, 'sunder *Rîfen* danc, allez grüenez in fröiden lît,' no thanks to Jack Frost, all green things are in glee, MS. 1, 34^b. 'unbesungen ist der walt, daz ist allez von des *Rîfen* ungenâden (ill-will) komen,' Ben. 275. Wizlau in one song exclaims: '*Winder*, dich vorhôte (take heed)! der *Sumer* komt ze môte,' to meet thee, Amgb. 29^a; and Walther 39, 9: 'weizgot, er lât ouch dem Meien den strît,' Winter gives up the battle; conversely, 'der *Sumer* sînen strît dem *Winder* lât,' Warnung 2386. And, what is more than all, one poem³ has preserved even the mythic name

¹ So that 'des Meigen wât, kleit' MS. 2, 105-6-7 is a metaphor for foliage, and 'boten (messengers) des Sumeres' 1, 97^b for flowers.

² 'Walt hât ôren, velt hât gesiht,' wood has ears, field has sight, MS. 2, 131^a; 'velt hât ôren, walt hât ougen,' eyes, 135^b.

³ Nithart's, Ben. 384. To this poet we owe the liveliest images of Summer and Winter.

of the Rime-giant : it is *Aucholf*, formed just with the suffix *-olf*, which like *-olt* is characteristic of monstrous ghostly beings ;¹ the root *áuka*, OHG. *ouhu*, means augeo, so that *Oucholf* may contain the notion of enormous, gigantic² (see Suppl.).

Summer and *Winter* are at war with one another, exactly like *Day* and *Night* (p. 752) ; *Day* and *Summer* gladden, as *Night* and *Winter* vex the world.³

Now the arrival of *Summer*, of *May*, or as we now say, of *Spring*, was kept as a holiday from of old. In the Mid. Ages this was called *die zít empfâhen*, welcoming the season, MS. 1, 200^a. 2, 78^b. Ben. 453 ; *die zít mit sange bejên* (keep), Misc. 2, 198 ; *den Sumer empfâhen*, MsH. 3, 207^a. 211^a. 232^a. ' Sumer, wis (be) *empfangen* von mir hundert tûsent stunt (times) ! ' Ben. 328. ' vrouwen und man *empfiengen* den Meien, ' MsH. 3, 185^b. ' dâ wart der Mei *empfangen* wol ' 3, 218^b. 219^a. ' den Meigen *empfâhen* und tanzen ' 1, 47^b. ' nû wolûf *grûezen* (greet) wir den sûezen ! ' 1, 60^b. ' ich wil den Sumer *grûezen* ' 3, 446^b. ' helfent *grûezen* mir den Meien, ' MS. 1, 202^b. ' si (diu vogellîn, small fowl) wellent alle *grûezen* nû den Meien ' 2, 84^b. ' willekome her Meige ! ' 1, 57^b. ' sît willekome her Meie ! ' 1, 59^a. ' sô wol dir, lieber Sumer, daz dû komen bist ! ' MsH. 2, 316^b. A song in Eschenburg's Denkm. 458 has the burden ' willkommen Maie ! ' (see Suppl.).

But the coming in of *Summer* did not happen on any fixed day of the year, it was determined by accidental signs, the opening of flowers, the arrival of birds. This was called finding *Summer* : ' ich hân den *Sumer vunden*, ' MsH. 3, 202^b.

Whoever had spied ' den *êrsten vîol* ' ⁴ made it known ; the whole village ran to the spot, the peasants stuck the flower on a pole, and danced around it. On this subject also *Nithart* has some spirited songs, MsH. 3, 298-9 ; conf. 202^a (den *êrsten vîol*

¹ Gramm. 2, 334—40 ; conf. *Nahtolf*, *Biterolf*, *Egisgrîmolt* (p. 238), *Fasolt* (p. 529), *Mimerolt* (p. 379), *Kobolt* (p. 414).

² A MHG. poet paints the battle between *May* and *Autumn*, in a pretty story (Fragm. 29), but it does not come within the mythic province, conf. MS. 2, 105. More to the point is H. Sachs's poem 1, 420-1. A M. Nethl. ' spel van den winter ende sommer ' is printed in Hoffm. hor. belg. 6, 125—146. *Notker* in Cap. 27 calls ' herbest unde lenzo, zwêne genôza, ' fellows twain.

³ The Fris. Laws too couple night with winter : ' si illa tenebrosa nebula et frigidissima hiems in hortos et sepes descendit, ' *Richtth.* 46 (huersâ thiû thiustera nacht and thi nêdkalda winter ur tha tûner hleth).

⁴ *Florum prima ver nuntiantium viola alba*, *Pliny* 21, 11 (38).

schouwen). H. Sachs iv. 3, 49 seq. describes the same festival; round the *first summer flower* they dance and sing. ‘den *ersten bluomen vlechten*,’ MS. 1, 41^b (see Suppl.).

That the *first cockchafer* also was fetched in with ceremonies, we saw on p. 693-4; to this day the passion for hunting these chafers and playing with them is indestructibly rooted among boys.

In like manner the *first swallow*, the *first stork* was hailed as messenger of spring (*ἄγγελος ἔαρος*). The swallow’s return was celebrated even by the Greeks and Romans: Athenaeus 8, 15 p. 360 gives a *χελιδόνισμα*,¹ chanted by children at Rhodes, who carried a *swallow* about and collected eatables. The custom still survives in Greece; the young people assemble on March 1, and traverse all the streets, singing a sweet spring-song; the singers carry a *swallow carved out of wood*, which stands on a cylinder, and keeps turning round.² ‘*Hirundine prima*,’ says Horace Epist. i. 7, 13. That in Germany also the *first swallow* was taken notice of in the Mid. Ages, is shewn by the superstitious observance (Sup. G, and I, 217) of digging a coal out of the ground on her appearance. In Sweden the country folk welcome her with a thrice repeated shout of joy (Westerdahl p. 55). Both swallow and stork are accounted sacred inviolable creatures. He that first announced the return of the stork to the Greeks, received messenger’s pay. As late as last century the warders of many German towns were required to blow-in the approaching *herald of spring*,³ and a drink of honour was served out to them from the town-cellar. An epigram by Joach. Olearius begins:

Ver laetum rediit, rediitque *ciconia grata*,
aspera dum pulso frigore cessat hiems.⁴

The cuckoo may also be regarded as the announcer of spring, and an O.Engl. song appeals to him: ‘*sumer is icumen in, thude sing cucu!*’ Hone’s Daybook 1, 739 (see Suppl.).

The *proclaiming of summer* by songs of the younger folk still

¹ Ilgen. opusc. philol. 1, 165. Zell’s Ferienschr. 1, 53. 88. Schneidewin’s Delcetus 2, 465-6.

² Fauriel 2, 256. Disc. prélim. xxviii. More fully in Theod. Kind p. 12.

³ Alpenrosen (Bern 1817) p. 49; conf. Hebel’s song Der storch.

⁴ Rostock 1610; conf. Joh. Praetorius’s ‘Storchs und schwalben-winterquartier,’ Francf. 1676, p. 185.

prevails, or did prevail in recent centuries, almost everywhere in German and Slav countries, and bespeaks a very ancient origin. What the minnesingers, with their elegant phrases about the old 'chair, entry, highway, grace and glory of Summer' as a king or god, may have led us to guess, is supplemented and illustrated by abiding customs of the people, which in rude artless fashion drive at the main point. The modes of celebration and the songs vary greatly.¹ Often there is only a wreath, a doll, an animal carried about in a basket, and gifts demanded from house to house.² Here it is a *cock*, there a *crow* or a *fox*,³ that the children take round, as in Poland at the time of *cołęda* (new-year) they go about with a stuffed *wolf*, collecting gifts (Linde sub v. *kołęda*). These animals do not migrate, and I leave it undetermined, what right they can have to represent the stork or swallow, or whether they mean something altogether different. The approach of Summer is only mentioned in a few words and phrases, or not at all.

In many places however the collecting of gifts is only the sequel to a previous performance full of meaning, in which youths and maidens take part. Two disguised as *Summer* and *Winter* make their appearance, the one clothed with *ivy* or *singrün*, the other with *straw* or *moss*, and they fight one another till *Summer* wins. *Winter* is thrown on the ground, his wrappages stripped off and scattered, and a summer's wreath or branch is carried about. Here we have once more the ancient idea of a quarrel or war between the two powers of the year, in which *Summer* comes off victorious, and *Winter* is defeated; the people supply, as it were, the chorus of spectators, and break out into praises of the conqueror.

¹ The most diligent collector of them, though in a scattered disorderly way, is Chr. Heinr. Schmid of Giessen, both in the 'Journal von und für D.' for 1787. 1, 186-98. 480-5; for 1788. 1, 566-71. 2, 409-11; for 1790. 1, 310-4; for 1791. 1002; and in the 'Deutsche monatschrift' for 1798. 2, 58-67; he gives references to a great many authors old and new. A still earlier article in 'Journal v. u. f. D.' for 1784. 1, 282 is worth consulting. Isolated facts in Krünitz's Encyclop. 58, 681 seq., Gräter's *Idunna* 1812 p. 41, Büsching's *Wöch. nachr.* 1, 183-6. 3, 166 and other places to be cited as they are wanted. The two earliest treatises are by Paul Chr. Hilscher 'de ritu Dominicæ Laetare, quem vulgo appellant den tod austreiben,' Lips. 1690 (in Germ. 1710), and Joh. Casp. Zeumer 'de Dominica Laetare,' Jena 1706.

² Let the *summer-children* sell you a *summer*, and your cows will give plenty of milk, Sup. I, 1097.

³ Reinhart, *Introd.* p. cccix. Athen. also, ubi supra, speaks of a *crow* being carried about, instead of the swallow.

The custom just described belongs chiefly to districts on the middle Rhine, beyond it in the Palatinate, this side of it in the Odenwald betwixt Main and Neckar. Of the songs that are sung I give merely the passages in point :

Trarira ! der *Sommer* der *ist da* ;
 wir wollen hinaus in garten
 und wollen des *Sommers warten* (attend).
 wir wollen hinter die hecken (behind the hedges)
 und wollen den *Sommer wecken* (wake).
 der *Winter hats verloren* (has lost),
 der *Winter liegt gefangen* (lies a prisoner) ;
 und wer nicht dazu kommt (who won't agree),
 den schlagen wir mit stangen (we'll beat with staves).

Elsewhere : Jajaja ! der *Sommertag*¹ *ist da*,
 er *kratzt dem Winter die augen aus* (scratch W.'s
 eyes out),
 und jagt die bauern zur stube hinaus (drive the
 boors out of doors).

Or : Stab aus !² dem *Winter gehn die augen aus* (W.'s
 eyes come out) ;
veilchen, rosenblumen (violets and roses),
holen wir den Sommer (we fetch),
 schicken den *Winter über 'n Rhein* (send W. over
 Rhine),
 bringt uns guten kühlen wein.

Also : *Violen* und die *blumen*
 bringen uns den *Sommer*,
 der *Sommer* ist so keck (cheeky, bold),
 und *wirft den Winter in den dreck* (flings W. in the
 dirt).

Or : Stab aus, stab aus,
blas dem Winter die augen aus (blow W.'s eyes out) !

Songs like this must have come down through many centuries ; and what I have quoted above from poets of the 13th cent. pre-

¹ For Sommer ? conf. Bældæg for Bealdor, p. 222-9, and Day, p. 738.

² Also ' *stam aus* ' or ' *sta maus* , ' and ' *heib aus, treib aus, dem W. ist ein aug* ' aus. ' Stabaus may be for *staubaus* = up and away, Schm. 3, 602 ; conf. Zingerle 2, 147.

supposes their existence, or that of songs substantially the same. The conception and setting of the whole are quite heathenish: valiant Summer found, fetched, wakened from his sleep; vanquished Winter rolled in the dust, thrown into chains, beaten with staves, blinded, banished; these are demigods or giants of antiquity. *Violets* are mentioned with evident reference to the welcoming of Summer. In some parts the children march out with *white peeled rods*, either for the purpose of helping Summer to belabour the foe, or perhaps to represent the retinue of Winter, for it was the old custom for the conquered and captive to be let go, carrying white staves (RA. 134). One of the band of boys, marching at their head *wrapt in straw*, stands for Winter, another *decked with ivy* for Summer. First the two fence with their poles, presently they close and wrestle, till Winter is thrown and his *straw garment stript off* him. During the duel, the rest keep singing:

stab aus, stab aus,
stecht dem Winter die augen aus!

This is completely the 'rauba birahanen, hrusti giwinnan, caesos spoliare armis' of the heroic age; the barbarous punching out of eyes goes back to a still remoter antiquity.¹ The *wakening* of Summer is like the *wakening* of Sælde.

In some places, when the fight is over, and Winter put to flight, they sing:

So *treiben* wir den *Winter aus*
durch unsre stadt zum thor hinaus (out at the gate);

here and there the whole action is compressed into the shout: 'Sommer' rein (come in), *Winter*'naus (go out)!

As we come back through the Odenwald toward inner Franconia, the Spessart and the Rhön Mts, the words begin to change, and run as follows:

Stab aus, stab aus,
stecht dem *Tod* (death) die augen aus!

¹ The MHG. songs keep pace: 'der Meie hât sinen *schaft* ûf den Winter verstoehen,' dug his shaft into, MsH. 3, 195^b. 'Mai hat den W. *erlagen*', slain, Hätzl. 131, 58. '*veheten* wil der W. kalt gegen dem lieben Sumer,' MsH. 3, 423^a.

Then: Wir haben den *Tod* hinausgetrieben (driven out),
den lieben *Sommer* bringen wir wieder (again),
den Sommer und den *Meien*
mit bliimlein mancherleien (of many a sort).

So *Death* has stepped into *Winter's* place; we might say, because in winter nature slumbers and seems dead; but it may also be, that at an early time some heathenish name for Winter had to give place to the christian conception of *Death*.

When we get to the heart of Franconia, e.g. Nürnberg, the songs drop all mention of Summer, and dwell the more emphatically on the *expulsion of Death*.¹ There country lasses of seventeen or eighteen, arrayed in all their finery, parade the streets of the whole town and suburbs; on or under their left arm they carry a little open coffin, with a shroud hanging over the sides, and a *puppet* lying under that. Poor children carry nothing but an open box, in which lies a green bough of beech with a stalk sticking up, on which an *apple* is fixed instead of the head. Their monotone song begins: 'To-day is Midlent, we bear *Death into the water*, and that is well.' Amongst other things:

Wir tragen den Tod in's wasser,
tragen ihn 'nein, und wieder 'raus² (in, and out again),

¹ Seb. Frank's Weltbuch 51^a thus describes the Shrovetide custom in Franconia: 'Four of them hold a sheet by his 4 corners, whereon is laid a *straw puppet* in hose, jerkin and mask, like a *dead man*, the which they *toss up by the 4 corners*, and catch him again in the sheet. This they do the whole town through. At Midlent they make in some places a *straw man* or *imp*, arrayed as a *death*, him the assembled youth *bear into the night lying villages*. And by some they be well received, eased and fed with dried pears, milk and peas; by others, which hold it a presage of coming death, evil entreated and driven from their homesteads with foul words and oftentimes with buffets.'

² This seems to indicate, that the deity of *Death* is not to be annihilated by the ducking, but only made sensible of the people's *dissatisfaction*. Cruel *Death* has during the year snatched many a victim, and men wish, as it were, to be *revenged* on him. This is of a piece with the idea brought out on p. 20: when a god has not answered your expectations, you bully him, you plunge his image into water. So by the Franconians, on a failure of the wine-crop, St. Urban's image, who had neglected to procure them wine (Fischart's Garg. 11) was *flung into the brook*, or the *mud* (Seb. Frank 51^b), or the *water-trough*, even in the mere anticipation of a poor vintage (Agricola's Sprichw. 498. Gräter's Idunna 1812, p. 87). So the Bavarians, during St. Leonhard's solemn procession, would occasionally drop him *in the river* (Schim. 2, 473). We know how the Naples people to this day go to work with their San Gennaro, how seamen in a storm ill-use St. James's image, not to speak of other instances.

tragen ihn vor des biedermanns haus (up to the goodman's house).

Wollt ihr uns kein schmalz nicht geben (won't give us no lard),

lassen wir euch den *Tod* nicht sehen (won't let you see D.).

Der *Tod* der *hat ein panzer an* (wears a coat of mail).

Similar customs and songs prevailed all over Franconia, and in Thuringia, Meissen, Vogtland, Lausitz and Silesia. The beginning of the song varies :

Nun treiben wir den *Tod* aus¹ (drive D. out),

den *alten weibern* in das haus (into the old women's house).

Or : hinter's alte hirttenhaus² (behind the old shepherd's house).

Further on :

hätten wir den *Tod* nicht ausgetrieben (not driven D. out),

wär er das jahr noch inne geblieben³ (he'd have staid all the year).

Usually a *puppet*, a figure of *straw* or *wood*, was carried about, and thrown *into water*, into a *bog*, or else *burnt*; if the figure was female, it was carried by a boy, if male, by a girl. They disputed as to where it should be made and tied together; whatever house it was brought out of, there nobody died that year. Those who had thrown Death away, fled in haste, lest he should start up and give them chase; if they met cattle on their way home, they beat them with staves, believing that that would make them fruitful. In Silesia they often dragged about a bare *fir-tree with chains of straw*, as though it were a prisoner. Here and there a strong man, in the midst of children, carried a *may-*

¹ Luther parodied this song in his Driving of the Pope out, Journ. von u. für D. 1787. 2, 192-3.

² 'Dem alten *Juden* in seinen bauch, etc.', into the old Jew's belly, on to the young Jew's back, the worse for him; over hill and dale, so he may never come back; over the heath, to spite the shepherds; we went through the greenwood, there sang birds young and old. Finn Magnusen (Edda 2, 135) would have us take the old '*Juden*' for a *istum*.

³ J. F. Herrl, on certain antiquities found in the Erfurt country 1787, p. 28, has the line: 'wir tragen den *Krodo* in's wasser,' but confesses afterwards (Journ. v. u. f. D. 1787. 483-4) that he dragged the dubious name into the text on pure conjecture. The more suspicious becomes the following strophe in Hellbach's Suppl. to the Archiv v. u. f. Schwarzburg, Hildburgh. 1789. p. 52: 'wir tragen den alten *thor* (fool) hinaus, hinter's alte hirttenhaus, wir haben nun den sommer gewonnen, und *Krodes* macht ist weggekommen,' K's power is at an end. The expressions in the last line smack of recent invention.

pole.¹ In the Altmark, the Wendish villages about Salzwedel, especially Seeben (where we saw Hennil still in use, p. 749), have preserved the following custom: at Whitsuntide men-servants and maids tie *fir-branches, straw and hay* into a large *figure*, giving it as much as possible a human shape. Profusely garlanded with field-flowers, the image is fastened, sitting upright, on the brindled cow (of which more hereafter), and lastly a pipe cut out of alder wood stuck in its mouth. So they conduct it into the village, where all the houses are barred and bolted, and every one chases the cow out of his yard, till the figure falls off, or goes to pieces (Ad. Kuhn's Märk. sagen, p. 316-7).

From Switzerland, Tobler 425-6 gives us a popular play in rhymes, which betray a Swabian origin, and contain a song of battle between Summer and Winter. Summer is acted by a man in his bare shirt, holding in one hand a tree decorated with ribbons and fruit, in the other a cudgel with the end much split. *Winter* is warmly clad, but has a similar cudgel; they lay on to one another's shoulders with loud thwacks, each renouncing himself and running down his neighbour. At length *Winter* falls back, and owns himself beaten. Schm. 3, 248 tells of the like combat in Bavaria: *Winter* is wrapt in fur, *Summer* carries a green bough in his hand, and the strife ends with *Summer* thrusting *Winter* out of doors. I do not find the custom reported of Austria proper; it seems to be known in Styria and the adjoining mountains of Carinthia: the young fellows divide into two bands, one equipt with winter clothes and snowballs, the other with green summer hats, forks and scythes. After fighting a while in front of the houses, they end with singing jointly the praises of victorious *Summer*.² It takes place in March or at St. Mary's Candlemas (see Suppl.).

Some of the districts named have within the last hundred years discontinued this old festival of announcing *Summer* by the defeat of *Winter*, others retain it to this day. Bygone centuries may well have seen it in other German regions, where it has not left even a historical trace; there may however be some

¹ At Leipzig in the 17th cent. the festival had become so discredited, that they had the straw puppet carried about and immersed by women of ill fame.

² Sartori's Neueste Reise d. Oestr., Vienna 1811. 2, 348. The Styrian battle-song is printed in Büsching's Wöch. nachr. 1, 226-8.

accounts that have escaped my notice. In S. Germany, Swabia, Switzerland, Bavaria, Austria, Styria, the ditties are longer and more formal, but the ceremony itself not so artless and racy. In Lower Hesse, Lower Saxony, Westphalia, Friesland, and the Netherlands, that is to say, where Easter-fires remained in vogue, I can hardly anywhere detect this annunciation of Summer; in lieu of it we shall find in N. Germany a far more imposing development of May-riding and the Maigraf feast. Whether the announcing of Summer extended beyond the Palatinate into Treves, Lorraine, and so into France, I cannot say for certain.¹ Clearly it was not Protestant or Catholic religion that determined the longer duration or speedier extinction of the custom. It is rather striking that it should be rifest just in Middle Germany, and lean on Slav countries behind, which likewise do it homage; but that is no reason for concluding that it is of Slav origin, or that Slavs could have imported it up to and beyond the Rhine. We must first consider more closely these Slav customs.

In Bohemia, children march, with a *straw man* representing Death, to the end of the village, and there burn him while they sing :

Giż ncsem *Smrt* ze wsy,
nowe *Lèto* do wsy ;
witey *Lèto* libèzne,
obiljćko zelene !

Now bear we D. from the village,
new Summer to the village ;
welcome Summer sweet,
little grain so green.

¹ C. H. Schmid has indeed drawn up (Journ. v. u. f. D. 1790, 314-5) a list of the lands and spots where Winter or Death is carried out, and it includes parts of L. Saxony, Mecklenburg, even Friesland. But no authorities are given; and other customs, similar, but without any of the distinctive features of the subject in hand, are mixed up with it. Aug. Pfeiffer (b. Lauenstein 1640, d. Lübeck '98) in *Evang. Erquickungstunden*, Leipz. 1698 mentions a 'battle of Sunn. and Win.', but names no places, and he had lived long in Silesia and Leipzig. H. Lubbart (preacher at Bollendorf by Lübeck, b. 1640, d. 1703) in his *Fastnachtsteufel* p. 6 describes a March (not May) procession, but does not sufficiently bring out the essential features. I extract the passage (from J. P. Schmidt's *Fastelab.* p. 132), because it illustrates the far from ineffectual zeal of the clergy against popular amusements, almost as strikingly as the diatribe, 560 years older, quoted on pp. 259 seq. : 'The last year, on Dominica Quinquag. (4 weeks bef. Laetare), I again publicly prayed every man to put away, once for all, these pagan doings. Alas, I was doomed to see the wicked worldlings do it worse than before. Not alone did *children carrying long sticks wrapt in green leaves* go about within doors, and sing all manner of lewd jests, but specially the *men-servants*, one of them having a *green petticoat tied about him*, went in two parties through the village from house to house with a bag-pipe, singing, swilling, rioting like madmen in the houses; afterward they joined together, drank, danced, and kept such pother several nights through, that one scarce could sleep for it. At the said ungodly night-dances were even some lightminded maids, that took part in the accursed business.'

Elsewhere :

<i>Smrt plyne po wodě,</i>	D. floats down the water,
nowe <i>Lěto k nám gede.</i> ¹	new Summer to us rides.

Or :

<i>Smrt gsme wám zanesly,</i>	D. we've from you taken,
nowe <i>Lěto přinesly.</i>	new Summer to you brought.

In Moravia :

Nesem, nesem <i>Mařenu.</i>	We bear, we bear Marena.
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Other Slavs :

Wyneseme, wyneseme <i>Ma-</i> <i>muriendu.</i>	Remove we Mamurienda.
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Or :

wynesli sme <i>Murienu</i> se wsi,	we've taken Muriena out, and
přinesli sme <i>May nowy</i> do wsi. ²	brought new May to the town.

At Bielsk in Podlachia, on Dead Sunday they carry an *idol of plaited hemp or straw* through the town, then drown it in a marsh or pond outside, singing to a mournful strain :

<i>Smierć wieie się po plotu,</i>	D. blows through the wattle,
szukaiąc kłopotu. .	seeking the whirlpool.

They run home as fast as they can : if any one falls down, he dies within the year.³ The Sorbs in Upper Lausitz make the figure of *straw* and *rags* ; she who had the last corpse must supply the shirt, and the latest bride the veil and all the rags ;⁴ the scarecrow is stuck on a long pole, and carried away by the biggest strongest lass at the top of her speed, while the rest sing :

Lecź hore, lecź hore !	Fly high, fly high,
jatabate woko,	twist thyself round,
pan dele, pan dele !	fall down, fall down.

¹ Celakovsky's *Slowanské narodni pisně*, Prague 1822. p. 209. He quotes other rhymes as well.

² J. Kollár's *Zpiewanky* 1, 4. 400.

³ Hanusch Slav. myth. 413. Jungmann sub v. Marana, who puts the Polish rhyme into Bohem. thus : *Smrt wěge po plotu, šukagje kłopotu.* Conf. a Morav. song (Kulda in *Ď'Elv* 107-8-9).

⁴ *Iudicul. superst.* 27-8 : ' *de simulacris de pannis factis, quae per campos portant.*' The Esthonians on New year's day make an idol of straw in the shape of a man, to which they concede the name of *metziko* and the power of protecting their cattle from wild beasts and defending their frontier. All the people of the village accompany, and set him on the nearest tree, Thom. *Hjärn*, p. 40.

They all throw sticks and stones at it : whoever hits Death will not die that year. So the figure is borne out of the village to a piece of water, and drowned in it. But they often carry Death to the *boundary* of the next village, and *pitch him over it* ; each picks for himself a green twig, and carries it homeward in high glee, but on arriving at his village throws it away again. Sometimes the youth of the village within whose bounds they have brought Death will run after them, and *throw him back*, for no one likes to keep him ; and they easily come to words and blows about it.¹ At other places in Lausitz women alone take part in this Driving-out of Death, and suffer no men to meddle. They all go in black veils that day, and having tied up a *puppet of straw*, put a white shirt on it, and give it a broom in one hand, and a scythe in the other. This puppet they carry singing, and pursued by boys throwing stones, to the *border* of the next town, where they *tear it up*. Then they hew down a handsome *tree* in the wood, hang the shirt upon it, and carry it home with songs.² This tree is undoubtedly a symbol of Summer introduced in the place of Death driven out. Such decorated trees are also carried about the village by boys collecting gifts, after they have rid themselves of Death. In other cases they demand the contributions while taking the puppet round. Here and there they make the straw man *peep into* people's *windows* (as Bertha looks in at the window, p. 274) : in that case Death will carry off some one in the house that year, but by paying a money ransom in time, you can avert the omen. At Königshain by Görlitz the whole village, young and old, wended their way with torches of straw to a neighbouring height called the Todtenstein, where formerly a god's image is said to have stood ; they lit their torches on the top, and turned home singing, with constant repetition of the words : ' we have driven out Death, we bring back Summer.'³

So it is not everywhere that the banished idol represented Winter or Death in the abstract ; in some cases it is still the *heathen divinity* giving way to Christianity, whom the people thrust out half in sorrow, and uttering songs of sadness.

¹ Lausitz. Mag. for 1770, p. 84-5, from a MS. of Abraham Frenzel.

² Chr. Arnold's Append. to Alex. Rossen's Unterschiedn. gottesdienst, Heidelb. 1674. p. 135.

³ Anton's first Versuch über die alten Slaven, p. 73-4.

Dlugosz,¹ and others after him, report that by order of king Miecislaus all the idols in the land were broken up and burnt; in remembrance of which the people in some parts of Poland, once a year, singing mournful songs, conduct in solemn procession *images of Marzana and Ziewonia*, fixed on poles or drawn on drags, to a *marsh or river*, and there *drown* them;² paying them so to speak, their last homage. Dlugosz's explanation of *Marzana* as 'harvest-goddess' seems erroneous; Frencel's and Schaffarik's 'death-goddess' is more acceptable: I derive the name from the Pol. *marznać*, Boh. *mrznauti*, Russ. *merznut'*, to freeze, and in opposition to her as winter-goddess I set the summer-goddess *Wiosna*, Boh. *Wesna*. The Könighenof MS. p. 72 has a remarkable declaration: 'i iediinu družu nám imiét' po puti z *Wesny* po *Moranu*,' one wife (only) may we have on our way from *Wesna* to *Morana*, from spring to winter, i.e. ever. Yet the throwing or dipping of the divine image in a stream need not have been done by the Christians in mere contempt, it may have formed a part of the pagan rite itself; for an antithesis between summer and winter, and an exalting of the former, necessarily implied a lowering of the latter.³

The day for carrying Death out was the quarta dominica quadragesimae, i.e. *Laetare Sunday* or *Midlent*, on which very day it also falls in Poland (w nieziele śródpodstna), Bohemia, Silesia and Lausitz. The Bohemians call it *smrtedlna*, samrtná neděle, the Sorbs *smernitsa*, death Sunday; coming three weeks before Easter, it will almost always occur in March. Some have it a week earlier, on *Oculi Sunday*, others (spec. in Bohemia) a week later, on *Judica Sunday*; one Boh. song even brings in 'Mag nowy,' new May. But in the Rhine and Main country, as

¹ Hist. Polon. lib. 2, ad a. 965. Matth. de Mechovia chron. Polon. ii. 1, 22. Mart. Cromer lib. 3, ad a. 965. Mart. Hanke de Silesior. nominibus, p. 122-3.

² So the Russian Vladimír, after his conversion, orders the image of Perun to be tied to a horse's tail, beaten, and *thrown into the Dnieper*. Afterwards, when the Novgorod Perun was in like manner thrown into the *Volkhov*, he set up, while in the river, a loud lament over the people's ingratitude.

³ The Indian Káli, on the 7th day after the March new-moon, was solemnly carried about, and then thrown into the Ganges; on May 13 the Roman vestals bore *puppets plaited of rushes* to the Pons Sublicius, and dropt them in the Tiber, Ov. Fast. 5, 620:

Tum quoque priseorum virgo simulacra virorum
mittere roboreo scirpea ponte solet.

in most places, Laetare is the festive day, and is there called *Summerday*.

There is no getting over this unanimity as to the time of the festival. To the ancient Slavs, whose new year began in March, it marked the commencement of the year, and likewise of the summer half-year, i.e. of their *lèto*; to Germans the arrival of summer or spring, for in March their stork and swallow come home, and the first violet blows. But then the impersonal '*lèto*' of the Slavs fights no battle with their *Smrt*: this departing driven-out god has the play nearly all to himself. To our ancestors the contest between the two giants was the essential thing in the festival; vanquished *Winter* has indeed his parallel in *Smrt*, but with victorious *Summer* there is no living personality to compare. And, beside this considerable difference between the Slav ceremony and our own, as performed on the Rhine or Neckar, it is also difficult to conceive how a native Slav custom should have pushed itself all the way to the Odenwald and the Palatinate beyond Rhine, accountable as it might be on the upper Main, in the Fulda country, Meissen or Thuringia. What is still more decisive, we observe that the custom is known, not to all the Slavs, but just to those in Silesia, Lausitz, Bohemia and, with a marked difference, in Poland; not to the South Slavs at all, nor apparently to those settled in Pomerania, Mecklenburg and Lüneburg. Like our Bavarians and Tyrolese, the Carniolans, Styrians and Slovaks have it not; neither have the Pomeranians and Low Saxons.¹ Only a central belt of territory has preserved it, alike among Slavs and Germans, and doubtless from a like cause. I do not deny that in very early times it may have been common to *all* Slav and *all* Teutonic races, indeed for Germany I consider it scarcely doubtful, because for one thing the old songs of Nithart and others are sufficient proof for Austria, and secondly because in Scandinavia, England, and here and there in N. Germany, appears the custom of *May-riding*, which is quite the same thing as the Rhenish 'summer-day' in March.

Olaus Magnus 15, 4 says: 'The Swedes and Goths have a custom, that on the *first day of May* the magistrates in every

¹ The Holstein custom of going round (*omgaan*) with the fox, p. 764, took place in summer (says Schütze 3, 165), therefore not on Laetare; and the words they sing have no explicit reference to summer and winter.

city make two troops of horse, of tall youths and men, to assemble, as tho' they would go forth to a mighty battle. One troop hath a captain, that under the name of *Winter* is arrayed in much *fur* and *wadded garments*, and is armed with a winter-spear: he rideth arrogantly to and fro, showering snowballs and iceflakes, as he would fain prolong the cold, and much he vaunteth him in speech. The other troop hath contrariwise a captain, that is named the *Blumengrave*, he is clad in *green boughs, leaves and flowers*, and other summer raiment, and not right fencible; he rides into town the same time with the winter-captain, yet each in his several place and order, then hold a public tilting and tourney, wherein *Summer* hath the mastery, bearing *Winter* to the ground. Winter and his company scatter ashes and sparks about them, the other fend them with birchen boughs and young lime-twigs; finally, by the multitude around, the victory is awarded to *Summer*.'

Here Death is not once alluded to; in true Teutonic fashion, the whole business is made to lie between *Summer* and *Winter*; only, the simple procession of our peasant-folk has turned more into a chivalry pageant of opulent town-life. At the same time this induction of May into the city ('hisset kommer Sivard Snarensvend [p. 372n.], han *föret os sommer*,' or 'och *bär oss sommer i by*,' DV. 1, 14. Sv. forns. 1, 44. '*bära maj i by*,' Dybeck runa 2, 67; in Schonen '*före samma i by*') cuts a neater statelier figure than the miserable array of mendicant children, and is in truth a highly poetic and impressive spectacle. These *Mayday sports* are mentioned more than once in old Swedish and Danish chronicles, town regulations and records. Lords and kings not seldom took a part in them, they were a great and general national entertainment. Crowned with flowers, the *majgrefve* fared with a powerful escort over highway and thorp; banquet and round-dance followed. In Denmark the jaunting began on Walburgis day (May 1), and was called '*at ride Sommer i bye*,' riding S. into the land: the young men ride in front, then the *May-grave* (floriger) with two garlands, one on each shoulder, the rest with only one; songs are sung in the town, all the maidens make a ring round the *may-grave*, who picks out one of them to be his *majinde*, by dropping a wreath on her head. Winter and his conflict with May are no longer mentioned

in the Schonish and Danish festival. Many towns had regularly organized *majgreve gilde*.¹ But as the May-fire in Denmark was called 'gadeild,' gate (street) fire, so was the leader of the May-feast a *gadebasse* (gate bear), and his maiden partner *gadelam* (gate lamb) or *gadinde*; *gadebasse* and *gadinde* therefore mean the same as *maigreve* and *maigrevinde*.² There is a remarkable description in Mundelstrup's *Spec. gentilismi etiamnum superstitis*, Hafn. 1684: 'Qui ex junioribus rusticis contum stipulis accensis flammatum efficacius versus sidera tollere potuerit, praeses (*gadebasse*) incondito omnium clamore declaratur, nec non eodem tempore sua *cuique* ex rusticis puellis, quae tunc temporis vernacula appellantur *gadelam*, distribuitur, et quae *praesidi* adjicitur titulum hunc *gadinde* merebitur.'³ Hinc excipiunt convivia per universum illud temporis, quod inter arationem et foeniseium intercedit, quavis die dominica celebrari sueta, *gadelams-gilder* dicta, in quibus proceriorem circum arborem in antecessum humo immissam variisque corollis ac signis ornatam, corybantum more ad tympanorum stridentes sonitus bene poti saliant.'⁴

Now this *May-riding*, these *May-graves*, were an old tradition of Lower Germany also; and that apparently is the very reason why the Mid-German custom of welcoming summer at Laetare was not in vogue there. How could spring, which does not reappear in the North till the beginning of May, have been celebrated there in March? Besides, this May-festival may in early times have been more general in Germany; or does the distinction reach back to the rivalry between March and May as the month of the folk-mote?⁴ The *maigreve* at Greifswald, May 1, 1528, is incidentally mentioned by Sastrow in his *Lebensbeschr.* 1, 65-6; a license to the scholars at Pasewalk to hold a *maigraf*

¹ Ihre sub v. majgrefve. Skråordning for Knutsgillet i Lund an. 1586, § 123-7 in Bring's *Monum. scānensia*, p. 207-10; the same for Malmö, p. 211. Er. Tegel's *Hist. Gustavi i.* 1, 119. Nyerup's *Danske digtek.* 1, 246. 2, 136. 143. Thiele 1, 145-58; conf. 200. For the Zealand custom see Molbech's *Hist. tidsskrift* 1840. 1, 203. The *maigreves* in Ribe are mentioned by Terpager in *Ripae cimbricae*, p. 723; the Aalborg *maigreve* in Wilda's *Gildewesen* p. 285, from a statute of the 15th century; conf. *Molb. dial. lex.* p. 533.

² *Molb. dial. lex.* pp. 150-1-2, where doubt is thrown on the derivation of *gade* from ON. *gata* (gate, road). He has also a *midsommers-lam*, p. 359.

³ The italics here are mine. Each man has a *gadelam*, but only the leader a *gadinde*.—TRANS.

⁴ Conf. R.A. 821-6 on the time of assizes.

jaunt, in a Church-visitation ordinance of 1563 (Baltische studien 6, 137); and more precise information has lately been collected on the survival of May-riding at Hildesheim, where the beautiful custom only died out in the 18th century.¹ Towards Whitsuntide the maigreve was elected, and the forest commoners in the Ilse had to hew timber from seven villages to build the *May-waggon*; all loppings must be loaded thereon, and only four horses allowed to draw it in the forest. A grand expedition from the town fetches away the waggon, the burgomaster and council receive a *May-wreath* from the commoners, and hand it over to the maigreve. The waggon holds 60 or 70 bundles of may (birch), which are delivered to the maigreve to be further distributed. Monasteries and churches get large bundles, every steeple is adorned with it, and the floor of the church strown with clippings of boxwood and field-flowers. The maigreve entertains the commoners, and is strictly bound to serve up a dish of crabs. But in all this we have only a fetching-in of the *May-waggon* from the wood under formal escort of the *May-grave*; not a word now about the battle he had to fight with winter. Is it conceivable that earlier ages should have done without this battle? Assuredly they had it, and it was only by degrees that custom left it out. By and by it became content with even less. In some parishes of Holstein they keep the commencement of May by crowning a young fellow and a girl with leaves and flowers, conducting them with music to a tavern, and there drinking and dancing; the pair are called *maigrev* and *maigrön*, i.e. maigräfin (Schütze 3, 72). The Schleswig maygrave-feast (festum frondicomans) is described in Ulr. Petersen's treatise already quoted (p. 694 n.).² In Swabia the children at sunrise go into the wood, the boys carrying silk handkerchiefs on staves, the girls ribbons on boughs; their leader, the *May-king*, has a right to choose his *queen*. In Gelders they used on Mayday-eve to set up trees decorated and hung with tapers like a Christmas-tree; then came a song and ring-dance.³ All over Germany, to this day,

¹ Koken and Lüntzel's Mittheilungen 2, 45-61.

² He says: 'the memory of this ancient but useless May-feast *finally passed by inheritance to the town-cattle*, which, even since 1670, had every Mayday a garland of beech-leaves thrown about the neck, and so bedizened were driven home; for which service the cowherd could count upon his fee.'

³ Geldersche Volksalmanak voor 1835, pp. 10-28. The song is given in Hoffm.

we have *may-bushes* brought into our houses at Whitsuntide: we do not fetch them in ourselves, nor go out to meet them.¹

England too had *May-games* or *Mayings* down to the 16-17th century. On Mayday morning the lads and lasses set out soon after midnight, with horns and other music, to a neighbouring wood, broke boughs off the trees, and decked them out with wreaths and posies; then turned homeward, and at sunrise set these May-bushes in the doors and windows of their houses. Above all, they brought with them a tall birch tree which had been cut down; it was named *maiepole*, *maipoll*, and was drawn by 20 to 40 yoke of oxen, each with a nosegay betwixt his horns; this tree was set up in the village, and the people danced round it. The whole festival was presided over by a *lord of the May* elected for the purpose, and with him was associated a *lady of the May*.² In England also a *fight between Summer and Winter* was exhibited (Hone's Daybook 1, 359); the Maypole exactly answers to the May-waggon of L. Saxony, and the lord of the May to the May-grave.³ And here and there a district in France too has undoubtedly similar May-sports. Champollion (Rech. sur les patois, p. 183) reports of the Isère Dept.: '*maïe*, fête que les enfans célèbrent aux premiers jours du mois de mai, en parant un d'entre eux et lui donnant le titre de *roi*.' A lawsuit on the '*jus eundi prima die mensis maji ad majum colligendum in nemora*' is preserved in a record of 1262, Guérard cart. de N.D. 2, 117 (see Suppl.). In narrative poems of the Mid. Ages, both French and German, the grand occasions on which kings hold their court are Whitsuntide and the blooming Maytime, Rein. 41 seq. Iw. 33 seq., and Wolfram calls King Arthur '*der meienbære man*,' Parz. 281, 16; conf. '*pfingestlicher (pentecostal) küniges name*,' MS. 2, 128^a.

On the whole then, there are four different ways of welcoming

Horae belg. 2, 178-180. Conf. '*ic wil den mei gaen houwen voor mijns liefs veensterkyn*,' go hew before my love's window, Uhland's Volksl. 178.

¹ Has the *May-drink* still made in the Lower Rhine and Westphalia, of wine and certain (sacred?) herbs, any connexion with an old sacrificial rite? On no account must woodroof (*asperula*) be omitted in preparing it.

² Fuller descript. in J. Strutt, ed. Lond. 1830, p. 351-6. Haupt's Zeitschr. 5, 477.

³ The AS. poems have no passage turning on the battle of S. and W. In Beow. 2266 '*þá wæs winter seacen*' only means winter was past, '*el invierno es exido*,' Cid 1627.

Summer, that we have learnt to know. In Sweden and Gothland a battle of Winter and Summer, a triumphal entry of the latter. In Schonen, Denmark, L. Saxony and England simply May-riding, or fetching of the May-waggon. On the Rhine merely a battle of Winter and Summer, without immersion,¹ without the pomp of an entry. In Franconia, Thuringia, Meissen, Silesia and Bohemia only the carrying-out of wintry Death; no battle, no formal introduction of Summer.² Of these festivals the first and second fall in May, the third and fourth in March. In the first two, the whole population takes part with unabated enthusiasm; in the last two, only the lower poorer class. It is however the first and third modes that have retained the full idea of the performance, the struggle between the two powers of the year, whilst in the second and fourth the antithesis is wanting. The May-riding has no Winter in it, the farewell to Death no Summer; one is all joy, the other all sadness. But in all the first three modes, the higher being to whom honour is done is represented by living persons, in the fourth by a puppet, yet both the one and the other are fantastically dressed up.

Now we can take a look in one or two other directions.

On the battle between *Vetr* and *Sumar* ON. tradition is silent,³ as on much else, that nevertheless lived on among the people. The oldest vestige known to me of a duel between the seasons amongst us is that 'Conflictus hiemis et veris' over the cuckoo (p. 675-6). The idea of a *Summer-god marching in*, bringing blessings, putting new life into everything, is quite in the spirit of our earliest ages: it is just how Nerthus comes *into the land* (p. 251); also Freyr (p. 213), Isis (p. 258), Hulda (p. 268), Berhta

¹ It was a different thing therefore when in olden times the Frankfort boys and girls, every year at Candlemas (Febr. 2), *threw a stuffed garment into the Main*, and sang: 'Reuker Uder schlug sein mutter, schlug ihr arm und bein entzwei, dass sie mordio schrei,' Lersner's Chron. p. 492. I leave the song unexplained.

² Yet Summer as a contrast does occasionally come out plainly in songs or customs of Bohemia and Lausitz.

³ Finn Magnusen, always prone to see some natural phenomenon underlying a myth, finds the contrast of summer and winter lurking in more than one place in the Edda: in *Fjöllsvinnsmál* and *Harbardslíod* (th. 2, 135. 3, 44 of his Edda), in Saxo's *Oller* and *Othin* saga (th. 1, 196. Lex. 765), in that of *Thiassi* (Lex. 887), because *Oðinn* sets the eye of the slain giant in the sky (p.), and Winter is also to have his eyes punched out (p. 765); to me *Uhlund* (Ueber Thor p. 117. 120) seems more profound, in regarding *Thiassi* as the storm-eagle, and kidnapped *Íðunn* as the green of summer (ingrün, so to speak); but the nature of this goddess remains a secret to us.

(p. 273), Frigg (p. 304), and other deities besides, whose car or ship an exulting people goes forth to meet, as they do the waggon of May, who, over and above mere personification, has from of old his *êre* and *strâze* (p. 670 n.): in heathen times he must have had an actual worship of his own. All these gods and goddesses appeared at their appointed times in the year, bestowing their several boons; deified *Summer* or *May* can fairly claim identity with one of the highest divinities to whom the gift of fertility belonged, with *Fró*, *Wuotan*, *Nerthus*. But if we admit goddesses, then, in addition to *Nerthus*, *Ostara* has the strongest claim to consideration. To what was said on p. 290 I can add some significant facts. The heathen Easter had much in common with the May-feast and the reception of spring, particularly in the matter of bonfires. Then, through long ages there seem to have lingered among the people *Easter-games* so-called, which the church itself had to tolerate: I allude especially to the custom of *Easter eggs*, and to the *Easter tale* which preachers told from the pulpit for the people's amusement, connecting it with Christian reminiscences. In the MHG. poets, 'mînes herzen *ôsterspil*, *ôstertac*,' my heart's Easter play or day, is a complimentary phrase for lady love, expressing the height of bliss (MS. 2, 52^b. 37^b. Iw. 8120. Frib. Trist. 804); Conr. Troj. 19802 makes the 'ôsterlîchen tac mit lebender wunne spiln' out of the fair one's eye. Later still, there were dramatic shows named *ôsterspile*, Wackern. lb. 1014, 30. One of the strongest proofs is the summer and dance song of lord Goeli, MS. 2, 57^a (Haupt's Neidh. xxv): at the season, when ea and eyot are grown green, Fridebolt and his companions enter with long swords, and offer to play the *ôsterspil*, which seems to have been a sword-dance for twelve performers, one of whom apparently was leader, and represented Summer beating Winter out of the land:

Fridebolt setze ûf den huot
wolgefriunt, und gang ez vor,
bint daz *ôstersahs* zer linken sîten
bis dur Künzen hôchgemuot,
leite uns vür daz Tinkûftor,
lâ den tanz al ûf den wasen rîten!

F., put on thy hat,
well backed, and go before,
bind o. to thy left side,
be for K.'s sake merry,
lead us outside the T. gate,
let dance on turf be rid.

'This binding on of the 'Easter seax,' or sword-knife, leads us to

infer that a sword of peculiar antique shape was retained; as the Easter scones, *ósterstuopha* (RA. 298) and moonshaped *óster-máne* (Brem. wtb.) indicate pastry of heathenish form. The sword may have been brandished in honour of *Ostara*, as it was for *Fricka* (p. 304). Or is *Óstersahs* to be understood like *Beiersahs* (Haupt's *Neidh.* xxv. 17, note)?

May we then identify *Ostara* with the Slav goddess of spring *Vesna*, the Lith. *vasara* (aestas), Lett. *vassara*, and with *ver* and *ěap* in the forms ascribed to them on p. 754? True, there is no counterpart, no goddess answering to *Marzana*; but with our ancestors the notion of a conflict between two male antagonists, the giants *Summer* and *Winter*, must have carried the day at a very early time [to the exclusion of the goddesses].

The subject was no stranger to the Greeks and Romans: in one of Aesop's fables (Cor. 422. Fur. 380) *χειμών* and *ěap* have a quarrel.¹ The Roman *ver* began on Feb. 7, the first swallow came in about Feb. 26, though she does not reach us till near the end of March, nor Sweden till the beginning of May (Tiedemann's *Zool.* 3, 624). The *Florealia* were kept from Apr. 28 till May 1: there were songs, dances and games, they wore flowers and garlands on their heads, but the contrast, *Winter*, seems not to have been represented. I am not informed what spring customs have lasted to this day in Italy. Polydore Vergil, of Urbino in Umbria, tells us (de invent. rer. 5, 2): 'Est consuetudinis, ut juvenus promiscui sexus laetabunda Cal. Maji exeat in agros, et cantitans inde *virides reportet arborum ramos*, eosque ante domorum fores ponat, et denique unusquisque eo die aliquid *viridis ramusculi* vel herbae ferat; quod non fecisse poena est, praesertim apud Italos, ut madefiat.' Here then is a ducking too; this May-feast cannot have meant there a fetching-in of spring, for that comes earlier, in March (see Suppl.).

Much more remarkable is the Italian and Spanish custom of tying together at Mid Lent, on that very *Douinica Lætare*, a puppet to represent the *oldest woman* in the village, which is carried out by the people, especially children, and *sawn through the middle*. This is called *segare la vecchia*. At Barcelona the boys on that day, in thirties and forties, run through all the

¹ Creuzer's *Symb.* 2, 429. 494, following Hermann's interpret. of names, makes of the giant Briareus a *fighting winter-demon*.

streets, some with saws, some with billets of wood, and some with napkins in which people deposit their gifts. They declare in a song, that they are looking for the *very oldest woman in the town*, to *saw her* through the body; at last they pretend they have found her, and begin sawing something, and afterwards burn it.¹ But the same custom is also found among the South Slavs. In Lent time the Croats tell their children, that at the hour of noon *an old woman is sawn in pieces* outside the gates;² in Carniola it is at Mid Lent again that the old wife is led out of the village and *sawn through* the middle.³ The North Slavs call it *bábu rézati*, sawing old granny, i.e. keeping Mid Lent (Jungm. 1, 56). Now this sawing up and burning of the old wife (as of the devil, p. 606) seems identical with the carrying out and drowning of Death, and if this represented Winter, a giant, may not the Romance and South Slav nations have pictured their hiems, their zima, as a goddess or old woman (Sl. *bába*)?⁴ Add to this, that in villages even of Meissen and Silesia the straw figure that is borne out is sometimes in the shape of an *old woman* (p. 768), which may perhaps have meant Marzana (p. 773)? I should not be surprised if some districts of Bavaria, Tyrol and Switzerland were yet to reveal a similar sawing of the old wife.⁵ The Scotch Highlanders throw the auld wife into the fire at Christmas (Stewart's Pop. superst. p. 236 seq.).

But Lower Germany itself presents an approximation no less worthy of attention. On p. 190 we mentioned that it was the custom at Hildesheim, on the Saturday after Laetare, to set forth the triumph of christianity over the heathen gods by *knocking down logs of wood*. The agreement in point of time would of itself invite a comparison of this solemnity with that Old-Polish one, and further with the carrying-out of Death; one need not even connect the expulsion of the old gods with the banishment

¹ Alex. Laborde's *Itinéraire de l'Espagne* 1, 57-8; conf. Doblados biep. Hone's Dayb. 1, 369.

² Anton's *Versuch über die Slaven* 2, 66.

³ Linhart's *Geschichte von Krain* 2, 274.

⁴ The Ital. *inverno*, Span. *invierno*, is however masc.

⁵ In Swabia and Switz., *frönfasten* (Lord's fast=Ember days, Scheffer's *Haltaus* p. 53) has been corrupted into a *frau Faste*, as if it were the fast-time personified (Stald. 1, 394. Hebel sub v.). Can cutting Mid Lent in two have signified a break in the fast? I think not. What means the phrase and the act of '*breaking the neck of the fast*,' in an essay on Cath. superst. in the 16th cent.? see Förstemann's *Records of Augsburg Diet*, Halle 1833, d. 101 (see Suppl.).

of Winter at all. In Geo. Torquatus's (unpublished) *Annal. Magdeb. et Halberst.* part 3 lib. 1 cap. 9 we are told that at Halberstadt (as at Hildesheim above) they used once a year to set up a *log* in the marketplace, and *throw* at it till its *head came off*. The *log* has not a name of its own, like Jupiter at Hildesheim; it is not unlikely that the same practice prevailed at other places in the direction of these two cities. At Halberstadt it lasted till markgraf Johan Albrecht's time; the oldest account of it is by the so-called 'monk of Pirna,' Joh. Lindner (Tilianus, d. ab. 1530) in his *Onomasticon*: 'In the stead of the idol's temple pulled in pieces at Halberstadt, there was a dome-church (cathedral) edified in honour of God and St. Stephen; in memory thereof the dome-lords (dean and chapter) young and old shall on Letare Monday every year set up a *wooden skittle* in the idol's stead, and throw thereat, every one; moreover the dome-provost shall in public procession and lordly state let lead a *bear* (*barz*, l. *baren*) beside him, else shall his customary dues be denied him; likewise a *boy* beareth after him a sheathed *sword* under his arm.' Leading a *bear* about and delivering a *bear's loaf* was a custom prevalent in the Mid. Ages, e.g. at Mainz (Weisth. 1, 533) and Strassburg (Schilter's Gloss. 102).

This Low Saxon rejection, and that Polish dismissal, of the ancient gods has therefore no necessary connexion with a bringing in of summer, however apt the comparison of the new religion to summer's genial warmth. In the Polish custom at all events I find no such connexion hinted at. At the same time, the notion of bringing summer in was not unknown to the Poles. A Cracow legend speaks of *Lel* and *Po-lel* (after-lel), two divine beings of heathen times, *chasing each other round the field, and bringing Summer*; they are the cause of 'flying summer,' i.e. *gossamer*.¹ Until we know the whole tradition more exactly, we cannot assign it its right place. *Lel* and *Polel* are usually likened to Castor and Pollux (Linde i. 2, 1250^b), to whom they bear at least this resemblance, that their names, even in old folk-songs, make a simple interjection,² as the Romans used the twin

¹ Hall. allg. lz. 1807. no. 256, p. 807.

² Pol. *lelum*, *polelum*; Serv. *lele*, *leljo*, *lelja* (Vuk sub v.); Walach. *lerum* (conf. *lirumlarum*, *verba effutitia*). It seems to me hazardous to suppose them sons of Lada as C. and P. were of Leda. Conf. supra p. 366.

demigods to swear by. *Fliegender sommer, flugsommer, sommerflug, graswebe*, are our names for the white threads that cover the fields at the beginning of spring, and still more of autumn; the spring tissue is also called *maidensummer*, Mary's yarn, Mary's thread (p. 471), that of autumn aftersummer, autumn yarn, *old-wives' summer*; but generally both kinds are covered by the one name or the other. Nethl. *slammetje* (draggletail? Brem. wtb. 4, 799); Engl. *gossamer* (God's train, trailing garment), also *samar, simar* (train); Swed. *dvärgsnät* (dwarf's net), p. 471. Boh. *wlačka* (harrow, because the threads rake the ground?); Pol. *lato święto marcińskie*, Mary's holy summer. Here again the Virgin's name seems to have been chosen as a substitute or antidote for heathen notions: the ancient Slavs might easily believe the gauzy web to have been spread over the earth by one of their gods. But the autumn gossamer has another Slavic name: Pol. *babie lato*, old wives' summer, Boh. *babské lèto*, or simply *babj*, which puts us in mind once more of that antithesis between summer and the old wife (p. 782). She rules in winter, and the god in summer (see Suppl.). Can the words of the Wendish ditty, quoted p. 771, be possibly interpreted of the film as it floats in the air?

I hope I have proved the antiquity and significance of the conceptions of Summer and Winter; but there is one point I wish to dwell upon more minutely. The *dressing-up* of the two champions in *foliage and flowers*, in *straw and moss*, the dialogue that probably passed between them, the accompanying chorus of spectators, all exhibit the first rude shifts of dramatic art, and a history of the German stage ought to begin with such performances. The *wrappage of leaves* represents the stage-dress and masks of a later time. Once before (p. 594), in the solemn procession for rain, we saw such leafy garb. Popular custom exhibits a number of variations, having preserved one fragment here, and another there, of the original whole. Near Willingshausen, county Ziegenhain, Lower Hesse, a boy is *covered over and over with leaves*, green branches are fastened to his body: other boys lead him by a rope, and make him dance as a *bear*, for doing which a present is bestowed; the girls carry a hoop decked out with flowers and ribbons. Take note, that at the knocking down of logs at Halberstadt (p. 783), there was also

a *bear* and a boy with a sword (conf. supra p. 304 n.) in the procession; that *Vildifer*, a hero disguised in a *bearskin*, is led about by a musician, and dances to the harp.¹ Doubtless a dramatic performance of ancient date, which we could have judged better, had the M. Nethl. poem of *bere Wislau*² been preserved; but the name *Vildifer* seems to be founded on an OS. *Wild-efor*, which originated in a misapprehension of the OHG. *Wildpero* ('pero' *ursus* being confounded with 'pêr' *aper*), as only a dancing bear can be meant here, not a boar. Now this bear fits well with the *gadebasse* of the Danish May feast (p. 776). Schmid's Schwäb. wtb. 518^b mentions the Augsburg *waterbird*: at Whitsuntide a lad *wrapt* from head to foot *in reeds* is led through the town by two others holding *birch-boughs* in their hands: once more a festival in May, not March. The name of this 'waterfowl' shews he is meant to be ducked in the brook or river; but whether Summer here is a mistake for Winter, whether the boy in reeds represents Winter, while perhaps another boy in leaves played Summer, or the mummary was a device to bring on rain, I leave undetermined. Thuringian customs also point to Whitsuntide: the villagers there on Whit-Tuesday choose their *green man* or *lettuce-king*; a young peasant is escorted into the woods, is there *enveloped in green bushes and boughs*, set on a horse, and conducted home in triumph. In the village the community stands assembled: the bailiff is allowed three guesses to find who is hidden in the green disguise; if he fails, he must pay ransom in beer.³ In other places it is on Whit-Sunday itself that the man who was the last to drive his cattle to pasture, is *wrapt in fir and birch boughs*, and whipt through the village amidst loud cries of '*Whitsun-sleeper!*' At night comes beer-drinking and dancing. In the Erzgebirge the shepherd who drives out earliest on Whit-Sunday may crack his whip, the last comer is laughed at and saluted *Whitsun-looby*: so with the latest riser in every house. The *sleeping away* of sacred festive

¹ Vilk. saga, cap. 120-1; mark, that the minstrel gives him the name of *Vitrleo* (wise lion), which should of course have been *Vitrbiörn*: for a bear has the sense of 12 men (Reinh. p. 445). The people's 'king of beasts' has been confounded with that of scholars.

² Horae belg. 1, 51. Mone's Niederl. volkslit. p. 35-6. Conf. Wenzlan, Altd bl. 1, 333. Wislau is the Slav. Weslav, Waslav (Wenceslaus).

³ Reichsanz. 1796. no. 90, p. 947. The herdsman that drives earliest to the Alpine pastures on May 1, earns a privilege for the whole year.

hours (conf. p. 590 n.), and the penalty attached to it, of acting the butze and being ducked, I look upon as mere accessories, kept alive long after the substance of the festival had perished (see Suppl.).

Kuhn (pp. 314-29) has lately furnished us with accurate accounts of Whitsun customs in the Marks. In the Mittelmark the houses are decorated with 'mai,' in the Altmark the farm-servants, horse-keepers and ox-boys go round the farms, and carry May-crowns made of flowers and birch twigs to the farmers, who used to hang them up on their houses, and leave them hanging till the next year. On Whitsun morning the cows and horses are driven for the first time to the fallow pasture, and it is a great thing to be the first there. The animal that arrives first has a bunch of 'mai' tied to its tail, which bunch is called *dau-sleipe* (dew-sweep),¹ while the last comer is dressed up in fir-twigs, all sorts of green stuff and field flowers, and called the *motley cow* or *motley horse*, and the boy belonging to it the *pingst-küüm* or *pingst-käürel*. At Havelberg the cow that came home first at night used to be adorned with the crown of flowers, and the last got the *thau-schleife*; now this latter practice is alone kept up.² In some of the Altmark villages, the lad whose horse gets to the pasture first is named *thau-schlepper*, and he who drives the hindmost is made *motley boy*, viz. they clothe him from head to foot in wild flowers, and at noon lead him from farm to farm, the *dew-sweeper* pronouncing the rhymes. In other places a pole decked with flowers and ribbons is carried round, and called the *bammel* (dangle) or *pingst-küüm*, though, as a rule, this last name is reserved for the boy shrouded in leaves and flowers, who accompanies. He is sometimes led by two others called *hundebrosel*. In some parts of the Mittelmark the muffled boy is called the *kaudernest*. On the Drömling the boys go round with the *pingst-küüm*, and the girls with the *may-bride*, collecting gifts. Some villages south of the Drömling have a more elaborate

¹ So named, because it has to touch the dewy grass: which confirms my interpretation of the Alamannic *tau-dragil* (R.A. 94, 630), supra p. 387 note.

² In some places a winning horse has a stick cleft in three fixed on his head and richly encircled with the finest flowers; the boy who rides him, beside many garlands, receives a *cap woven of rushes*, and must preserve a serious countenance while the procession slowly advances: if he can be provoked to laughter, he loses, Kuhn, p. 328.

ceremonial. On 'White Sunday,' a fortnight before Easter, the herdboys march to the pasture with *white sticks* (supra p. 766), and with these they mark off a spot, to which no one may drive his cattle till Whitsuntide.¹ This being done, the smaller boys *name their brides*² to the bigger ones, and no one must reveal the name till Whitsunday, when the railed-off pasture is thrown open, and any one may tell the *brides' names*. On Whitmonday one of the boys is *disguised* by having two petticoats put on him, and one of them pulled over his head and tied up; then they *swathe him in may*, hang flower-wreaths about his neck, and set a flower-crown on his head. They call him the *füstge mai* (well-appointed, armed), and lead him round to all the houses; at the same time the girls go round with their *may-bride*, who is completely covered with ribbons, her bridal band hanging to the ground behind; she wears a large nosegay on her head, and keeps on singing her ditties till some gift is handed to her.

Other villages have horse-races on Whitmonday for a wreath which is hung out. Whoever snatches it down both times is crowned, and led in triumph to the village as *May-king*.

A work composed in the 13th cent. by Aegidius aureae vallis religiosus reports the Netherland custom of electing a *Whitsun queen* in the time of bp. Albero of Lüttich (d. 1155): 'Sacerdotes ceteraque ecclesiasticae personae cum universo populo, in solemnitatibus *paschae* et *pentecostes*, aliquam ex sacerdotum concubinis, purpuratam ac diademate renitentem in eminentiori solio constitutam et cortinis velatam, *reginam creabant*, et coram ea assistentes in choreis tympanis et aliis musicalibus instrumentis tota die psallebant, et quasi idolatrae effecti ipsam *tanquam idolum colebant*,' Chapeville 2, 98. To this day poor women in Holland at Whitsuntide carry about a girl sitting *in a little*

¹ While this fallow pasture is being railed off, the new lads (those who are tending for the first time) have to procure *bones* to cover the branches of a fir-tree which is erected. The tree is called the *gibbet of bones*, and its top adorned with a horse's skull (Kuhn 323-4): plainly a relic of some heathen sacrificial rite, conf. the elevation of animals on trees, pp. 53, 75, esp. of horses' heads, p. 47; the good Lubbe's hill of bones is also in point, p. 526.

² This *naming of brides* resembles the *crying of fiefs* on Walburgis eve in Hesse, on the L. Rhine, the Ahr and the Eifel, Zeitschr. f. Hess. gesch. 2, 272-7. Dieffenbach's Wetterau p. 234. Ernst Weyden's Ahrthal, Bonn 1839, p. 216. And who can help remembering the ON. *heit strengja* at Yule-tide? when the heroes likewise chose their loved ones, e.g. in Sæm. 146^a: 'Heðinn strengdi heit til Svavo.'

carriage, and beg for money. This girl, decked with flowers and ribbons, and named *pinxterbloem*, reminds us of the ancient goddess on her travels. The same *pinxterbloem* is a name for the iris *pseudacorus*, which blossoms at that very season; and the sword-lily is named after other deities beside Iris (*perunika*, p. 183-4). On the Zaterdag before Pentecost, the boys go out early in the morning, and with great shouting and din awake the lazy sleepers, and tie a bundle of nettles at their door. Both the day and the late sleeper are called *luilap* or *luilak* (sluggard). Summer also had to be *wakened*, p. 765.

Everything goes to prove, that the approach of summer was to our forefathers a holy tide, welcomed by sacrifice, feast and dance, and largely governing and brightening the people's life. Of Easter fires, so closely connected with May fires, an account has been given; the festive gatherings of May-day night will be described more minutely in the Chap. on Witches. At this season brides were chosen and proclaimed, servants changed, and houses taken possession of by new tenants.

With this I conclude my treatment of Summer and Winter; i.e. of the mythic meanings mixed up with the two halves of the year. An examination of the twelve *solar* and thirteen *lunar months*¹ is more than I can undertake here, for want of space; I promise to make good the deficiency elsewhere. This much I will say, that a fair proportion of our names of months also is referable to heathen gods, as we now see by the identification of *May* with summer, and have already seen in the case of *Hrede* (March) and *Eastre* (April), p. 289. *Phol*, who had his *Phol-day* (p. 614), seems also to have ruled over a *Phol-mânôt* (May and Sept.), conf. Diut. i. 409, 432, and Scheffer's *Haltaus* 36. The days of our week may have been arranged and named on the model of the Roman (p. 127); the names of the three months aforesaid are independent of any Latin influence.² A remarkable feature among Slavs and Germans is the using of one name for two successive months, as when the Anglo-Saxons

¹ That there were *lunar years* is indicated by the moon's being given 'at ártali,' for year's tale, p. 710.

² *Martius* rests on Mars, *Aprilis* must contain a spring-goddess answering to *Ostara*, *Majus* belongs to *Maja*, a mother of gods. The same three consecutive months are linked in the Latin calendar, as in ours, with divinities.

speak of an ærra and æftera Geola, ærra and æftera Lîða, and we of a great and little Horn (Jan. and Feb.), nay, Ougest is followed up by an Ongstin, the god by a goddess; I even see a mythical substratum in popular saws on certain months, thus of February they say: 'the Spörkelsin has seven smocks on, of different lengths every one, and them she shakes,' i.e. raises wind with them. 'Sporkel,' we know, is traced to the Roman spurealia.

CHAPTER XXV.

TIME AND WORLD.

In the last chapter we examined myths having reference to the alternation of seasons, to phenomena of the year. Our language affords several instances of transition from the notion of time to that of space.

Ulphilas translates *χρόνος, καιρός, ὥρα* alternately by *mêl, hveila, þeihs*, yet so that ‘*mêl*’ usually stands for *χρόνος* or *καιρός*, rarely for *ὥρα*, and ‘*hveila*’ mostly for *ὥρα*, seldomer for *χρόνος* and *καιρός*; the former expressing rather the longer section of time, and the latter the shorter. *Mêl*, OHG. *mâl*, AS. *mæl*, ON. *mâl*, lit. mark or measure, is applied to measured speech or writing as well as to a portion of time; on the contrary, *hveila*, OHG. *huîla*, MHG. *wîle*, AS. *hwîl* (p. 702), denotes rest, and is purely a notion of time, whereas *mêl* was transferred from space to time. We come across *þeihs* (neut. gen. *þeihsis*) only twice, viz. Rom. 13, 11: ‘*vitandans þata þeihs, þatei mêl ist,*’ *εἰδότες τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτι ὥρα*, and 1 Thess. 5, 1: ‘*bi þô þeihsa jah mêla,*’ *περὶ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν*. Each passage contains both *þeihs* and *mêl*, but the choice of the former for *χρόνος* and the latter for *καιρός* shews that *þeihs* is even better adapted than *mêl* for the larger fuller notion, and the most complete arrangement would be: *þeihs χρόνος, mêl καιρός, hveila ὥρα*. I derive *þeihs* from *þeihan* (*crescere, proficere, succedere*), as *veihis* gen. *veihsis* (*propugnaculum*) from *veihan* (*pugnare*); so that it expresses *profectus, successus*, the forward movement of time, and is near of kin to OHG. *dîhsmo, dêhsmo* (*profectus*), probably also to *dîhsila* (*temo*), our *deichsel*, AS. *þîsl, thill*, for which we may assume a Goth. *þeihslo, þeihsla*, the apparatus by which the waggon is moved on. Schmeller 4, 294 cleverly connects *têmo* itself with *tempus*: the celestial waggon-thill (p. 724) marks the movement of nocturnal time (Varro 7, 72-5), and *þeihsla* becomes a measure like the more general *þeihs*. Even if the connexion of the two Latin words be as yet doubtful, that of the two Gothic

ones can hardly be so. But now, as the Goth. *þeihs* has no representative in the other Teutonic tongues, and in return the OHG. *zît*, AS. *tîd*, ON. *tîð* seems foreign to Gothic, it is natural, considering the identity of meaning, to suppose that the latter form arose from mixing up *þeihan* (crescere) with *teihan* (nuntiare), and therefore that the AS. *tîd* stands for *þîd*, and OHG. *zît* for *dît*; besides, the OHG. *zît* is mostly neut., like *þeihs*, whereas the fem. *zît*, *tîd* would have demanded a Goth. *þeihaþs*. Of course a Goth. *þeihs* ought to have produced an OHG. *dîhs* or *dîh* (as *veihs* did *wîh*); but, that derivation here branched in two or three directions is plain from the ON. *tîmi*, AS. *tîme* (tempus, hora), which I refer to the OHG. *dîhsmo*¹ above, and a Goth. *þeihsma*, with both of which the Lat. *tempus* (and *têmo*?) would perfectly agree (see Suppl.).

Like *hveila*, the OHG. *stulla*, and *stunt*, *stunta*, AS. ON. *stund* (moment, hour), contain the notion of rest, and are conn. with *stilli* (quietus), *standan* (stare), while conversely the Lat. *mōmentum* (movi-mentum) is borrowed from motion.² We express the briefest interval of time by *augenblick*, eye-glance; Ulph. renders Luke 4, 5 *ἐν στιγμήν χρόνου* 'in *stika* *mêlis*,' in a prick of time, in *ictu temporis*; 1 Cor. 15, 52 *ἐν ῥίπῃ ὀφθαλμοῦ*, 'in *brahva* *áugins*,' *brahv* being glance, flash, *micatus*, AS. *twincel*, and traceable to *brahvan* (*micare*, *lucere*), OHG. *prêhan*, MHG. *brêhen*; ³ AS. 'on *beorhtm-hwîle*' from *bearhtm* *ictus oculi*, 'on *eágan beorhtm*,' Beda 2, 13; ON. 'í *augabragði*,' conf. Sæm. 11^b. 14^a. 19^b. OHG. 'in *slago dero bráwo*,' N. ps. 2, 12, in a movement of the eyelid (conf. *slagipráwa* *palpebra*, Graff 3, 316); 'ante-

¹ In *dîhan*, *dîhsmo* the *d* remained, in *zît* it degenerated. Just so the Goth. *þvahan* first became regularly OHG. *duahan*, then irregularly *tuaahan*, now *zwagen*; the OS. *thuingan* first OHG. *duingan*, then *tuingan*, now *zwingen*. Less anomalous by one degree are OHG. *zi* for Goth. *du* (to), and our *zwer* for ON. *dvergr* (dwarf), MHG. *twerc*.

² Numeral adverbs of repetition our language forms with *stunt* as well as *mál*, but also by some words borrowed from space, Gramm. 3, 230.

³ Beside the inf. *brêhen* (MS. 1, 47^a. 185^a. Gudr. 1356, 2) we are only sure of the pres. part.: *ouge-brehender klê*, MS. 1, 3^b. *brehender schîn* 2, 231^a; for the pret. *brach*, MS. 2, 52^a. Bon. 48. 68, could be referred to *breehen*, conf. 'break of day,' p. 747, yet the two verbs themselves may be congeners. In OHG. the perf. part. appears in *prêhan-ougi* (*lippus*), a compound formed like *zorau-ougi*, Gramm. 2, 693. The Goth. *brahv* assures us of the princ. parts in full, *braihva*, *brahv*, *brêhvum* (like *saihva*, *sahv*, *sêhvum*). But instead of an adj. *braihts* (bright), even the Gothic has only a transposed form *bairhts*, OHG. *peraht*, AS. *beorht*, ON. *biartr*; yet our *Peralita* is afterwards also called *Prehta*, *Brehte* (pp. 277-9), and other proper names waver between the two forms, as Albrecht Albert, Ruprecht Robert.

quam supercilium superius inferiori jungi possit,' Caesar. heisterb. 12, 5. 'minre wîlen (in less time) dan ein oucbrâ zuo der andern muge geslahen,' Grieshaber p. 274. 'als ein oucbrâ mac ûf und zuo gegên,' can open and shut, Berth. 239. 'ê ich die hant umbkêrte, oder zuo gesluege die (or better, diu) brâ,' Er. 5172. 'alsô schier sô (as fast as) ein brâwe den andern slahen mac,' Fundgr. 1, 199 (see Suppl.).¹

A great length of time is also expressed by several different words: Goth. *áivs* (m.), OHG. *êwa* (f.), Gr. *αἰών*, Lat. *aevum* shading off into the sense of *seculum*, O. Fr. *ae* (p. 678); the OS. *eo* (m.) means only *statutum*, *lex*, as the Goth. *mêl* was *scriptura* as well as *tempus*. Then Goth. *alps* (f.), by turns *αἰών* (Eph. 2, 2. 1 Tim. 1, 17. 2 Tim. 4, 10), and *βίος* or *γενεά*; ON. *öld*; OHG. with suffix *altar* (*aevum*, *aetas*), though the simple word also survives in the compound *wëralt* (assimil. *worolt*), MHG. *werlt*, our *welt*, AS. *wërold*, Engl. *world*, Fris. *wrald*, ON. *vërallt*, *vëröld*, Swed. *werld*, Dan. *verd*: constant use accounts for the numerous distortions of the word.² Its Gothic form, wanting in Ulph., would have been *vair-alps* or 'vairê alps,' *virorum* (*hominum*) *aetas*, *aetas* (*lifetime*) passing into the local sense of *mundus* (*world*), just as *seculum*, *siècle*, has come to mean *mundus*, *monde*. We saw on p. 575 that Greek mythology supposes four ages of the world, *golden*, *silver*, *brazen* and *iron*: a fancy that has travelled far,³ and was apparently no stranger in Scandinavia itself. Snorri 15 gives the name of

¹ Can *brâwe*, OHG. *prâwa*, ON. *brâ*, be derived from *brêhen*? Perhaps the set phrases in the text reveal the reason for it. In that case the OHG. *prâwa* must be for *prâha*, and we might expect a Goth. *brêhva*? Then the Sanskr. *bhrû*, Gr. *δφρûς*, would be left without the vivid meaning of the Teut. word.

² Its true meaning was so obscured, that other explanations were tried. Maerlant at the beginn. of his Sp. Hist.: 'die de *werelt* êrst *werrelt* hiet, hine was al in dole niet. Adam die *werelt* al *verwerrede*.' This deriv. from *werren* (*impedire*, *intricare*) was, if I mistake not, also hit upon by MHG. poets, e.g. Renner 2293. Equally wrong are those from *wern* to last, and *werlen* to whirl. It is quite possible, that *werô alt* (*virorum aetas*) was intended as an antithesis to a *risônô alt* (*gigantum aetas*) which preceded it.

³ In our Mid. Ages the *World* was personified, like *Death*, and the various ages were combined in a *statue* with a head of gold, arms of silver, a breast of brass and iron, and feet of earth, MS. 2, 175^b; another representation gave the figure a golden head, silver breast and arms, brazen belly, steel thighs, iron legs, earthen feet, MS. 2, 225^a; a third, a golden head, silver arms, brazen breast, copper belly, steel thighs, earthen feet, Amgb. 27^b. This medley, though borrowed from Daniel 2, 31-43, reminds us of ancient idols formed out of various metals, and also of *Hrûngnir* with the stone heart, and *Möckrkâlf* who was made of loam, and had a mare's heart put into him, Sn. 109. Hugo in his Renner 13754 speaks of a steel, diamond, copper, wood, and straw world.

gull-aldr to the period when the gods had all their utensils made of gold, which was only cut short by the coming of giantesses out of Iötunheim. Had he merely borrowed this golden age from the classics, he would have taken the trouble to discover the other metals too in Norse legend.¹ But in the *Völuspá* (Sæm. 8^a) we see that other ages are spoken of, *skegg-öld* (see p. 421), *skálm-öld*, *vind-öld* and *varg-öld*, which are to precede the destruction of the world.

To translate *κόσμος*, Ulph. takes by turns, and often one immediately after the other, the two words *faírhvus* and *manaséþs*; both must have been in common use among the Goths. *Manaséþs*² means *virorum satus* (seed of men), and is used at once for *λαός* and for *κόσμος*, thus fully coinciding with the above developed sense of *weralt*. *Faírhvus* I take to be near of kin to OHG. *fērah*, AS. *feorh*, MHG. *vērch*, so that it expressed lifetime again, like *aevum*; it is also connected with OHG. *firahî* (*homines*), and would mean first 'coetus hominum viventium,' then the space in which they live. It has nothing to do with *faírguni*, earth, mountain (see Suppl.).

As *κόσμος* properly means the ordered, symmetrical (world), *mundus* the clean, well-trimmed, bright, and as the Frisian laws 126, 26 speak of 'thi *skéne* wrald'; so the Slavic *sviet*, *svèt*, *swiat* is, first of all, light and brightness, then world, the open, public,³ all that the sun illumines, whatsoever is 'under the sun.'⁴ So the Wallach. *lume*, the Hung. *világ*, signify both light and world. The Lith. *swietas*, O. Pruss. *switai*, world, is borrowed from Slavic. Like *mundus*, the Slav. *sviet* passes into the time-sense of *seculum*, *vièk* (Dobrowsky's Inst. 149). The older Slavs called the world *mir* and *ves'mir*, Dobr. 24. 149; *mir* is also the word for peace, quietness, and seems akin to *mira* or *mèra*, measure (order?). The Finnic for world is *maa' ilma*, the Esth. *ma ilm* (from *ilma*, the expanse of air, and *maa*, earth), the Lapp. *ilbme*.

¹ We may connect the golden age with *Fróði*, whose mill ground *gold* and *peace*. The Finns say, in *Ukko's* time gold was ground in the mills, honey trickled from the oaks, and milk flowed in the rivers (conf. p. 697), *Ganander* 98.

² Always with single *n*, as in *mana-maúrþrja*, *mana-riggvs*, *manags* (many), *manáuli*, and as in OHG. *mana-houpit*, *mana-luomi*, *manac*, conf. MHG. *suncwende*, p. 617 n. The reason of this peculiarity grammar must determine.

³ To bring to light, impart to the world, is in Serv. 'na *svièt* izdátí.'

⁴ The Lett. word *pasaule* seems to have been modelled on this 'sub sole' in *Eccles.* 1, 3. 2, 22. So 'unter disem volken,' *Rol.* 9, 31.

The ON. *heimr* is mundus, domus, and akin to himinn, himil (p. 698), as mundus also is applied both to world and sky; *heimskringla*, orbis terrarum. Ulphilas renders *οἰκουμένη*, Luke 2, 1. 4, 5. Rom. 10, 18, by *midjungards*; to this correspond the AS. *midlangeard*, Cædn. 9, 3. 177, 29. Beow. 150. 1496; the OHG. *mittingart*, Is. 340. 385-6. 408. Fragm. theot. 17, 6. *mittigart*, Fragm. th. 17, 3. 20, 20. 25, 9. *mittiligart*, Gl. Jun. 216. T. 16, 1. *mittilgart*, T. 155, 1. 178, 2. 179, 1; the OS. *midilgard*; the ON. *miðgarðr*, Sæm. 1^b. 45^b. 77^b. 90^a. 114^b. 115^b. Sn. 9. 10. 13. 45. 61; and even a Swed. folksong 1, 140 has retained *medjegård*. O. Engl. *middilerd*, *medilearth*, like the Gr. *μεσογᾶλα*. Fischart's Garg. 66^a has *mittelkreiss*, mid-circle. We saw (p 560) that *miðgarðr* was, to the Norse way of thinking, created out of Ymir's eyebrows, and appointed to men for their habitation. The whole compound, doubtless very ancient, is of prime importance, because it is native to our oldest memorials, and at the same time strictly Eddic. Nor is that all: in similar harmony, the world is called in ON. *Oegisheimr*, Sæm. 124^b. 125^a, and in MHG. *mergarte*, Annolied 444. Rol. 106, 14. Kaiserchr. 501. 6633. Karl. 38^b; *i.e.* the sea-girt world, conf. Goth. *marisáivs* (ocean), and OHG. *merikerti* (aetherium),¹ Diut. 1, 250. Lastly, OHG. *woroltring*, O. ii. 2, 13. iii. 26, 37. iv. 7, 11. v. 1, 33. 19, 1. *erdring*, O. i. 11, 47. MHG. *erdrinc*, Mar. 198-9, orbis terrarum, Graff 4, 1163.

According to the Edda, a huge *serpent*, the *miðgarðs ormr*, lies coiled round the earth's circumference, 'umgiörð allra landa': evidently the ocean. When Alexander in the legend was carried up in the air by griffins, the sea appeared to him to twine like a *snake* round the earth. But that 'world-serpent,' hateful to all the gods (sû er goð fía, Sæm. 55^a) was the child of Loki, and brother to the Fenris-úlfr and Hel; he was called *Iörmungandr* (Sn. 32), the great, the godlike (conf. p. 351), and like Hel he opens wide his jaws, Sn. 63 (see Snupp.).

Everything shews that the notions of time, age, world, globe, earth, light, air and water ran very much into one another; in 'earth-ring,' ring indicates the globular shape of the earth and

¹ The Finnic *ilma*? Festus says *mundus* meant *coelum* as well as *terra, mare, aër*.

its planetary revolution. *Manasêps, fáirhvus*, and *wëralt* point to spaces and periods filled by men.¹

So far as 'world' contains the notion of *seculum* and *life*, it is significantly called, even by the OS. poet, a dream: *liudio dróm*, Hel. 17, 17. 104, 7. 109, 20. *manno dróm* 23, 7. 103, 4. AS. *gumdréam*, Beow. 4933; 'la vida es sueño.' Its perishableness and painfulness have suggested yet other designations: 'diz ellende *wuoftal* (weep-dale),' Tod. gehugde 983, as we say 'this vale of tears, house of sorrow' (see Suppl.).

From its enormous superficial extent is borrowed the phrase 'thins *bréde werold*,' Hel. 50, 1. 131, 21; MHG. 'diu *breite werlt*,' Mar. 161; our *weite breite welt*. Also: 'thiz lant *breitá*,' O. ii. 2, 18. *daz breite gevilde*, Mar. 34. Wigal. 2269. *diu breite erde*, Roth. 4857. Wh. 60, 29. Geo. 4770, *εὐρέϊα χθών*. This reminds one of the name of Balder's dwelling spoken of on p. 222-3, *breiða blik*, which seems to include the two notions of breadth and brightness. An expression used by miners is remarkable in this connexion: 'blickgold, blicksilber' is said of the clear molten metal gleaming on the fining-hearth, and 'der *breite blick*' when there is a plentiful yield of it.² The beautiful bright world is, as it were, a wide glance.

When 'world' or 'heimr' is merely used in the general sense of dwelling place, we can think of several worlds. The *Völuspá*, Sæm. 1^a, supposes *nine worlds* and *nine firmaments* (*íviðir*), conf. Sæm. 36^b. 49^a, just as Sn. 222^b speaks of *nine heavens* (see Suppl.).³

Of these worlds, not abodes of the living human race, those that demand a close investigation are: the Flame-world, the Dead-world, and Paradise; but all are connected more or less

¹ As we often use 'world' and 'earth' indifferently, so did the MHG. poets. The beginning of time is expressed at option either thus: 'von anegenges zit, *daz sich diu werlt erhuop* (up-hove), und muoter ir kint getruoe (bore),' Rol. 285, 12. 'sit (since) *diu werlt erste wart*,' Ur. Trist. 3699; or thus: 'sit *disiu erde gelegt wart*,' Rol. 187, 7. 'sit *diu erde alrêst begunde bern* (to bear),' Karl 70^b.

² In Matthesius's Sermons 84: 'Now this Cyrus hath a silver kingdom, wherein the word of God, as silver refined in the fire, is preached *zu breitem plick*.' 91^b: 'He hath sent his apostles into all the world, that they may preach the gospel *zu breitem plick*, as ye mining folk say.' 101^a: 'Elsewhere lead appeareth in blocks, as at Goslar, where the Ramelsberg is *zu breitem plick* almost all lead.'

³ *Nine* choirs of angels, Fundgr. 1, 101. Pass. 539. 341. '*niu fylkingar engla*,' Fornald. sög. 3, 663; conf. the *nine* punishments of hell, Wackernagel's Bascl MSS. 24^b [Buddhist books describe 18 hells, some hot, some cold].

with the upper world, that inhabited by man, and passages exist from the one to the other.

The ON. system supposes a world-tree, *askr Yggdrasils*, which links heaven, earth and hell together, of all trees the greatest and holiest. It is an ash (*askr*), whose branches shoot through all the world, and reach beyond heaven. Three roots spread out in three directions, one striking toward the âses into heaven, another to the hrîmpurses, the third to the under world. From under each root gushes a miraculous spring, namely, by the heaven root *Urðarbrunnr* (p. 407), by the giants' root *Mîmisbrunnr*, by the hell root *Hvergelmir*, i.e. the roaring (or the old) cauldron, *olla stridens* (p. 563). All these wellsprings are holy: at the *Urðar*-well the âses and norns hold their council, the giants' well is watched by a wise man *Mîmir* (p. 379), I know not whether a sage old giant himself or a hero, anyhow a semi-divine being, or nearly so. Every day the norns draw water from their well, to water the boughs of the ash: so *holy* is this *water*, that it imparts to anything that gets into the well the colour of the white of an egg; from the tree there trickles a bee-nourishing dew, named *hunângsfall* (fall of honey). On its boughs, at its roots, animals sit or dart about: an eagle, a squirrel, four stags, and some snakes; and all have proper names. Those of the stags are elsewhere names of dwarfs, notably *Dâinn* and *Dvalinn*. The snake *Niðhöggr* (male pun-gens, caedens) lies below, by *Hvergelmir*, gnawing at the root. The squirrel *Ratatöskr*¹ runs up and down, trying to sow discord between the snake and the eagle who is perched aloft. The eagle's name is not given, he is a bird of great knowledge and sagacity; betwixt his eyes sits a hawk *Veðrfölnir*.²

The whole conception bears a primitive stamp, but seems very imperfectly unfolded to us. We get some inkling of a feud between snake and eagle, which is kept alive by *Ratatöskr*; not a word as to the purpose and functions of hawk or stags. Attempts at explaining *Yggdrasil* I have nothing to do with; at

¹ The word contains *rata* (elabi, permeare), Goth. *vratôn*, and perh. *taska*, pl. *töskur*, *pera*: *peram* permeans? Wolfram in *Parz.* 651, 13 has '*wenken* als ein *eichorn*,' dodging like a squirrel. The *squirrel* is still an essential feature in the popular notion of a forest, conf. *RA.* 497 and the catching of squirrels at Easter (supra p. 616), perhaps for old heathen uses.

² The eagle's friend, for *hawk i horni* (hawk in the corner) means a hidden counsellor.

present, before giving my own opinion, I must point out two coincidences very unlike each other. This tree of the Edda has suggested to others before me the tree of the Cross, which in the Mid. Ages gave birth to many speculations and legends. Well, a song in the 'Wartburg War,' MsH. 3, 181 sets the following riddle :

Ein edel boum gewahsen ist
 in eime garten, der ist gemacht mit hôher list;
sîn wurzel kan der helle grunt erlangen,
sîn tolde (for 'zol der') rüeret an den trôn
 dâ der süeze Got bescheidet vriunde lôn,
sîn este breit hânt al die werlt bevangen :
 der boum an gauzer zierde stât und ist geloubet schœne,
 dar ûfe *sitzent vogelin*
 süezes sanges wise nâch ir stimme fîn,
 nâch maniger kunst sô haltents ir gedœne.

(A noble tree in a garden grows, and high the skill its making shews; its roots the floor of hell are grasping, its summit to the throne extends where bounteous God requiteth friends, its branches broad the wide world clasping: thereon sit birds that know sweet song, etc.) This is very aptly interpreted of the Cross and the descent into hell. Before this, O. v. 1, 19 had already written :

Thes *krûzes horn* thar obana *zeigôt ûf in himila,*
 thie *arma joh thio henti* thie *zeigônt worolt-enti,*
 ther selbo *mittilo boum* ther scowôt thesan *worolt-floum,*
 theiz *innan erdu stentit,*
 mit thiû ist thar bizeinit, theiz imo ist al gemeinit
 in *erdu joh im himile* inti in *abgrunte* ouh hiar nidare.

(The cross's top points to heaven, the arms and hands to the world's ends, the stem looks to this earthly plain, . . . stands in the ground, thereby is signified, that for it is designed all in earth and heaven and the abyss beneath.) It matters little if the parallel passage quoted by Schilter from cap. 18 de divinis officiis comes not from Alcuin, but some later author: Otfried may have picked up his notion from it all the same.¹ It says: 'Nam ipsa crux magnum in se mysterium continet, cujus positio

¹ I do not know if Lafontaine had Virgil's verses in his mind, or followed his own prompting, when he says of an oak :

Celui, de qui la tête au ciel était voisine,
 et dont les pieds touchaient à l'empire des morts.

talis est, ut superior pars *coelos petat*, inferior *terrae inhaereat*, fixa *infernorum ima contingat*, latitudo autem ejus *partes mundi appetat*.' I can never believe that the myth of Yggdrasil in its complete and richer form sprang out of this christian conception of the Cross; it were a far likelier theory, that floating heathen traditions of the world-tree, soon after the conversion in Germany, France or England, attached themselves to an object of christian faith, just as heathen temples and holy places were converted into christian ones. The theory would break down, if the same exposition of the several pieces of the cross could be found in any early Father, African or Oriental; but this I doubt. As for the birds with which the 13th cent. poem provides the tree, and which correspond to the Norse eagle and squirrel, I will lay no stress on them. But one thing is rather surprising: it is precisely to the ash that Virgil ascribes as high an elevation in the air as its depth of root in the ground, Georg. 2, 291:

*Aesculus in primis, quae quantum vortice ad auras
aetherias, tantum radice in tartara tendit;*

upon which Pliny 16, 31 (56) remarks: 'si Virgilio credimus, esculus quantum corpore eminent tantum radice descendit.'¹ So that the Norse fable is deeply grounded in nature; conf. what was said, p. 696, of the bees on this ash-tree.

Another and still more singular coincidence carries us to Oriental traditions. In the Arabian 'Calila and Dimna' the human race is compared to a man who, chased by an elephant, takes refuge in a deep well: with his hand he holds on to the branch of a shrub over his head, and his feet he plants on a narrow piece of turf below. In this uneasy posture he sees two mice, a black and a white one, gnawing the root of the shrub; far beneath his feet a horrible dragon with its jaws wide open; the elephant still waiting on the brink above, and four worms' heads projecting from the side of the well, undermining the turf he stands on; at the same time there trickles liquid honey from a branch of the bush, and this he eagerly catches in his mouth.² ✓

¹ Perhaps Hrabanus Maurus's *Carmen in laudem sanctae crucis*, which I have not at hand now, contains the same kind of thing.

² *Calila et Dimna*, ed. Silvestre de Sacy. *Mém. hist.* p. 28-9, ed. Knatchbull, p. 80-1; conf. the somewhat different version in the *Exempeln der alten weisen*, p.m. 22.

Hereupon is founded a rebuke of man's levity, who in the utmost stress of danger cannot withstand the temptation of a small enjoyment. Well, this fable not only was early and extensively circulated by Hebrew, Latin and Greek translations of the entire book,¹ but also found its way into other channels. John Damascenus (circ. 740) inserted it in his *Βαρλᾶμ καὶ Ἰωάσαφ*,² which soon became universally known through a Latin reproduction.³ On the model of it our Rudolf composed his Barlaam and Josaphat, where the illustration is to be found, p. 116-7; in a detached form, Stricker (Ls. 1, 253). No doubt a parable so popular might also reach Scandinavia very early in the Mid. Ages, if only the similarity itself were stronger, so as to justify the inference of an immediate connexion between the two myths. To me the *faint* resemblance of the two seems just the main point; a *close* one has never existed. The ON. fable is far more significant and profound; that from the East is a fragment, probably distorted, of a whole now lost to us. Even the main idea of the world-tree is all but wanting to it; the only startling thing is the agreement in sundry accessories, the trickling honey (conf. p. 793 n.), the gnawed root, the four species of animals.

But if there be any truth in these concords of the Eddic myth with old Eastern tenets, as well as with the way the Christians tried to add portions of their heathen faith to the doctrine of the Cross; then I take a further step. It seems to me that the notion, so deeply rooted in Teutonic antiquity, of the *Irminsûl*, that 'altissima, universalis *columna*, quasi sustinens omnia' (p. 115-7), is likewise nearly allied to the world-tree Yggdrasil. As this extended its roots and boughs in three directions (*standa â þria vega*), so did three or four great highways branch out from the *Irminsûl* (pp. 356. 361); and the farther we explore, the richer in results will the connexion of these heathen ideas prove. The pillars of Hercules (p. 364), of Bavo in Hainault, and the Thor and Roland pillars (p. 394) may have had no other purpose than to mark out from them as centre the celestial and terrestrial direction of the regions of the world; and the sacred Yggdrasil

¹ Also in the East, conf. Jeleddin's *Divan* in Hammer's *Pers. redek*, p. 183.

² First publ. in Boissonade's *Anecd. Græca*, tom. 4, Paris 1832, pp. 1-365.

³ *Hist. duorum Christi militum* (Opera, Basil. 1575, pp. 815-902); also printed separately, Antv. s.a. (the illustration at p. 107); another version in Surius 7, 858 seq., the parable at p. 889.

suberved a very similar partition of the world. The thing might even have to do with ancient land-surveying, and answer to the Roman *cardo*, intersected at right angles by the *decumanus*. To the ashtree we must also concede some connexion with *Asciburg* (p. 350) and the tribal progenitor *Askr* (p. 571-2). Another legend of an ashtree is reserved for chap. XXXII (see Suppl.).

Niflheimr, where *Níðhöggr* and other serpents (named in *Sæm.* 44^b. Sn. 22) have their haunt round the spring *Hvergelmir*, is the dread dwelling-place of the death-goddess *Hel* (p. 312), Goth. *Halja* ('or *heljo*,' *Sæm.* 94^a, 'î *heljo*' 49. 50. 51, is clearly spoken of a place, not a person), it is gloomy and black, like her; hence a *Nebelheim*, cold land of shadows, abode of the departed,¹ but not a place of torment or punishment as in the christian view, and even that was only developed gradually (p. 313). When *Ulphilas* uses *halja*, it is always for ἄδης (*Matt.* 11, 23. *Luke* 10, 15. 16, 23. 1 *Cor.* 15, 55), the *infernus* of the *Vulg.*; whenever the text has γέεννα, *Vulg.* *gehenna*, it remains *gaiáinuna* in Gothic (*Matt.* 5, 29. 30. 10, 28), it was an idea for which the Gothic had no word. The OHG. translator *T.* renders 'infernus' by *hella* (*Matt.* 11, 23), 'gehenna'² by *hellafjur* (5, 29. 30) or *hellawîzi* (-torment 10, 28), and only 'filium *gehennæ*' by *hella sun* (23, 15), where the older version recently discovered is more exact: *quálu sunu*, son of torment. When the Creed says that Christ 'niðar steig zi *hellu*' (descendit ad inferna), it never meant the abode of souls in torment. In the *Heliand* 72, 4 a sick man is said to be 'fûsid an *helsîd*', near dying, equipped for his journey to Hades, without any by-thought of pain or punishment. That AS. poetry still remembered the original (personal) conception of *Hel*, was proved on p. 314, but I will add one more passage from *Beow.* 357: '*Helle gemundon, Metoð ne cuðon*,' *Helam venerabantur, Deum verum ignorabant* (*pagani*). So then, from the 4th cent. to the 10th, *halja*, *hella* was simply Hades or the death-kingdom, the notion of torment being expressed by another word or at any rate a compound; and with this agrees the probability

¹ A dead man is called *nifl-farinn*, *Sæm.* 249^a. The progenitor of the Nibelungs was prob. *Nebel* (*Fornald. sög.* 2, 9. 11, *Næfill* for *Nefill*): a race of heroes doomed to Hades and early death. 'Nibelunge: spirits of the death-kingdom,' *Lachmann* on *Nib.* 342.

² From *gehenna* comes, we know, the Fr. *gehene*, *gêne*, *i.e.* *supplice*, though in a very mitigated sense now.

that as late as Widekind of Corvei (1, 23) Saxon poets, chanting a victory of Saxons over Franks, used this very word *hella* for the dwelling-place of the dead: 'ut a mimis declamaretur, ubi tantus ille *infernus* esset, qui tantam *multitudinem caesorum* capere posset?'¹ A Latin poem on Bp. Heriger of Mentz, of perhaps the 10th cent.,² describes how one that had been spirited away to the underworld declared 'totum esse *infernum* accinctum densis ndique silvis,' meaning evidently the abode of the dead, not the place of punishment. Even in a poem of the 12th cent. (Diu. 3, 104) Jacob says: 'sô muoz ich iemer cholen, unze ich sô *vare ze der helle*,' until I fare to hell, i.e. die. The 13th cent. saw the present meaning of helle already established, the abode of the *dammned*; e.g. in Iw. 1472: 'God bar thee out of *helle*!' take thee to heaven, not guard thee from death, for the words are addressed to a dead man (see Suppl.).

Hell is represented as a *lodging*, an *inn*, as *Valhöll*, where those who die put up the same evening (p. 145): 'ver skulum á *Valhöll gista* í *qveld*,' Fornald. sög. 1, 106; 'við munum í *aptan Oðin gista*' 1, 423; singularly Abbo 1, 555 (Pertz 2, 789), 'plebs inimica Deo *pransura Plutonis in urua*.' No doubt, people used to say: 'we shall put up at Nobis-haus to-night!' The Saviour's words, *σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ*, Luke 23, 43 have 'this day,' but not 'to-night' (see Suppl.).

Here and there in country districts, among the common people, helle has retained its old meaning. In Westphalia there are still plenty of common carriage-roads that go by the name of *hellweg*, now meaning highway, but originally death-way, the broad road travelled by the corpse. My oldest example I draw from a Record of 890, Ritz 1, 19: '*helvius* sive strata publica.' Later instances occur in Weisth. 3, 87. 106, in Tross's Rec. of the feme p. 61, and in John of Soest (Fichard's Arch. 1, 89).³

¹ Trad. Corbeiens. pp. 465. 604 makes a regular hexameter of it: 'tantus ubi infernus, caesos qui devoret omnes?' This overcrowding of Hades with the dead reminds one of Calderon's fanatic fear, lest heaven stand empty, with all the world running to the other house after Luther:

Que vive Dios, que ha de tener en cielo
pocos que aposentar, si considero
que estan ya aposentado con Lutero.

(Sitio de Breda, jorn. primera).

² Lat. gedichte des X. XI. jh. p. 335, conf. 344.

³ Also in Lower Hesse: *hellweg* by Wettesingen and Oberlistingen (Wochenbl. for 1833, 952. 984. 1023. 1138), *hölleweg* by Calden (951. 982. 1022), *höllepfad* by Nothfelden (923).

In the plains of Up. Germany we sometimes find it called *tottenweg* (Mone's Anz. 1838. pp. 225. 316). The ON. poetry makes the dead *ride* or *drive* to the underworld, '*fara til heljar*' or '*til Heljar,*' to the death-goddess: Brynhildr, after she is burnt, travels to Hel in an ornamental car, '*ôk með reiðinni â helveg,*' and the poem bears the title *Helreið*, Sæm. 227. In our Freidank 105, 9. 151, 12 it is the christian notion that is expressed by '*zer helle varn*' and '*drî strâze zer helle gânt.*' For the rest, a hellweg would necessarily bring with it a *hellwagen* (p. 314), just as we meet with a Wôdan's way and waggon both (p. 151). Nay, the Great Bear is not only called *himelwagen* and *herrenwagen*, but in the Netherlands *hellewagen* (Wolf's Wodana i. iii. iv.); see a '*Wolframus dictus hellewagen,*' MB. 25, 123 A.D. 1314 (see Suppl.).

The O. Saxons at first, while their own hellia still sounded too heathenish, preferred to take from the Latin Bible *infern*, gen. *infern*, e.g. Hel. 44, 21, and even shortened it down to *fern*, Hel. 27, 7. 103, 16. 104, 15. 164, 12; so that the poet cited by Widekind may actually have said *infern* instead of hellia.¹

The heathen hellia lay *low down toward the North*; when Hermôðr was sent after Baldr, he rode for nine nights through valleys dark and deep (*ðökva dala ok diupa*), the regions peopled by the dark elves (p. 445); he arrived at the river *Giöll* (strepens), over which goes a bridge covered with shining gold; a maiden named Môðguðr guards the bridge, and she told him that five fylki of dead men² had come over it the day before, and that from this bridge the 'hellway' ran ever lower and northwarder: '*niðr ok norðr liggr helvegr.*' This I understand of the proper hall and residence of the goddess, where she is to be met with, for all the country he had been crossing was part of her kingdom. This palace is surrounded by lofty railings (*hel-grindr*), Sn. 33. 67. The hall is named *Eliuðnir* (al. *Elvîðnir*), the threshold *fallanda forad* (al. the palisade is *fallanda forad*, the threshold *þolmôðnir*), the curtain *blíkjandi böl*, Sn. 33. It is probably a door of this underworld (not of Valhöll, which has 540 huge

¹ A place *Infernisi* (Erhard p. 140, A.D. 1113); Gael. *ifrimm*, Ir. *ifearn*, Wel. *yfern*, *ufjern*.

² A fylki contains 50 (RA. 207), so that Baldr rode down with an escort of 250, though one MS. doubles the number: '*reið Baldr hér með 500 manna.*'

gates) that is meant in Sæm. 226^a and Fornald. sög. 1, 201, where Brynhildr wishes to follow Sigurð in death, lest the door fall upon his heel: a formula often used on entering a closed cavern.¹ But Hel's kingdom bears the name of *Niflheimr* or *Niflhel*, mist-world, mist-hell,² it is the *ninth world* (as to position), and was created many ages before the earth (p. 558); in the middle of it is that fountain *Hvergelmir*, out of which twelve rivers flow, *Giöll* being the one that comes nearest the dwelling of the goddess, Sn. 4. From this follows plainly what I have said: if *Hvergelmir* forms the centre of *Niflheimr*, if *Giöll* and the other streams pertain exclusively to hell, the goddess Hel's dominion cannot begin at the 'hel-grindr,' but must extend to those 'dank dales and deep,' the 'dense forests' of the Latin poem. Yet I have nothing to say against putting it in this way: that the dark valleys, like the murky Erebus of the Greeks, are an intermediate tract, which one must cross to reach the abode of Aïdes, of Halja. Out of our Halja the goddess, as out of the personal Hades, the Roman Orcus (orig. *uragus*, *urgus*, and in the Mid. Ages still regarded as a monster and alive, pp. 314, 486) there was gradually evolved the local notion of a dwelling-place of the dead. The departed were first imagined living with her, and afterwards in her (it). In the approaches dwelt or hovered the dark elves (see Suppl.).

Niflheimr then, the mist-world, was a cold underground region covered with eternal night, traversed by twelve roaring waters, and feebly lighted here and there by shining gold, i.e. fire. The rivers, especially *Giöll*, remind us of *Lethe*, and of *Styx*, whose holy water gods and men swore by. With *Hvergelmir* we may

¹ The O. Fr. poem on the 'quatre fils Aïmon' (Cod. 7183 fol. 126^b) makes Richart, when about to be hung, offer a prayer, in which we are told that the Saviour brought back all the souls out of hell except one woman, who would stop at the door to give hell a piece of her mind, and is therefore doomed to stay there till the Judgment-day: all were released,

Ne mes que une dame, qui dist une raison :
 'hai enfer' dist ele, 'con vos remanez solz,
 noirs, hisdoz et obscurs, et laiz et tenebrox !'
 a l'entree de la porte, si con lisant trovon.
 jusquan terme i sera, que jugerois le mont.

The source of this strange legend is unknown to me.

² 'Diu inre helle, wo nebel und finster.' The Lucidarius gives ten names of hell: *stagnum ignis*, *terra tenebrosa*, *terra oblivionis*, *swarziu ginunge*, etc. Mone's Anz. for 1834, 313; conf. expressions in the OS. poet: *hêt endi thiustri*, *suart sinmæhti*, Hel. 65, 12; an *dalon thiustron*, an themo alloro ferrosten *ferne* 65, 9; under *ferndalu* 33, 16; *diap dôdes dalu* 157, 22.

connect *Helleborne* in Brabant, the source of *Hellebeke*; several places are named *Helleput* (Wolf's *Wodana* 1, v. and 35). *Helvoetsluis* was cited, p. 315 note; the name *Helle-voet* (-foot) is, we are told, still to be seen on signboards (*uithangborden*) in the Netherlands (see *Suppl.*).

Gloomy and joyless as we must imagine *Niflheimr*,¹ there is no mention anywhere of its denizens being punished and tormented; neither is it the wicked especially that are transported thither at the end of their life, but all and sundry, even the noblest and worthiest, as the examples of *Brynhildr* and *Baldr* may shew.² The only exceptions seem to be the heroes that fall in battle, whom *Oðinn* takes to himself into *Valhöll*.

In contradiction with this view stands another and, I think, a later one, that presented in *Sn.* 4: Allfather the highest god has given to all men an immortal soul, though their body rot in the ground or burn to ashes; all good men (*rêtt siðaðir*) go to him in *Gimill* or *Vingôlf*, *all the wicked* (*vândir*) to *Niflheimr* or *hell* (conf. *Sn.* 21 and 75, of which more hereafter). This is already the christian idea, or one extremely like it.

For the old heathen hell, pale and dim, the Christian substituted a pool filled with flames and pitch, in which the souls of the damned burn for ever, at once pitch-black and illumined with a glow. *Gehenna* is interpreted *hellafiuri*, MHG. *hellefiwer* *Parz.* 116. 18; the poet of the *Heliand*, when he wants to picture vividly this black and burning hell, turns the old fem. form into a masc.: 'an thene *hétan hel*' 76, 22. 'an thene *suartan hel*' 103, 9. *Erebi fornax*, *Walther* 867. *Nay*, O. and other OHG. writers make the simple *bêh* (pix) stand for hell³: 'in dem *beche*,'

¹ *Cædmon* still pictures the *witehús* (house of torment) as 'deop, dreáma léas, sinnihte beseald.' Striking images occur in a doc. of the 11th cent. (*Zeitschr. f. d. a.* 3 445): *swevilstank*, *genibeke*, *tódes scategruobe*, *wallente stredema*, etc.

² So all the Greek heroes sink into *Hades' house* under the earth. But it is hard to distinguish from it *Tartarus*, which lies lower down the abyss, and where the subjugated giants sit imprisoned. This denoted therefore, at least in the later times, a part of the underworld where the wicked dwelt for their punishment, which answers to the christian hell. But that the 'roots of earth and sea from above grow down' into *Tartarus* (*Hes. Theog.* 728) suggests our Norse ashtree, whose root reaches down to *Niflheim*. Conf. also *Ovid's* description of the underworld (*Met.* 4, 432 seq.), where '*Styx nebulas exhalat iners*' fits in with the conception of *Niflheim*.

³ Quotations in my ed. of the *Hymns* p. 51. Add *Muspilli* 5, on which *Schm.* quotes a line from *Walafrid*: 'At secum infelix *picco* spatiat *averno*.' *Eugenius* in *Dracont.* p. m. 30: 'Ut possim *picci* poenam vitare *barathri*.'

Warnung 547 and Wernher v. Niederrh. 40, 10; 'die *pechwelle*,' Anegenge 28, 19. It is a fancy widely scattered over Europe; the Mod. Greeks still say *πίσσα* for hell, as in a proverb of Alex. Negri: *ἔχει πίσσαν καὶ παράδεισον*, putting hell and heaven side by side. This pitchy hell the Greeks seem to have borrowed from the Slavs, the O. Sl. *péklo* meant both pitch and hell (Dobr. instit. 294), so the Boh. *peklo*, hell, Pol. *piekło*, Serv. *pakao*, Sloven. *pekel*, some masc., some neuter; Lith. *péklà* (fem.), O. Pruss. *pickullis* (pickullien in the Catechism p. 10 is Acc.), the devil himself is in Lith. *pyculas*, O. Pruss. *pickuls*, conf. Rausch p. 484. The Hungarians took their *pokol*, hell, from the Slavic, as our ancestors did 'gaíainna' and 'infern' from Greek and Latin. And the *smela*, hell, of the Lüneburg Wends seems allied to the Boh. *smola*, *smûla*, resin or pitch. With the heat of boiling pitch was also combined an intolerable stench; Reineke 5918: 'it stank dâr also dat *helsche pek*.' Conf. generally Eu. 2845. 3130 (see Suppl.).

Since the conversion to Christianity therefore, there has clung to the notion of hell the additional one of punishment and pain: *kvöllheimr*, mundus supplicii, in Sôlarl. 53 (Sæm. 127^a) is unmistakably the christian idea. The OHG. *hellowîzi*, OS. *helliwîti*, Hel. 44, 17, AS. *hellewîte*, expresses supplicium inferni, conf. Graff 1, 1117 on *wîzi*, MHG. *wîze*, MsH. 2, 105^b; upon it are modelled the Icel. *helvîti*, Swed. *helvete*, Dan. *helvede*, which mean simply our hell; from the Swedes the converted Finns received their *helwetti* (orcus), the Lapps their *helvete*, and from the Bavarians the Slovèns in Carniola and Styria got their *vize* (purgatorium), for the Church had distinguished between two fires, the one punitive, the other purgative, and hanging midway betwixt hell and heaven.¹

But the christians did not alter the position of hell, it still was down *in the depths of the earth*, with the human world spread out above it. It is therefore called *abyssus* (Ducange sub v.), and forms the counterpart to heaven: 'a coelo usque in abyssum.' From *abyssus*, Span. *abismo*, Fr. *abîme*, is to be explained the MHG. *âbîs* (Aldt. bl. 1, 295; in *âbîsses grunde*, MsH. 3, 167), later *obis*, *nobis* (en *âbîs*, en *obis*, in *abyssum*). OS. *helligrund*,

¹ Of one in purgatory the Esthonians say: *ta on kahha ilma wahhel*, he is between two worlds.

Hel. 44, 22; in *afgrunde* gân, Roth. 2334; ir verdienet daz *afgrunde*, 1970; 'varen ter helle in den *donkren kelve*,' dark cellar, Florîs 1257.¹ AS. se *neowla grund* (imus abyssus), Cædm. 267, 1. 270, 16; þæt *neowle genip* (profunda caligo) 271, 7. 275, 31. This *neowel*, *nivel* (profundus) may explain an expression in the Frisian Asega-bok (Richth. 130, 10), 'thiu *niuent* hille,' where a M. Nethl. text has 'de grundlose helle,' bottomless hell. Hell sinking downwards is contrasted with heaven mounting upwards: 'der himel allez ûf gêt, *diu helle sîget allez ze tal*,' Warnung 3375-81 (see Suppl.).

It appears that men imagined, as lying at the bottom of our earth, like a ceiling or grating of the underworld, a *stone*, called in MHG. poems *dille-stein* (fr. *dille*, *diele*, *deal*=*tabula*, *pluteus*, OHG. *dil*, *dili*, ON. *þil*, *þili*): 'grüebe ich ûf den *dille-stein*,' if I dug down to the d., Schmiede (smithy, forge) 33; 'des hœhe vür der himele dach und durch der *helle bodem* vert,' its height passes over heaven's roof and through hell's floor, *ibid.* 1252; 'vür der himele dach dû blickest, u. durch der *helle dillestein* [is not this *floor* rather than ceiling?],' MS. 2, 199^b; 'wan ez kumt des tiuvels schrei, dâ von wir sîn erschrecket: der *dillestein* der ist enzwei (in-two, burst), die tôten sint ûf gewecket,' Dietr. drachenk. cod. pal. 226^a. This makes me think of the *ὀμφαλός* at Delphi, a conical stone wrapt in net (Gerhard's *Metroon* p. 29), still more of the *lapis manalis* (Festus sub v.) which closed the mouth of the Etruscan *mundus*, and was lifted off on three holy days every year, so that the souls could mount into the upper world (Festus sub v. *mundus*) Not only this pit in the earth, but heaven also was called *mundus*,² just as Niflheimr is still a *heimr*, i.e. a world. And that hell-door (p. 802) is paralleled by the '*descensus Averni*,' the '*fauces* grave olentis *Averni*,' the '*atri janua Ditis*' in Virgil's description, *Aen.* 6, 126. 201 (conf. *helle* *înfart*,' Veldeck's *En.* 2878. 2907); fairytales of the Slavs too speak of an entrance to the lower world by a *deep pit*, Hanusch p. 412 (see Suppl.).

The mouth or jaws of hell were spoken of, p. 314; Hel yawns

¹ Does 'eggrunt' stand for eck-grunt? 'Das iuwer sêle komen ûzer *eggrunde*,' Cod. pal. 349, 19^d.

² Conf. O. Müller's *Etrusker* 2, 96-7. The Finn. *manala* is 'locus subterraneus, ubi versantur mortui,' sepulchrum, orcus, but derived from *maa* (terra, mundus), and only accidentally resembling 'manalis.'

like her brother Fenrir, and every abyss gapes:¹ *os gehennae* in Beda 363, 17 is the name of a fire-spouting *well* (puteus);² in an AS. gloss (Mone 887) *mûð* (os) means orcus. The same Coll. of glosses 742 puts down *seáð* (puteus, barathrum) for hell, and 2180 *cwis* for tartarus, 1284 *cwis-husle*, where undoubtedly we must read *cwis-susle*. To *cwis* I can find no clue but the ON. *qvís* calumnia [quiz, tease? queror, questus?]; *susl* is apparently tormentum, supplicium, the dictionaries having no ground for giving it the sense of sulphur (AS. swefel); 'susle ge-innod,' Cædm. 3, 28, I take to be supplicio clausum. The notion of the *well* agrees remarkably with the fable in the Reinhart, where the hero having fallen into a well wheedles the wolf into the bucket; he pretends he is sitting in *paradis* down there, only there is no getting to it but by taking 'einen tuk (plunge) in die helle.' The well easily leads to the notion of bathing: 'ze helle baden,' MsH. 2, 254^a; for you can bathe in fire and brimstone too (see Suppl.).

Christian and heathen notions on the punishments of the lost are found mixed in the *Sólarlióð* of the Edda, Sæm. 128-9. Snakes, adders, dragons dwell in the christian hell (Cædm. 270-1), as at the *Hvergelmir* root (p. 796). It is striking how the poem of Oswald (Haupt's Zeitschr. 2, 125) represents a dead heathen woman as a *she-wolf*, with the devils pouring pitch and brimstone down her throat. Dante in his *Purgatorio* and *Inferno* mixes up what he finds handed down by the Mid. Ages and classical literature. Read also the conclusion of Cædmon (Fundgr. 202); and in the *Barlaam* 310, Rudolf's brief but poetic picture of hell³ (see Suppl.).

That the heathen Mist-world lying far to the *north* was not filled with fire, comes out most clearly from its opposite, a Flame-world in the *south* (p. 558), which the Edda calls *Muspell* or *Muspells-heimr*. This is bright and hot, glowing and burning,⁴

¹ Wallach. *iad* (hiatus), *iadul* hell.

² As evening is the 'mouth of night.'

³ Here we may sum up what living men have reached Hades and come back: of the Greeks, Orpheus in search of Eurydice; Odysseus; Aeneas. Of Norsemen, Her-móðr when dispatched after Baldr, and Hadding (Saxo Gram. p. 16). Medieval legends of Brandanus and Tundalus; that of Tanhäuser and others like it shall come in the next chap. Monkish dreams, visions of princes who see their ancestors in hell, are coll. in D.S. nos. 461. 527. 530. 554; of the same kind is the vision of the vacant chair in the *Annolied* 724, conf. Tundalus 65, 7.

⁴ *Muspellsheimr* is not heaven, nor are the sons of *Muspell* the same as the *light elves* that live in heaven (p. 445); when *Surtr* has burnt up heaven and earth,

natives alone can exist in it, hence human beings from our world never pass into it, as into the cold one of the north. It is guarded by a god (?) named *Surtr*, bearer of the blazing sword.

In the word *Muspell* we find another striking proof of the prevalence of ON. conceptions all over Teutondom. Not only has the Saxon *Heliand* a *mudspelli* 79, 24, *nutspelli* 133, 4, but a High German poem, probably composed in Bavaria, has at line 62 *muspilli* (dat. *muspille*). Besides, what a welcome support to the age and real basis of the *Edda*, coming from Saxon and Bavarian manuscripts of the 9th cent. and the 8th! Everywhere else the term is extinct: neither Icelanders nor other Scandinavians understand it, in Anglo-Saxon writings it has never shewn itself yet, and later specimens of German, High and Low, have lost all knowledge of it. Assuredly a primitive, a heathenish word.¹

On its general meaning I have already pronounced, p. 601: it can scarcely be other than fire, flame. The *Heliand* passages tell us: '*mudspelles megin obar man ferid*,' the force of fire fareth over men; '*nutspelli cumit an thiustrea naht, al sô thiof ferid darno mid is dâdiun*,' fire cometh in dark night, as thief fareth secret and sudden with his deeds (Matth. 24, 43. 2 Pet. 3, 10); and the OHG. poet says: '*dâr ni mac denne mâk andremo helfan vora demo muspille, denna daz preitâ wasal* (Graff 1, 1063) *allaz varprennit*,² *enti viur enti luft allaz arfurpit*,' then no friend can help another for the fire, when the broad shower of glowing embers (?) burns up all, and fire and air purge (furbish) everything.

It must be a compound, whose latter half *spilli*, *spelli*, *spell* we might connect with the ON. *spiöll* (corruptio), *spilla* (corrumpere), AS. *spillan* (perdere), Engl. *spill*, OHG. *spildan*, OS. *spildian* (perdere);³ ON. *mannspiöll* is clades hominum, *læspiöll* (*Nialss. c. 158*) perhaps bellum. But we are left to guess what

there lies above this heaven a second, named *Andlângr*, and above that a third named *Viðbláinn*, and there it is that *light elves* alone live now, says Snorri 22.

¹ In *Nemnich*, among the many names given for the bittern (OHG. *horotumbil*, *onocrotalus*, *ardea stellaris*), there is also *muspel*, which probably has to do with moss and moor, not with our word.

² So I read (trans.) for '*varprennit*' (intrans.), as '*wasal*' cannot otherwise be explained.

³ OHG. *ld*=ON. *ll*; conf. '*wildi, kold*' with '*villr, gull*.' But then why is it not *muspildi* in the OHG. and OS. poems?

mud, *mu* (mû?) can be, whether earth, land, or else wood, tree. In the latter case, *mudspelli* is a descriptive epithet of fire, an element aptly named the wood-destroying, tree-consuming, as elsewhere in the Edda it is *bani viður* (percussor, inimicus ligni), *grand viður* (perditio ligni), Sn. 126; the Lex Alam. 96, 1 has *medela*, *medula* in the sense of lancwitu, lancwit (Gramm. 3, 455), the Lex Rothar. 305 *modula*, apparently for quercus, robur (Graff 2, 707), and the ON. *meiðr*. (perh. for meýðr, as seiðr for seyðr) is arbor, Lith. *medis* [Mongol. *modo*] arbor, lignum. The other supposition would make it land-destroying, world-wasting; but still less do I know of any Teutonic word for land or earth that is anything like *mud* or *mu*. We may fairly regard it as a much obscured and distorted form; Finn. *maa* is terra, solum (see Suppl.).¹

Surtr (gen. *Surtar*, dat. *Surti*, Sæm. 9^a) is the swart, swarthy, browned by heat, conn. with *svartr* (niger), yet distinct from it;² it occurs elsewhere too as a proper name, Fornald. sög. 2, 114. Islend. sög. 1, 66. 88. 106. 151. 206; and curiously ‘*Surtr enn hvíti*,’ *ibid.* 1, 212. But there must have been another form *Surti*, gen. *Surta*, for in both Eddas we meet with the compound *Surtalogi*, Sæm. 37^b. Sn. 22. 76. 90. A certain resinous charred earth is in the North still called *Surtarbrandr* (*Surti titio*, *Biörn* sub v., F. Magn. lex. 730), a mode of naming indicative of a superior being, as when plants are named after gods. Volcanic rock-caves in Iceland are called *Surtarhellir* (F. Magn. lex. 729); the Landnámabók 3, 10 (Isl. sög. 1, 151) tells how one *Thórvaldr* brought to the cave of the *iötunn Surtr* a song composed about him: ‘*þá fór hann upp til hellisins Surts, oc færði þar drápu þá, er hann hafði ort um iötuninn í hellinum*’; and Sn. 209^b 210^a includes *Surtr* and *Svartr* among the names of giants. Nowhere in the two Eddas does *Surtr* appear as a

¹ Should any one reject these explanations, and take e.g. OS. *mudspelli* for ‘*muth-spelli*,’ oris eloquium, or ‘*mût-sp.*,’ mutationis nuntius (as I proposed in Gramm. 2, 525), he is at once met by the objection, that the Bav. poet writes neither ‘*mund-sp.*’ nor ‘*mûz-sp.*,’ any more than the ON. has *munns-piall*’ or ‘*mût-sp.*’; and then how are these meanings to be reconciled with that of ‘*heimr*’? let alone the fact that there is no later (christian) term for the world’s end or the judgment-day pointing at all that way.

² *Surtr* might stand related to *svartr*, as the Goth. name *Svartus* to the adj. *svarts*. Procopius de bello Goth. 2, 15. 4, 25 has a Herulian name Σουροπώας, *Svartva*? The AS. geneal. of Deira has *Swearta* and *Swerting*, conf. Beow. 2406, and ‘*sweart racu*’ below.

god, but always, like other giants, as an enemy and assailant of the gods. In *Völuspâ* 48 (Sæm. 8^a) fire is called ‘*Surta sefi*,’ *Surti amicus*; and in 52 (Sæm. 8^b) we read:

Surtr fer sunnan með sviga leifi,
skîn af sverði sôl valtîva,

i.e. *Surtus tendit ab austro cum vimine gigas, splendet e gladio (ejus) sol deorum*: ‘*leifi*’ is plainly another word for giant, Sn. 209^a; ‘*valtîva*’ can only be a gen. pl. (conf. Sæm. 10^a 52^a) and dependent on *sôl*, not gen. sing. of *valtîvi* (which never occurs, p. 194) dep. on *sverði*; what can be the meaning here of ‘*svigi*’ (usually twisted band, wisp?) I cannot say, one would think it also referred to the brandished sword. *Surtr* then is expressly called a giant, not a god. Sn. 5 says: ‘*sâ er Surtr nefndr, er þar sitr â landzenda til landvarnar, hann hefir loganda sverð*’, *Surtus vocatur, qui sedet in fine regionis (i.e. Muspellsheims) ad eam tuendam, ensemque gestat ardentem* (see *Suppl.*).

The authors of the *Heliand* and the OHG. poem, both christian, but still somewhat versed in heathen poetry, alike introduce *muspilli* at the end of the world, at the approach of the Judgment-day, when the earth and all it contains will be consumed by fire. And that is exactly how the *Edda* describes the same event: *Surtr* arises with the sons of *muspell*, makes war upon all the gods and overcomes them, the whole world perishes by his fire, Sn. 5. 73. When he with his blazing brand comes on from the South, the rocks in the mountains reel, the giantesses flee, men go the way of the dead, heaven cracks asunder, Sæm. 8^b; the *Ases* do battle with *Surtr* and his host on a holm called *Oskopnir* (supra p. 144), they are all slain, and the world comes to an end (see *Suppl.*).

It is only the *Edda* that brings in the name of *Surtr*; but our OHG. poetry seems to have interwoven features of him into the church doctrine about *Antichrist*, OHG. *Antichristo* (p. 173-4), which, originally founded on the 11th chap. of Revelation, was afterwards worked out further on Jewish-christian lines of thought. The name occurs in two epistles (1 John 2, 18. 4, 3. 2 John 7), not in the Apocalypse, where he is meant by the many-headed *beast*. In his time *two prophetic witnesses* are to be sent from heaven to earth, but to be conquered and slain by him.

Their names are not given either; that they are *Enoch* and *Elias* follows from the power given them to shut heaven that it rain not, and is expressly acknowledged by the Fathers.¹ Their bodies lie unburied in the street: after this victory the power of Antichrist attains its greatest height, until he gets upon the Mount of Olives, to ascend into heaven; then the angel *Michael* appears, and cleaves his skull.²

With this narrative our O. Bavarian poet had become acquainted through learned men (*weroltrehtwîsê*), but still the old heathen pictures of the world's destruction come floating before him as 'muspilli' draws nigh: he makes much of the *flames*, he sees the mountains *set on fire* by the blood of the mortally wounded *Elias* dropping on the earth; no such circumstance is found in any christian tradition. The *sky swelters in a blaze* (*suilizôt lougiû*), the *earth burns* (*prinnit mittilagart*), and his already quoted 'dar ni mac denne mâk andremo helfan vora demo *muspille*', supported as it may be by Mark 13, 12. Luke 21, 16, sounds very like the Eddic

brœðr muno berjaz ok at bönom verða,
muno systrûngar sífjum spilla,
man ecki maðr öðrum þyrma (Sæm. 7^b 8^a).

He has '*mâno fallit*,' as Sæmund has '*sól tekr sortna, hverfa af himni heiðar stjórnur.*' Again Sn. 71: '*þâ dreþaz brœðr fyrir âgirnî sakar, oc engi þyrmir föðr eða syn î manndrâpum oc sífjasliti.*'³ So even a MHG. poet of the 12th cent. (*Fundgr.* 194): '*sô ist danne niht triuwe diu frowe der diuwe (maid), noch der man dem wîbe; si lebent alle mit nîde; sô hazzet der vater den sun,*' etc. One would like to know what heathen figure

¹ Justin Martyr's *Dial. cum Tryph.* ed. Sylb. p. 208; Tertull. *de anima* cap. 50, *de resurr. carnis* cap. 58; Hippolytus in *Λόγος περι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ περι τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου*; Dorotheus Tyr. *de vita prophet.* cap. 18; Ambrose on *Apocal.* cap. 11; Aug. *de civ. Dei* 20, 29; Greg. Magn. in *moral.* 15, 18. And see authors quoted in Hoffm. *Fundgr.* 2, 102 seq. and Kausler's *Anl. denkm.* 1, 486. For later times, conf. N. ps. 58, 7. 73, 10; Burcard. *Wormat.* 20, 93-7; Otto Frising. 8, 1-8; Discip. *de tempore*, serm. 10.

² 12-13th cent. accounts of Antichrist in the *Hortus delicii*. of Herrat of Landsberg (*Engelhard* p. 48); in *Cod. vind.* 653, 121-2; *Fundgr.* 1, 195-6. 2, 106-134; *Martina* 191 seq.; Wackernag. *Basle MSS.* 22^a; and conf. *Introd. to Freidank* lxxi. lxxii.

³ No stronger argument do I know for the theory that *Völuspâ* is an echo of our Scriptures, than the agreement of the *Edda* and the *Bible* in this particular; if only the rest would correspond!

Antichristo took the place of to Bavarians and Alamanns, it must have been one similar to the Norse *Surtr*. *Antichristo* plays the fiendish hypocrite, *Surtr* is painted as the adversary of the Ases, as a giant, and his fire consumes the world. The muspells-synir are all drawn up in squadrons of light, they and *Surtr* by their fighting bring about a higher order of things, while *Antichrist* is but transiently victorious, and is finally overthrown by a mightier power (see Suppl.).

What adds new weight to the whole comparison is the affinity between *Donar* and *Elias*, which was made out on p. 173-4 and is clear on other grounds. To the 8th cent. *Elias* might well seem something more than the Hebrew prophet, viz. a divine hero, a divinity. The Edda makes all the Ases, *Oðinn*, *Thórr*, *Freyr*, and *Týr*, unite their powers to do battle with the sons of fire and their confederates, yet they are beaten like *Enoch* and *Elias*: *Elias* bears a marked resemblance to *Thórr* (or *Donar*), *Michael* to the queller of *Garmr* or *Fenris-úlfr*; I do not say that *Enoch* is equally to be identified with any particular god, but he might. *Surtr* with the flaming sword may remind us of the angel that guards *Paradise*, but he also finds his counterpart in the story of *Enoch* and *Elias*, for these two, at least in the legend of *Brandan* (in *Bruns* p. 187), have an angel *with a fiery sword* standing by their side.¹—An AS. homily *De temporibus Antichristi* quoted by *Wheloc* on *Beda* p. 495 (supra p. 161n.) contains remarkable statements. Arrogant *Antecrist*, it says, not only strives against God and his servants, but sets himself up above all heathen gods: ‘He âhefð hine silfne ofer ealle þá þe hæþene men cwædon þæt godas beon sceoldon, on hæþene wisan. Swylc swâ wæs *Erculus* se ent, and *Apollinis*, þe hî mærne god lêtton, *Dhór eác* and *Eowðen*, þe hæþene men heriað swîðe. Ofer ealle þæs he hine ænne up âhefð, forðam he læt þæt he ána sí strengra þonne hî ealle.’ Why does the preacher say all this? Had Saxon songs also identified the advent of *Antichrist* with heathen traditions, and recognised his victory, like that of *Surtr*, over *Wóden* and *Thunor*? The un-Saxon forms *Eowðen* and *Dhór* indicate Norse or Danish influence.—But a decisive connexion is established by the AS. *Salomon* and *Saturn* (*Kemble* p. 148): in the great battle

¹ M. Nethl. poems in *Blommaert* 1, 105a. 2, 12^a have simply an ‘out man’ in *Enoch’s* place, but they mention the cherubin *med enen swerde vierin*.

between God and Antichrist, we are told, *Thunder* was threshing with his *fiery axe*, 'se *Thunor* hit þryscēð mid þære *fýrenan æcæe*,' by which is unmistakably meant *Thôr's Miölnir*, the torrida chalybs (p. 180), and the confluence of heathen beliefs with those about Antichrist is placed beyond the reach of doubt. The devil too is called *malleus*, hammer, chap. XXXIII.

Whoever is inclined to refer the characteristics of our antiquity as a whole to Roman and christian tradition, could easily take advantage of this harmony between the two pictures of the world's destruction, to maintain that the Eddic doctrine itself sprang out of those traditions of Antichrist. This I should consider a gross perversion. The Norse narrative is simple, and of one piece with all the rest of the Edda; the myth of Antichrist is a jumble, nay artificially pieced together. The two leading personages, *Surtr* and Antichrist, have totally different characters. How should the Scandinavians have foisted-in a number of significant accessories, notably this of *muspell*, and again a H. German poet unconnected in time and place have tacked on the very same?

What the Edda tells of *Surtr* and his combat with the *Ases* is the winding-up of a fuller representation of the end of the world,¹ whose advent is named *aldar rök* (Sæm. 36^a), *aldar lag*, *aldar rof* (37^b. 167^a),² but more commonly *ragna rök* (7^a. 38^b. 96^b. 166^b) or *ragna rökr* (65^a. Sn. 30. 36. 70. 88. 165), i.e. twilight, darkening, of time and the sovran gods (supra p. 26). *Rök* and *rökr* both mean darkness, *rök rökra* in Sæm. 113^a is an intensified expression for utter darkness; *Biörn* renders *röckur* (neut.) crepusculum, *röckva* vespescere. It is akin to the Goth. *riqis σκοτος*, *riqizeins σκοτεινός*, *riqizjan σκοτιζεσθαι*, only that is increased by a suffix -is, and has its radical vowel alien from the Norse *ö*, which must be a modified *u*, so that *rök* stands for *raku*. This is confirmed by the Jutish *rag* nebula, still more by the AS. *racu*: 'þonne *sweart racu* stígan onginneð,' Cædm. 81, 34 must be rendered 'cum atra caligo surgere incipit.' *Rökstólur* (Sæm. 1^b, conf. supra p. 136) are the chairs of mist whereon the gods sit up in the clouds. To this *rök*, *racu* I refer the expression quoted

¹ It is worth noting, that it is proclaimed by *prophetesses*, *Vala*, *Hyndla*; and later, *Thiota* (p. 96) announced consummationis seculi diem.

² *Rof* raptura; as they said 'regin *riufaz*,' dii rumpuntur, the world is going to pieces.

on p. 753, 'die finstre *ragende* nacht,' which can hardly be explained from our ragen (rigere) stick out.¹ *Ragnarök* then is the night of the gods, which comes over all beings, even the highest, p. 316 (see Suppl.).

Then the evil beings, long held in check and under spell, break loose and war against the gods: a wolf swallows the sun, another the moon (p. 705-6), the stars fall from heaven, the earth quakes, the monstrous world-snake *Iörmungandr*, seized with giant fury (*iötunmôðr*, p. 530), rises out of the waters on to the land, *Fenrisúlfr* is set free (p. 244), and *Naglfar* afloat, a ship constructed out of dead men's nails.² *Loki* brings up the *hrîmthurses* and the retinue of *Hel* (*Heljar sinnar*), all the hellish, wolfish kindred have mustered together. But it is from the flame-world that the gods have most danger to dread: *Surtr* and his glittering host come riding over *Bifröst* the rainbow (p. 732) in such strength that they break it down. The single combatants are disposed thus: *Oðinn* fights with *Fenrisúlfr*, *Thôrr* with *Iörmungandr*, *Freyr* with *Surtr*, *Týr* with *Garmr*,³ *Heimdall* with *Loki*; in every case the old gods go down, though *Garmr* and *Loki* fall too, and *Fenrisúlfr* is slain by *Vîðar*.⁴ That *Loki* and all his kin should come out as allies to the sons of flame, follows from his

¹ Pers. rache is said to mean vapour; may the Sanskr. *rajanî* (nox) be also brought in? The Slav. *rok* tempus, annus, terminus, fatum, Lith. *rakus*, is worth considering; its abstract meaning may have sprung out of a material one, and fits in perfectly with the notions of time and world developed on p. 790 [*rok*, fate, is from *reku*, I speak]. Neither *rök*, *rökr*, nor *riçis* has anything to do with our rauch, reek, ON. *reykr*. It is not correct for Danish writers to use the form *ragnarok*; ON. *rök* must in their dialect be *rag* (as *sök* is *sag*); the OHG. form of *ragnarök* would be *regino-rahha*, or *-rah*, *-rahhu*, according as it were fem. or neuter. In Swed. and Dan. the term is extinct, but they both have a word for crepusculum, Swed. *thysmörker*, Dan. *tusmörke*, which may be from *þuss*, *þurs*, implying an ON. *þursmyrkr*, giant's murk, and that would tally with the giant nature of *Surtr*.

² This is intended to express the enormous distance and tardy arrival of the world's end: before such a vessel can be built of the tiny nail-parings of dead bodies a longish time must elapse, which is still further protracted by the wholesome precept, always to pare the nails of the dead before burying or burning them; conf. F. Magnusen's *Lex*. 520. 820. Not unlike is the image of the mountain of eternity, to which a bird adds one grain of sand every hundred years.

³ *Garmr*, the hugest of all hounds (Sæm. 46*), no doubt, like *Képperos*, only a metamorphosed giant, seems like him also to be a native of the under-world; when *Oðinn* journeys to *Nifhel*, 'mætti hann hvelpi þeim er or heljo kom,' met he the whelp that came out of hell (94*); he barks long, he lies chained and barks 'for *Gnúpahellir*' (7*. 8*). The hell-hound of christian legend comes nearer the Norse wolf (see next note).

⁴ *Vîðar*'s victory over the wolf, in whose jaws he plants a foot mythically shod (*Su*. 73), resembles the description in christian traditions of how the hell-hound was assailed; conf. *Fundgr.* 1, 178-9.

very nature, he being a god of fire (p. 241). After the *world-conflagration* or *Surtalogi*, a new and happier earth rises out of the sea, with gods made young again, but still called *Aesir*, Sæm. 10: a finale bearing an indisputable likeness to the Last Judgment¹ and New Jerusalem of the christians. Strophe 65 of the *Völuspâ*, which expressly mentions the *regindómr*, has been pronounced an interpolation, because it is wanting in some MSS.; but interpolation is not a thing to be gauged by the contents alone, it must be incontrovertibly established by explicit proofs. Even if it did take place, neither the heathen character of the myth nor the age of the poem as a whole is thereby brought under suspicion. For, as the heathen faith among early converted races was not demolished at a blow,² so here and there a christian dogma may also have penetrated even to nations that were still heathen; conversely some heathen ways of thinking lingered on among christians. Consider how the author of the *Heliand* (131-2-3), while following the Gospels in describing the approach of the Last Day, yet admits such rank heathenisms as 'Gebanes strôm' and 'Mudspelli.' In the very personifying of the Judgment day ('*verit stuatago in lant,*' like '*muspelli kumit*') there is a flavour of heathenism.

There seem to have existed some other traditions about the world's destruction, which have not come down to us in their fulness. Among these I reckon the folk-tale mentioned on p. 429, of the ring which the swan will drop from his mouth: it sounds altogether antique, and possibly harks back to the notion of the world-ring, p. 794.

To the destruction of the world *by fire*, which heathens and christians³ look forward to as *future*, stands opposed that *by water*, which the histories of both represent as *past*. The Burning, like the Deluge (pp. 576—81), is not to destroy for ever, but to purify, and bring in its wake a new and better order of things (see *Suppl.*).

¹ OHG. *antitago*, *suonotac*, *suonotago*, *tuomistac*, *tuomtac*, *stuatago* (Goth. *stáuadags* ?); MHG. *endetac*, *süenetac*, *tuomtac*; OS. 'the *lazto dag*,' *dómdag*, *dómesdag*, AS. *dómdæg*, Engl. *dooms-day*, ON. *dómsdagr*.

² In Leyden's *Complaynt* p. 98 is actually mentioned a story, 'the tayl of the wolfe and the warldis end,' which was current in Scotland and elsewhere (*supra* p. 245) as late as the 15th cent. Worth reading is an Icel. free adaptation of the *Vaticinium Merlini*, said to have been composed towards the end of the 12th cent., in which are mixed ON. ideas of the world's end, F. Magn. lex. 658-9.

³ 2 Pet. 3, 12; conf. *Freidank* 179, 4.

The church tradition of the Mid. Ages (based on Matth. 24, Mark 13, Luke 21) accepts fifteen signs as premonitions of the Judgment-day; ¹ these do not include the unearthly winter, *fiμβulvétr*, that wind-age (*vindöld*, p. 793, Haupt's Zeitschr. 7, 309), which according to both Eddas (*Sæm.* 36^b. Sn. 71) precedes the ragnarökr, and is doubtless a truly Teutonic fancy; ² but we have a *darkening of the sun and moon* described (p. 244), and an *earthquake*, which equally precedes the twilight of the gods: 'griotbiörg gnata, himinn klofnar, gnýr allr Iötunheimr,' *Sæm.* 8^b; the ordinary term in ON. is *land-skiálfti*, Sn. 50, or 'iörd skálf'; 'landit skálf, sem á þræði lêki,' *Fornald. sög.* 1, 424. 503.³ For *σεισμός* Ulphilas gives the fem. *reiró*, he says 'áirþa reiráida'; OS. 'ertha *bivóda*,' *Hel.* 163, 23; OHG. 'erda *bibinóta*,' O. iv. 34, 1, and the subst. *erdpipa*, *erdbibunga*, *erdgirnnessi*. Reinardus 1, 780 puts in juxtaposition: 'nec tremor est terrae, *judiciive dies*;' and Servian songs: 'ili *grmi*, il se *zemlia trese*?' does it thunder, or does the earth shake? (*Vuk* 2, 1. 105). But the earth's quaking, like the Deluge, is oftener represented as a past event, and is ascribed to various causes. The Greek fable accounts for it by imprisoned cyclops or titans (*Ov. Met.* 12, 521); the Norse by the struggles of chained Loki when drops of poison fall upon his face (*Sæm.* 69. Sn. 70), or by Fâfnir's journey to the water (*Fornald. sög.* 1, 159. 160). The earth also quakes at the death of certain heroes, as Heimir (*Fornald. sög.* 1, 232), and of the giant (*Vilk. saga* cap. 176). At Roland's death there is lightning, thunder and earthquake, *Rol.* 240, 22. To the Indians the earth quakes every time one of the eight elephants supporting the globe is tired of his burden, and gives his head a shake.⁴ The Japanese say of an earthquake: 'there is another whale crept away from under our country;' the

¹ Thom. Aquinas (d. 1274) in *Librum 4 sententiar. Petri Lomb. dist. 48. qu. 1. art. 4* (Thomae opp. Venet. 13, 442). Asegabök (*Richth.* 130-1). Haupt's Zeitschr. 1, 117. 3, 523. Hoffm. *Fundgr.* 1, 196-7. 2, 127. Amgb. 39. Wackernagel's Basle MSS. 22^b. Massm. *denkm.* 6. Berceo (d. 1268) de los signos que aparcerán ante del Juicio, in Sanchez *coleccion* 2, 273. Thomas, Asegabök and Berceo all refer to Jerome, but no such enumeration of the 15 signs is to be found in his works. *Rol.* 289-90 and *Karl 89^a* have similar signs at Roland's death (see *Suppl.*).

² Notice *Sæm.* 119^a: 'þaðan koma *sniofar* ok *snarir vindar*,' and the poetic descriptions of *winter* in AS. writers: *Andr.* 1256-63. *Beow.* 2258.

³ 'Lönd öll *skulfu*,' Sn. 66; 'fold för *skiálfandi*,' 148.

⁴ Schlegel's *Ind. bibl.* no. 2.

Tahitians: 'God shakes the earth;'¹ the Lettons: 'Drebkuls beats the earth, and makes her tremble,' just as the Greeks call their Poseidon (Neptune) *Ἐννοσίγαιος*, *Ἐννοσίδης* (see Suppl.).

Our forefathers thought of the sky not only as a roof to the earth (p. 698), but as a heavenly kingdom, the dwelling-place of gods and of blessed men whom they had taken up. The bridge of the heavenly bow leads into it (p. 732), so does the milky way (p. 356).

We must first suppose all that to have happened which was told in chap. XIX about the creation of the world according to ON. views. After the gods had set in order heaven and earth, created Ask and Embla, and appointed Miðgarð to be the habitation of man, they fitted up for themselves in the centre of the world a dwelling-place named *Asgarðr*, in whose vast extent however a number of particular spots are specified.

None of these separate mansions is more celebrated than the Odinic *Valhöll* (OHG. Walahalla?), whose name has an obvious reference to the god's own appellation of *Valföðr* and to the *valkyrs* (p. 417).² Into this abode, sometimes known as *Oðins salir* (Sæm. 148^b), the war-maidens have conducted to him all the heroes that from the beginning of the world have fallen in *valr*, on the battle-field (the *vâpn-bitnir*, weapon-bitten, Yngl. saga c. 10); these he adopts as children, they are *óskasynir*, sons by wishing, ad-option,³ and likewise sons of the god Wish (p. 143). Their usual name is *einherjar*, egregii, divi, as Oðinn himself is called *Herjan* and *Herjaföðr*, and *heri* means the fighting hero (p. 342-3). It must not be overlooked, that Thôrr himself is called an *einheri*, Sæm. 68^a, as if a partaker of Valhöll. From the existence of a proper name *Einheri* in OHG. (e.g. Meichelbeck no. 241. 476. Schannat 137), I argue the former prevalence of the mythical term amongst us also; yet not with certainty, as it may be a contracted form of *Eginheri*, *Aganheri*, like Einhart for Eginhart, Reinhart for Reginhart. *Valhöll* is covered with shields

¹ Zimmerm. Taschenb. f. reisen, jahrg. 9 abth. 2. Adelong's Mithrid. 1, 634.

² Prob. also to *Valaskiálf*, the hall covered with silver, Sæm. 41^a. Sn. 21; conf. *Hliðskjálf*, p. 135. *Skjálf* expresses the quivering motion of the airy mansion, like *bif* in *Bifröst*. Our OHG. '*walaecht* des ewigen libes,' *Is.* 73, 4 seems not merely possessio vite æternæ, but an emphatic term purposely chosen.

³ 'Got setzet si in sine schôz,' in his bosom, *Is.* 3, 92.

(Sn. 2) and numbers 540 doors, each affording passage to 800 einheries at once, or 432,000 in all, Sæm. 43^a. In the midst of it stands a mighty tree *Ljeraðr*, *Læráðr*, whose foliage is cropt by the she-goat *Heiðrún*; the goat's udder yields (as Amalthea's horn did nectar) a barrelful of mead a day, enough to nourish all the einheries. The stag *Eikþyrnir* gnaws the branches of the tree, and out of his horns water trickles down into Hvergelmir continually, to feed the rivers of the underworld (pp. 558. 561).

This mansion of bliss all valiant men aspired to, and attained after death; to the evildoer, the coward, it was closed¹: 'mun sâ maðr braut rekinu ur *Valhöllu*, ok þâr aldrei koma,' Nialss. cap. 89. To wage a life-and-death conflict with a hero was called shewing him to Walhalla (*vîsa til Valhallar*), Fornald. sög. 1, 424. Sagas and panegyric poems paint the reception of departed heroes in Walhalla: when Helgi arrives, Oðinn offers to let him reign with him, Sæm. 166^b; the moment Helgi has acquired the joint sovereignty, he exercises it by imposing menial service on Hundíngur, whom he had slain. Thus the distinctions of rank were supposed to be perpetuated in the future life. On the approach of Eyríkr, Oðinn has the benches arranged, the goblets prepared, and wine brought up (Fragm. of song, Sn. 97); Sigmund and Sinfiötli are sent to meet him (Müller's Sagabibl. 2, 375). The *Hákonarmâl* is a celebrated poem on Hákon's welcome in Valhöll. But even the hall of a king on earth, where heroes carouse as in the heavenly one, bears the same name *Valhöll* (Sæm. 244^a. 246^a anent Atli). The abodes and pleasures of the gods and those of men are necessarily mirrored in each other; conf. pp. 336. 393 (see Suppl.).

Indian mythology has a *heaven for heroes*, and that of Greece assigns them an elysium in the far West, on the happy isles of Okeanos; we may with perfect confidence assert, that a belief in Walhalla was not confined to our North, but was common to all Teutonic nations. A 'vita Idæe' in Pertz 2, 571 uses the expression '*coelorum palatinae sedes*,' implying that a court is maintained like the king's palatium, where the departed dwell. Still more to the point is the AS. poet's calling heaven a *shield-*

¹ A 13th cent. poem, to be presently quoted, has already an unmistakable reference to our tale of the *spielmann* or *spielhansel* (Jack player), who is turned out of heaven, because he has led a bad life, and performed no deeds.

burg, which, like Valhöll, was covered with golden shields (p. 700). In the 'vita Wulframi' there is shewn to the Frisian king Radbot a *house glittering with gold*, prepared for him when he dies (D.S. no. 447. V. d. Bergh's Overlev. 93); like that described in MS. 2, 229_b :

In himelrîch ein hûs stât,
 ein guldin wec darîn gât,
 die siule die sint mermelîn,
 die zieret unser trehtîn
 mit edelem gesteine.

A poem of the 13th cent. (Warnung 2706—98) declares that the kingdom of heaven is to be won by heroes only, who have fought and bear upon them scars from stress of war (*nâch urliuges nôt*), not by a useless fiddler :

Die herren vermezzen
 ze gemache sint gesezzen,
 unt ruowent immer mêre
 nâch verendetem sêre.
 Versperret ist ir burector,
 belîben mûezen dâ vor
 die den strît niht en-vâhten
 unt der flûhte gedâhten.—
 Swâ sô helde suln belîben
 ir herren ir mûezet vehten,
 welt ir mit guoten knehten
 den selben gmach niezen (see Suppl.).

(There men high-mettled to repose are settled, they rest evermore from ended sore. Barred is their borough-gate; and they without must wait who the fight ne'er fought, but of flight took thought, etc.)

But another thing must have been inseparable from the heathen conception, viz. that in Walhalla the goblet goes round, and the joyous carouse of heroes lasts for ever.¹ Several expressions may

¹ The same thought is strongly expressed in a well-known epitaph :

Wiek, düvel, wiek ! wiek wit van mi (get away from me) !
 ik scher mi nig (I care not) en har um di,
 ik ben en meklenburgsch edelman :
 wat geit di düvel min sùpen an (to do with my quaffing) ?

be accepted as proofs of this. *Glaðs-heimr* is the name of the spot on which Valhöll is reared, Sæm. 41^a; in *Glaðsheim* stands the high seat of Allfather, Sn. 14. A house by the side of it, built for goddesses, bears the name of *Vin-gólf*, but it seems also to be used synonymously with Valhöll, as one poet sings: 'vildac glaðr í *Vingólf* fylgja ok með einherjum öl drecka.' *Vingólf* is literally *amica aula*, and it is by the almost identical words *win-burg*, *winsele*, as well as *goldburg*, *goldsele*, that AS. poets name the place where a king and his heroes drink (Pref. to Andr. and El. xxxvii.-viii.). *Glaðsheimr* or *glaðheimr* may mean either glad, or bright, home; even now it is common to call heaven a *hall of joy*, *vale of joy*, in contrast to this vale of tears (p. 795). I do not know if the ancient term *mons gaudii*, *mendelberc* (p. 170 n.) had any reference to heaven; but much later on, a joyful blissful abode was entitled *sældenberc* (Diu. 2, 35), *wonnenberg*, *freudenberg*: 'to ride to the *freudenberg* at night' says a Rec. of 1445 (Arnoldi's Misc. 102); 'thou my heart's *freudensal*' is addressed to one's lady love (Fundgr. 1, 335), like the more usual 'thou my heaven'; and in thieves' slang *freudenberg* and *wonnenberg*=*doxy*. *Freuden-thal*, *-berg*, *-garten* often occur as names of places (see Suppl.).¹

Let us see how much of these heathen fancies has survived among christian ones, or found its counterpart in them. The name Valhöll, Walahalla, seems to have been avoided; *winsele* may indeed have been said of heaven, but I can only find it used of earthly dwellings, Cædm. 270, 21. Beow. 1383. 1536. 1907. On the other hand our later and even religious poets continue without scruple to use the term *freudensal* for heaven, for heavenly

ik súp mit min herr Jesu Christ,
wenn du, düvel, ewig dörsten müst,
un *drink mit en fort kolle schal*,
wenn du sittst in de höllequal.

This is not mere railing, but the sober earnest of heroes who mean to drink and hunt with Wuotan; conf. Lisch's Mehl. jahrb. 9, 447.

¹ Such a land of bliss is part of Celtic legend too, the fay Morgan (p. 412 n.) conducts to it; I read in Parz. 56, 18: den fuort ein feie, hiez Murgan, in *Ter de la schoye* (joie; see Suppl.). Remember also the Norse *glêrhiminn* (coelum vitreum), a paradise to which old heroes ride (Iarlmagus saga p.m. 320-2); legends and lays have *glass-bergs* and *glass-burys* as abodes of heroes and wise women, e.g. Brynild's smooth unscalable *glarbjerg* (Dan. V. 1, 132), and the four *glassbergs* in Wolfdiet. (Cod. Dresd. 289), conf. the Lith. and Pol. glass-mountain of the underworld, p. 836 n. A *glass-house in the air* (château en l'air) occurs as early as Tristan, ed. Michel 2, 103, conf. 1, 222

joy is christian too. Also: 'stîgen ze himel ûf der sælden *berc*,' climb the mount of bliss, Wackern. Basle MSS. p. 5. The christian faith tells of two places of bliss, a past and a future. One is where the departed dwell with God; the other, forfeited by our first parents' sin, is represented as a *garden*, Eden. Both are translated *παράδεισος* in the LXX, whence *paradisus* in the Vulg.; this is said to be a Persian word, originally denoting garden or park, which is confirmed by the Armenian *bardez* (hortus). The only passage we have the advantage of consulting in Ulph., 2 Cor. 12, 4, has *vaggs*, the OHG. *wanc* (campus amoenus, hortus). Our OHG. translators either retain *paradîsi*, Fragm. theot. 41, 21, or use *wunnigarto*, Gl. Jun. 189. 217. Hymn 21, 6. *wunnogarto*, N. ps. 37, 5; conf. 'thaz *wunnisama* feld,' O. ii. 6, 11. 'after paradîses *wunnen*,' Diut. 3, 51. MHG. 'der *wunne garte*,' Fuozesbr. 126, 27. 'der *wollüste garte*,' MsH. 3, 463^a. OHG. *zartgarto*, N. ps. 95, 10. The name *wunnigarto* may be substantially the same as *vingólf*, *winsele*, as *wunna* for *wunia*, Goth. *vinja*, lies close to *wini* (amicus). A strange expression is the AS. *neorxena-wong*, *neorxnawong*, Cædm. 11, 6. 13, 26. 14, 12. 115, 23, of which I have treated in Gramm. 1, 268. 2, 267. 3, 726; it is apparently field of rest,¹ and therefore of bliss, and may be compared to Goth. *vaggs*, OS. *heben-wang*, Hel. 28, 21. 176, 1; the 'norns' are out of the question, especially as heaven is never called *norna-vângr* in ON. poems. Beside *hebenwang*, the OS. poet uses *ódas-hêm* 96, 20 and *úp-ódas-hêm* 28, 20. 85, 21, *domus beatitudinis*, the 'hêm' reminding us of *heimr* in *gláðsheimr*, as the 'garto' in *wunnigarto* does of *âsgarðr*. *Up-ódashêm* is formed like *úphimil*, and equally heathen. All the Slavs call paradise *rai*, Serv. *raj*, Pol. *ray*, Boh. *rag*, to which add Lith. *rojus*, sometimes called *rojaus sódas* (garden of par.), or simply *daržas* (garden). *Rai* as a contraction of paradise (Span. *parayso*) is almost too violent; Anton (Essay on Slavs 1, 35) says the Arabic *arai* means paradise.²

Like Valhöll, the Greek Elysium too, *ἡλύσιον πεδίον* (Plutarch 4, 1156. Lucian de luctu 7) was not a general abode of all the

¹ The *ῥήϊστη βιοτή*, Od. 4, 565.

² To me the connexion of *rai* (and perh. of *râd* glad, willing) with *ῥâis*, *ῥά*, *ῥάδιος* (*ῥαίδιος*) easy, and *ῥεῖα* easily, seems obvious. Homer's gods are *ῥεῖα ζῶντες* living in ease.—TRANS.

dead, but of picked heroes: the Greeks too made the highest blessedness wait upon the warrior's valour. Neither were all heroes even admitted there, Menelaos was as son-in-law of Zeus, Od. 4, 569; others even more renowned were housed with Aïdes, in Hades. Achilles paces the *flowery mead*, the ἀσφοδελὸς λειμῶν of the underworld, whither Hermes conducts the souls of the slain suitors, Od. 11, 539. 24, 13. Lucian de luctu 5. philops. 24.

This 'ea' of the blest is no less known to our native song and story. Children falling into wells pass through *green meadows* to the house of friendly Holla. Flore 24, 22: 'swer im selber den tût tuot, den geriuwet diu vart, und ist im ouch verspart *diu wise*, dâr dû komen wilt, an der Blancheffûr spilt (plays) mit andern genuogen (enow), die sich niht ersluogen;' who slays himself will rue such journey, to him is eke denied that mead, etc. Floris 1107: 'int *ghebloide velt* (flowery field), ten paradise.' 1248: 'waenstu dan comen int *ghebloide velt*, daer int paradîs?' 1205: 'ic sal varen int *ghebloide velt*, daer Blancefloeren siele jeghen die mine gadert, ende leset bloemekine.' The French Flores in the corresponding passages has *camp flori* (Altd. bl. 1, 373),¹ in Bekker's ed. of Flore 786. 931. 1026. But our older poets, probably even those of heathen times, imagined heaven, like the earth, as a *green plain*: 'teglîdid *gróni wang*' (the earth), Hel. 131, 1; 'himilrîki, *gróni Godes wang*' 94, 24. '*gróni wang* paradise gelîc' 96, 15. 'the *gróneo wang*' 23, 4 is said of Egypt. Cædm. 32, 29: 'brâde sind on worulde *grêne geardas*.' Hâkonarmâl 13: 'rîða ver nu sculom *græna heima* goða,' i.e. to heaven. In many parts of Germany *paradis* and *goldne aue* are names of places to this day. So *viretum* in Virgil has the sense of paradise, Aen. 6, 638:

Devenere locos laetos et amoena vireta
fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.

Paradise then is twofold, a lost one, and a future one of the earth emerging newly green out of the wave: to *Iðavöllr*, in whose grass the gods pick up plates of gold (for play), Sæm. 9^b 10^a, corresponds that older *Iðavöllr* where the âses founded As-

¹ The M. Nethl. poem *Beatrîs* 1037 places the Last Judgment 'int *soete dal*, daer God die werelt doemen sal.'

garð, to the renovated realm of the future a vanished golden age that flowed with milk and honey (see Suppl.).¹

The younger heaven has in the Edda another name, one peculiar to itself, and occurring only in the dative 'â *gimli*,' Sæm. 10.^b Sn. 4, 75 [but 21 *gimli* as nom. ?], for which I propose a nom. *gimill* (not *gimlir*) standing for *himill*, a form otherwise wanting in ON., and = OHG. OS. *himil* by the same consonant-change as *Gÿmir* for *Hÿmir*; and this is confirmed by the juxtaposition 'â *gimli*, â *himni*,' Sn. 75. Now this *Gimill* is clearly distinct from the Odinic *Valhöll*: it does not make its appearance till *ragnarökr* has set in and the *âses* have fallen in fight with the sons of *muspell*. Then it is that a portion of the *âses* appear to revive or become young again. *Baldr* and *Höðr*, who had gone their way to the underworld long before the twilight of the gods, *Hœnir* who had been given as a hostage to the *Vanir*, are named in *Völuspâ* (Sæm. 10^b), as gods emerging anew; they three were not involved in the struggle with *Surtr*. Then again Sn. 76 gives us *Víðar* and *Vali*, who unhurt by *Surtalögi* revive the old *Asgarð* on *Iðavöllr*, and with them are associated *Môði* and *Magni*, beside *Baldr* and *Höðr* from the underworld; *Hœnir* is here passed over in silence. *Víðar* and *Vali* are *the two avengers*, one having avenged *Oðin's* death on *Fenrisúlfr*, the other *Baldr's* death on *Höðr* (*hefníáss Baldrs dölgr Haðar*, Sn. 106). They two, and *Baldr* the pure blameless god of light, are sons of *Oðinn*, while *Môði* and *Magni* appear as sons of *Thôrr* by a *gÿgr*, and from that time they bear the emblem of his might, the all-crushing *Miölnir*. Unquestionably this means, that *Oðinn* and *Thôrr*, the arch-gods of old *Asgarð*, come into sight no more, but are only renewed in their sons. *Baldr* signifies the beginning of a mild spring time, p. 614 (see Suppl.).

¹ It is natural that this paradise, past or to come, should have given birth to various tales of an earthly paradise, lying in regions far away, which has been reached by here and there a traveller: thus Alexander in his Indian campaign is said to have arrived at paradise. Not the Eddas themselves, but later Icel. sagas tell of *Odâins-akr* (immortalitatis ager); a land where no one sickens or dies, conf. *dâinn mortuus, morti obnoxius* (p. 453); the *Hervararsaga* (Fornald. sög. 1, 411. 513) places it in the kingdom of a deified king *Goðmundr* (conf. *Goðormr* p. 161); acc. to the *Saga Ereks víðförla* (Fornald. sög. 3, 519. 661-6. 670) it lay in the east, not far from India. Can this 'Erekr hinn víðförlí' be the hero of the lost MHG. poem *Erekr der wallere* (pilgrim)? The name *Odâinsakr* may however be an adaptation of an older and heathen *Oðinsakr* = *Vallhöll*, conf. the *Oden säker* in Sweden, p. 158, last line.

Again, as Valhöll had only received men who died by weapons (*vâpn-dauða vera*), whilst other dead men were gathered in Fôlk-vângr with Freyja (p. 304), and virgins with Gefjon (Sn. 36); from this time forward *Gimill* takes in without distinction all the just, the good, and *Hel* all the bad, the criminal; whereas the former *Hel*, as a contrast to Valhöll, used to harbour all the residue of men who had not fallen in fight, without its being implied that they were sinners deserving punishment.

The most difficult point to determine is, how matters exactly stand with regard to *Surtr*, to whom I must now return. That he is represented, not as a god, but as a giant of the fire-world, has been shown, p. 809; nor is he named among the renovated gods 'â gimli' in Sæm. 10^a or Sn. 76, which would have been the place for it. In one MS. alone (Sn. 75, var. 3) is apparently interpolated 'â Gimli *meðr Surtri*;' and it is mainly on this that Finn Magnusen rests his hypothesis, that *Surtr* is an exalted god of light, under whose rule, as opposed to that of Oðinn, the new and universal empire stands. He takes him to be that *mightier* one from whose power in the first creation days the warmth proceeded (p. 562), the *strong* (*öflugr*) or *rich* one revealed by the vala, who shall direct all things (*sâ er öllu ræðr*, Sæm. 10^b), likewise the *mighty* one foreseen by Hyndla, whose name she dare not pronounce (*þâ kemr annar enn máttkari, þô þori ec eigi þann at nefna*, Sæm. 119^a); conf. the *strengra* of the AS. homily (p. 812). But why should she have shrunk from naming *Surtr*, of whom no secret is made in Sæm. 8^{a,b}. 9^a. 33^a, the last passage positively contrasting him with the mild merciful gods (in *svâso goð*)? The invasion of *Surtr* in company with the liberated *Loki* must anyhow be understood as a hostile one (of giant's or devil's kin); his very name of the swart one points that way.

The unuttered god may be likened to the *ἄγνωστος θεός* (Acts 17, 23), still more to the word that Oðinn whispered in the ear of his son *Baldr*'s corpse, as it ascended the funeral pile: a secret which is twice alluded to, in Sæm. 38^a and *Hervarars.* p. 487; so an Etruscan nymph speaks the name of the highest god in the ear of a bull.¹ It has already been suggested (p. 815) that presentiments of a mightier god to come may have floated before

¹ O. Müller's *Etr.* 2, 83, with which must be conn. the medieval legend of *Silvester* (Conrad's poem, pref. p. xx).

the heathen imagination, like the promise of the Messiah to the Jews.¹

The world's destruction and its renewal succeed each other in rotation; and the interpenetration of the notions of time and space, world and creation, with which I started, has been proved. Further, as the time-phenomena of the day and the year were conceived of as persons, so were the space-phenomena of the world and its end (Halja, Hades, Surtr).

¹ Martin Hammerich om Ragnaroks-mythen, Copenh. 1836, argues plausibly that the twilight of the gods and the new kingdom of heaven are the expression of a spiritual monotheism opposed, though as yet imperfectly, to the prevailing Odinic paganism. But then there are renovated *gods* brought on the scene 'â gimli' too, though fewer than in Asgarð, and there is nothing to shew their subordination to the mighty One. Still less do I think the author entitled to name this new god *fimbultýr*, a term that in the whole of the Edda occurs but once (Sæm. 9^b), and then seems to refer to Oðinn. Others have ventured to identify the word *fimbul-* (which like the prefix *irman-*, heightens the meaning of a word, as in *fimbulkambi*, *fimbulkulr*, *fimbulvetr*, *fimbullioð*, as well as *fimbultýr*) with the AS. *fifel* (p. 239); to this also I cannot assent, as *fifel* itself occurs in ON., and is cited by Biörn as the name of a plant.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SOULS.

Languages treat the living life-giving *soul* as a delicate feminine essence: Goth. *sáivala*, akin to *sáivs* the sea, an undulating fluid force, OHG. *sêola*, *sêla*, MHG. *sêle*, NHG. *seele*, AS. *sáwl*, ON. *sál*, Swed. Dan. *sjál*, and hence Finn. *sielu*; Gr. $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$; Lat. Ital. *anima*, Fr. *âme*, O. Fr. sometimes *arme*, Span. *alma*; Russ. Serv. *dusha*, Slov. *duzha*, Boh. *duše*, Pol. *duzsa*, Lith. *duzia*, Lett. *dwehsele*. They all distinguish it from the masc. breath and spirit, *ἀνεμος*, which goes in and out more palpably; often the two names are next door to each other, as Lat. *animus* and *anima*, Slav. *dukh* and *dusha*.¹

And this intimate connexion may be recognised in the myths too. The soul freed from the fetters of the body is made to resemble those airy spirit forms of chap. XVII (conf. pp. 439. 630). It hovers with the same buoyancy, appears and vanishes, often it assumes some definite shape in which it is condemned to linger for a time (see Suppl.).

It is a graceful fancy which makes the departing soul either break into blossom as a flower, or fly up as a bird. Both these notions are connected with metamorphosis into plants and animals in general, and are founded on the doctrine of metempsychosis so prevalent in early antiquity. Immortality was admitted in this sense, that the soul still existed, but had to put up with a new body.

Its passing into a flower I can only infer. A child carries home a bud, which the angel had given him in the wood; when the rose blooms, the child is dead (Kinder-leg. no. 3). In Rhesas dainos p. 307, a rosebud is the soul of the dead youth. The Lay of Runzifal makes a *blackthorn* shoot up out of the bodies of slain heathens, a *white flower* by the heads of fallen christians, Karl

¹ Where soul stands for life, vitality, a neuter word is used, OHG. *ferah*, MHG. *verch*, AS. *feorh*, ON. *fjör*; but we saw (p. 793), *hōw* from *vita* and *βίος* there arose the sum total of all that lives, the world, Goth. *faírhvus*.

118^b. When the innocent are put to death, *white lilies* grow out of their graves, *three lilies* on that of a maiden (Uhland's *Volksl.* 241), which no one but her lover may pluck; from the mounds of buried lovers flowering shrubs spring up, whose branches intertwine. In Swedish songs *lilies* and *limes* grow out of graves, *Sv. vis.* 1, 101. 118. In the ballad of 'fair Margaret and sweet William':

Out of her brest there sprang a *rose*,
 And out of his a *briar* ;
 They grew till they grew unto the church-top,
 And there they tyed in a true lovers knot.¹

In *Tristan and Isote* I believe it to be a later alteration, that the *rose* and *vine*, which twine together over their graves, have first to be planted. In a Servian folksong there grows out of the youth's body a *green fir* (*zelén bor, m.*), out of the maiden's a *red rose* (*rumena ruzhitsa, f.*), *Vuk* 1, no. 137, so that the sex is kept up even in the plants:² the rose twines round the fir, as the silk round the nosegay. All these examples treat the flower as a mere symbol, or as an after-product of the dead man's intrinsic character: the rose coming up resembles the ascending spirit of the child; the body must first lie buried, before the earth sends up a new growth as out of a seed, *conf. chap. XXXVII.* But originally there might lie at the bottom of this the idea of an immediate instantaneous passage of the soul into the shape of a flower, for out of mere drops of blood, containing but a small part of the life, a flower is made to spring: the soul has her seat in the blood, and as that ebbs away, she escapes with it. Greek fables tell us how the bodies of the persecuted and slain, especially women, assumed forthwith the figure of a flower, a bush, a tree (p. 653), without leaving any matter behind to decay or be burnt; nay, life and even speech may last while the transformation is taking place. Thus *Daphne* and *Syrinx*, when they cannot elude the pursuit of *Apollo* or *Pan*, change themselves into a laurel and a reed; the nymph undergoing transformation speaks on so long as the encrusting bark has not crept up to

¹ *Percy* 3, 123; variant in *Rob. Jamieson* 1, 33-4.

² Therefore *der rebe* (vine) belongs to *Tristan's* grave, *diu rōse* to *Isote's*, as in *Eilhart* and the *chap-book*; *Ulrich* and *Heinrich* made the plants change places.

her mouth. Vintler tells us, the *wege-warte* (OHG. *wegawartâ*, *wegapreitâ*), plantago, was once a woman, who by the wayside waited (*wartete*) for her lover; he suggests no reason for the transformation, *conf. Kinderm. no. 160* (see *Suppl.*).

In the same way popular imagination, childlike, pictures the soul as a *bird*, which comes flying out of the dying person's mouth. That is why old tombstones often have *doves* carved on them, and these the christian faith brings into still closer proximity to spirit.¹ A ship founders: the people on shore observe the souls of those who have sunk ascending from the wave toward heaven in the shape of *white doves*.² The Romance legend of the tortured Eulalia says: 'in figure de *colomb* volat a ciel.' As a *bird* the little brother, when killed, flies out of the juniper-tree (*machandelbom*, *Kinderm. 47*). To the enigma of the green tree and the dry, each with a little bird sitting on it, the interpretation is added: 'ir *sêle* zen *vogelen* sî gezalt!' their (the christians') soul be numbered among birds, *MS. 2, 248^b*. In the underworld there fly scorched *birds* who were souls (*sviðnir fuglar er sâkir voro*), like swarms of flies, *Sæm. 127^a*. The heathen Bohemians thought the soul came out of the dying lips as a bird, and hovered among the trees, not knowing where to go till the body was buried; then it found rest. Finns and Lithuanians call the Milky-way the *path of birds* (*p. 357n.*), i.e. of souls.

The Arabs till the time of Mahomet believed that the blood of a murdered man turns into an accusing bird, that flits about the grave till vengeance be taken for the dead.

According to a Polish folk-tale every member of the Herbut family turns into an *eagle* as soon as he dies. The first-born daughters of the house of Pileck were changed into *doves* if they died unmarried, but the married ones into *owls*, and to each member of the family they foretold his death by their bite (*Woycicki's Klechdy 1, 16*). When the robber Madej was confessing under an appletree, and getting quit of his sins, apple after apple flew up into the air, converted into a *white dove*: they were the souls of those he had murdered. One apple still remained, the

¹ *Servati Lupi vita S. Wigberhti, cap. 11: Verum hora exitus ejus . . . circumstantibus fratribus, visa est avis quaedam specie pulcherrima supra ejus corpusculum ter advolasse, nusquamque postea comparuisse.* Not so much the soul itself, as a spirit who escorts it.

² *Maerlant 2, 217, from a Latin source.*

soul of his father, whose murder he had suppressed; when at length he owned that heinous crime, the last apple changed into a *gray dove*, and flew after the rest (*ibid.* 1, 180). This agrees with the unresting birds of the Boh. legend. In a Podolian folk-song, on the grave-mound there shoots up a little oak, and on it sits a snow-white dove (*ibid.* 1, 209).¹

Instances of transformation into *birds* were given above, (pp. 673-6. 680), under *woodpecker* and *cuckoo*. Greek mythology has plenty of others (see *Suppl.*).

The popular opinion of Greece also regarded the soul as a winged being (*ψυχή πνεῦμα καὶ ζωῦφιον πτηνόν*² says Hesychius), not bird, but *butterfly*, which is even more apt, for the insect is developed out of the chrysalis, as the soul is out of the body; hence *ψυχή* is also the word for butterfly. A Roman epitaph found in Spain has the words: M. Porcius M. haeredibus mando etiam cinere ut meo *volitet* ebrius *papilio*.³ In Basque, 'arima' is soul (conf. *arme*, *alma*, p. 826), and 'astoaren arima' (ass's soul) butterfly. We shall come across these butterflies again as will o' the wisps (*ziebold*, *vezha*), and in the Chap. on Witches as elvish beings (see *Suppl.*).

When men are in a trance, or asleep, the *soul* runs out of them in the shape of a *snake*, *weasel* or *mouse* (chap. XXXIV and *Suppl.*).

Of *will o' the wisps* a subsequent chapter will treat; synonymous with them I find *wiesenhüpfer*, *wiesenhüpferin*, meadowhopper, e.g. in the *Mägdelob* (printed 1688) p. 46; its explanation, from their dancing on marshy meadows, is right enough, but perhaps too limited. Hans Sachs is not thinking of *ignes fatui*, when he more than once employs the set phrase: 'mit im schirmen, dass die *seel* in dem *gras umbhupfen*,' fence with him till their souls hop about in the grass iii. 3, 13^a. iv. 3, 28^a. 'und schmitz ihn in ein fiderling, dass sein *seel* muss im *gras umbhupfen*' iv. 3, 51^b; he simply means that the soul flies out of him, he dies. Therefore the same superstition again, that the soul of the dying flutters (as bird or butterfly) in the *meadow*, i.e. the

¹ Na téj mogile wyróśt ci dąbeczek,
na nićj bieluchny siada gołąbeczek.

² *ψυχή δ' ἐκ σώματος ἔπτη*, flew out of the body, *Batrach.* 207. *ψυχή δὲ μελέων ἐξέπτη* 211. *ἐκ μελέων θυμὸς πτάτο*, II. 23, 880.

³ First in *Ambr. de Morales's* *Antiguidades de las ciudades de España*, *Alcala* 1575, fol. 31^b; thence in *Gruter*, and in *Spon's* *Miscell. erud. antiq.* p. 8.

meadow of the underworld spoken of in p. 822.¹ Just so the Bohemians make the soul *fly about in trees*, Königinh. hs. p. 88. 106; hence both souls and elves dance to and fro in the meadows at night. Strange, that a minnesänger already makes the soul of a drunken (as if entranced) man *jump*: ‘*mîn sêle ûf eime rippe stât, wâfen! diu von dem wîne darûf gehüppet hât*’ (MS. 2, 105^b).² So the souls of the drowned keep jumping up out of the jars, p. 496 (see Suppl.). Shooting stars are supposed to be the souls of dying men (p. 722); not only heroes and other men, but separate limbs of their bodies were fixed in the sky as *stars*, chap. XXII.

These are the simplest (if you will, rudest) notions as to the nature of the soul, and to them I ascribe a high antiquity.

More polished, more deeply rooted in ancient myths, is the opinion of the soul’s *passage* into the domain of the underworld *across a water* which divides the realm of living men from that of the dead.

The Norse narrative of the death of Baldr has the remarkable incident, that the âses placed his body *on board a vessel*, in which they erected the funeral pile, set it on fire, and so *committed it to the sea at high water* (Sn. 66).³ In the same way the corpse of the deified hero Scild (p. 369) is adorned and *carried into a ship*, which *drifts away on the sea*, nobody knows whither, Beow. 55—105. Sigmundr bears the body of his beloved son Sinfîotli to the seashore, where a stranger waits with a skiff, and offers

¹ Those who are neither saved nor damned come into the *green meadow*, Heinse’s Ardinghello 1, 96.

² Conf. Helbl. 1, 354: ‘*vrou Sêle, tretet ûf ein rippe.*’ Renart in his bucket at the bottom of the well (p. 807), to humbug Ysengrin, pretends he is living in paradise there, and that every soul, on parting from the body, has to sit on the bucket-pole till it is penitent, then it may climb down, and leave all its ills behind, Renart 6804—13.

³ What deep root this custom had taken in the North, may be gathered from the fact that bodies were also *buried in a boat* [on land], doubtless so that on their journey to the underworld, when they came to a water, they might have their ferry at hand. ‘Hâkon konúgr tók þar skip vll et átt höfðo Eiríks synir, ok lét draga á land upp; þar lét Hâkon leggja Egil Ullserk í skip, oc með hánom alla þá menn er af þeirra liði höfðo fallit, lét bera þar at iörð oc griot. Hâkon konúgr lét oc fleiri skip uppsetja, oc bera á valinn,’ Saga H. góða, cap. 27. ‘Unnr var lögð í skip í hauginum,’ Laxd. p. 16. ‘Asmundr var heygðr ok í skip lagðr, þræll hans lagðr í annan stafn skipsins,’ Islend. sög. 1, 66. ‘Geirmundr heygðr ok lagðr í skip þar átt skóginn fra garði,’ ibid. 1, 97. Probably the bodies of the great were first laid in a coffin, and this put in the boat, which was then buried in the hill. Gudrun says: ‘*knör mun ek kaupa ok kisto steinða,*’ Sæm. 264^b. No boats have been found, that I know of, in ancient barrows of Continental Germany.

a passage; Sigmundr *lays the dead in the boat*, which has then its full freight, the unknown pushes off and sails away with the corpse, Sæm. 170-1. Fornald. sög. 1, 142. Frotho's Law p. 87 lays down distinctions of rank: 'Centurionis vel satrapae corpus rogo *propria nave constructo funerandum constituit; dena autem gubernatorum corpora unius puppis igne consumi praecepit; ducem quempiam aut regem interfectum proprio injectum navigio concremari.*' The dead Iarlmâgus is conveyed *in a ship* by his widow to a holy land, Iarlm. saga cap. 45. A Swedish folk-tale (Afzelius 1, 4) speaks of a *golden ship* lying sunk near the schlüsselberg at Runemad; in that ship Odin is said to have carried *the slain* from Brävalla to Valhall. In the O. Fr. romance of Lancelot du lac, ed. 1591, p. 147 the demoiselle d'Escalot arranges what is to be done with her body: 'le pria, que *son corps fût mis en une nef richement équipée, que l'on laisseroit aller au gré du vent sans conduite.*'¹ And in the romance of Gawain a swan tows a boat in which lies a dead knight (Keller's Romvart 670). Was it believed that the corpse, abandoned to the sacred sea and the winds, would of itself arrive at the land of death that was not to be reached under human guidance?

Here it is the corpse that is transported, in other legends merely the soul when released from the body: it is over again the distinction we noticed above, p. 827. In the Nialss. cap. 160, old Flosi, weary of life, is even said to have taken a battered boat, and thrown himself on the mercy of the sea-waves: 'bar á skip ok lét í haf, ok hefir til þess skips aldri spurt síðan,' never heard of since.

The Greeks believed that Charon ferried the souls in a narrow two-oared boat over the Styx, Acheron or Cocytus to the kingdom of Hades. For this he charged a *fare*, τὰ πορθμία, therefore they placed an obolos (the danaka) *in the mouth* of the dead.² This custom of putting a small *coin in the mouth* of a corpse occurs among Germans too, Superst. I, 207 where a modern and

¹ Cento novelle antiche 81: La danigella di Scalot; the 'navicella senza vela, senza remi e senza neuno sopra sagliente' is carried down to Camalot, to the court of Re Artu.

² Diodor. 1, 90. Eurip. Alc. 253. 441. Aen. 6, 298. At Hermione in Argolis, supposed to be no great distance from the underworld, no money was given to the dead, Strabo 8, 373. These coins are often found in ancient tombs, K. Fr. Hermann's Antiq. 193.

mistaken reason is alleged for it [lest they come back to visit buried hoards]: originally the money could be no other than that same naulum.

One stormy night a monkish figure wakes a boatman who lies buried in sleep, puts *passage-money in his hand*, and demands to be taken across the river. At first six monks step into the boat, but no sooner is it fairly launched, than suddenly it is filled by a throng of friars black and white, and the ferryman has scarcely room left for himself. With difficulty he rows across, the passengers alight, and a hurricane hurls the ferryboat back to the place of starting, where another set of travellers wait and take possession of the boat, the foremost of whom with fingers cold as ice presses the *fare-penny* into the boatman's hand. The return voyage is made in the same violent way as before.¹ The like is told, but less completely, of monks crossing the Rhine at Spire.² In neither story can we detect the purpose of the voyage; they seem to be early heathen reminiscences, which, not to perish entirely, had changed their form (see Suppl.).

Procopius de bello Goth. 4, 20 (ed. Bonn. 2, 567), speaking of the island of Brittia, imparts a legend which he had often heard from the lips of the inhabitants. They imagine that the souls of the dead are *transported to that island*. On the coast of the continent there dwell under Frankish sovereignty, but hitherto exempt from all taxation, fishers and farmers, whose duty it is to *ferry the souls over*.³ This duty they take in turn. Those to

¹ Neue volksmärchen der Deutschen, Leipz. 1792. 3, 45-7.

² D.S. no. 275; earliest auth. an account by Geo. Sabinus (b. 1508 d. 1560). Melander's Joc. no. 664.

³ Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Φράγγων κατήκοι ὄντες, φόρου μὲντοι ἀπαγωγὴν οὐδεπώποτε παρασχόμενοι, ὑφειμένοι αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῦδε τοῦ ἄχθους, ὑπουργίας τινὸς, ὡς φασιν, ἔνεκα. λέγουσι οἱ ταῦτη ἄνθρωποι ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐπικεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν παραπομπὰς σφίσι. On this passage and one in Tzetzes, consult Welcker in Rhein. mus. 1, 238 seq. Conf. Plutarch de defectu oracul. cap. 18 (ed. Reiske 7, 652): 'Ο δὲ Δημήτριος ἔφη τῶν περὶ τὴν Βρεταννίαν νήσων εἶναι πολλὰς ἐρήμους σποράδας, ὧν ἐνίας δαιμόνων καὶ ἡρώων ὀνομάζεσθαι, πλεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἱστορίας καὶ θεᾶς ἔνεκα, πομπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰς τὴν ἔγγιστα κειμένην τῶν ἐρήμων, ἔχουσιν οὐ πολλοὺς ἐποικοῦντας, ἱεροῦ δὲ καὶ ἀσέλους πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν Βρεταννῶν ὄντας. ἀφικομένου δ' αὐτοῦ νεωστὶ, σύγχυσιν μεγάλην περὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ διοσημείας πολλὰς γενέσθαι, καὶ πνεύματα καταβραβῆναι καὶ πεσεῖν πρηστῆρας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐλώφησε, λέγειν τοὺς νησιώτας, ὅτι τῶν κρείσσωνων τινὸς ἐκλειψίς γέγονεν. ὡς γὰρ λύχνος ἀναπτόμενος φᾶναι δεῖνόν οὐδὲν ἔχει, σβεννύμενος δὲ πολλοῖς λυπηρὸς ἔστιν, οὕτως αἱ μεγάλαι ψυχαὶ τὰς μὲν ἀναλάμψεις εὐμενεῖς καὶ ἀλύπτους ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ σβέσεις αὐτῶν καὶ φθοραὶ πολλάκις μὲν, ὡς νυκτὶ πνεύματα καὶ ζῆλας τρέπουσι, πολλάκις δὲ λοιμοῖς πάθεισιν ἀέρα φαρμάττουσιν. ἐκεῖ μὲντοι μίαν εἶναι νῆσον, ἐν ἣ τὸν Κρόνον κατεῖρχει φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βριάρεω καθεύδοντα. δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ὕπνον μεμηχανῆσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι δαίμονας ὀπαδοῦς καὶ θεράποντας. This

whom it falls on any night, go to bed at dusk; at midnight they hear a knocking at their door, and muffled voices calling. Immediately they rise, go to the shore, and there see *empty boats*, not their own but strange ones, they go on board and seize the oars. When the boat is under way, they perceive that she is *laden choke-full*, with her gunwales hardly a finger's breadth above water. Yet they see no one, and in an hour's time they touch land, which one of their own craft would take a day and a night to do. Arrived at Brittia, the boat speedily unloads, and becomes so light that she only dips her keel in the wave. Neither on the voyage nor at landing do they see any one, but they hear a voice loudly asking each one his name and country. Women that have crossed give their husbands' names.

Procopius's Brittia lies no farther than 200 stadia (25 miles) from the mainland, between Britannia and Thule, opposite the Rhine mouth, and three nations live in it, Angles, Frisians and Britons. By Britannia he means the NW. coast of Gaul, one end of which is still called Bretagne, but in the 6th century the name included the subsequent Norman and Flemish-Frisian country up to the mouths of Scheldt and Rhine; his Brittia is Great Britain, his Thule Scandinavia.

Whereabouts the passage was made, whether along the whole of the Gallic coast, I leave undetermined. Villemarqué (Barzas breiz 1, 136) places it near Raz, at the farthest point of Armorica, where we find a bay of souls (*baie des âmes, boé ann anavo*). On the R. Treguier in Bretagne, commune Plouguel, it is said to be the custom to this day, to convey the dead to the churchyard *in a boat*, over a small arm of the sea called *passage de l'enfer*, instead of taking the shorter way by land; besides, the people all over Armorica believe that souls at the moment of parting repair to the parson of Braspar, whose dog escorts them to Britain: up *in the air* you hear the *creaking wheels of a waggon overloaded with souls*, it is covered with a white pall, and is called *carr an ancou, carrikel an ancou*, soul's car (Mém. de l'acad. celt. 3, 141). Purely adaptations to suit the views of the people. As christians, they could no longer ferry their dead

Kronos asleep on the holy island far away, with his retinue of servants, is like a Wuotan enchanted in a mountain, conf. Humboldt in Herm. Müller p. 440-1. Welcker's Kl. schr. 2, 177.

to the island: well, they will take them to the churchyard by water anyhow; and in their tradition they make the voyage be performed no longer by ship, but through the air (as in the case of the Furious Host), and by waggon. Closer investigation must determine whether similar legends do not live in Normandy, Flanders and Friesland. Here I am reminded once more of old Helium and Hel-voet, pp. 315 n. 804.

Procopius's account is re-affirmed by Tzetzes (to Lycoph. 1204) in the 12th century; but long before that, Claudian at the beginning of the 5th (in Rufinum 1, 123—133) had heard of those Gallic shores as a trysting-place of fitting ghosts:

Est locus, extremum qua pandit Gallia littus,
oceanî prætentus aquis, ubi fertur Ulixes
sanguine libato populum movisse silentem.
Illic umbrarum tenui stridore volantum
flebilis auditur questus: simulacra coloni
pallida, defunctasque vident migrare figuras;

and not far from that region are Britain, the land of the Senones, and the Rhine. This faint murmur of the fleeting shades is much the same thing as the airy waggon of the Bretons. The British bards make out that souls, to reach the underworld, must sail over the *pool of dread* and of *dead bones*, across the *vale of death*, into the sea on whose shore stands open the mouth of hell's abyss¹ (see Suppl.). A North English song, that used to be sung at lykewakes, names 'the *bridge of dread, no brader than a thread,*' over which the soul has to pass in the underworld (J. Thoms' Anecd. and trad. pp. 89. 90). The same bridge is mentioned in the legend of Tundalus (Hahn's ed. pp. 49. 50): the soul must drive a stolen cow over it.²

The same meaning as in the voyage of souls over the gulf or

¹ Owen's Dict. 2, 214. Villemarqué 1, 135.

² The narrow bridge is between purgatory and paradise, even Owain the hero had to cross it (Scott's Minstr. 2, 360-1). In striking harmony with it (as supra p. 574) is a Mahom. tradition given in Sale's Koran (ed. 1801, introd. 120): in the middle of hell all souls must walk over a bridge thinner than a hair, sharper than the edge of a sword, and bordered on both sides by thorns and prickly shrubs. The Jews also speak of the hell-bridge narrow as a thread, but only unbelievers have to cross it (Eisenmenger 2, 258); conf. Thoms p. 91. Acc. to Herbelot, the Mahometans believe that before the judgment-day they shall pass over a red-hot iron rod, that spans a bottomless deep; then the good works of each believer will put themselves under his feet.

river of the underworld appears to lie in their *walking the bridge that spans the river*. The bridge-keeper's words to (the living) Hermôðr are remarkable: 'my bridge groans more beneath thy single tread, *than under the five troops of dead men* who yesterday rode over it,' Sn. 67. I see in this a very strong resemblance to the *soft patter of the dwarfs' feet on the bridge when quitting the country*, as also their *ferrying over* by night (pp. 275. 459); and the affinity of souls with elvish beings comes out very plainly. When the dwarfs moved out of Voigtland, they were *a whole night crossing the Elster* (Jul. Schmidt p. 143-8). At their departure from the Harz, it was agreed that they should pass over a narrow bridge at Neuhof, each dropping his toll-money in a vessel fixed upon it, but none of the country folk were to be present. Prying people hid under the bridge, and heard *for hours their pit-a-pat*, as though a flock of sheep were going over (Deut. sagen no. 152-3). The *bridge-toll* brings to mind the *ferry-money* of souls. With all this compare the story of the *elf making his passage* in a boat by night (D.S. no. 80). Then again 'the bridge of dread no brader than a thread' is a kindred notion, which moreover connects itself with the iron sword-bridge crossed by the soul that has crept out of a sleeping man (see Suppl.).

A minute examination of the various funeral ceremonies of European nations, which is no part of my purpose here, would throw some more light on the old heathen views as to the nature of the soul and its destiny after death. Thus the dead, beside the passage-money and the boat, had a particular shoe called *todtenschuh*, ON. *hel-skô*, given them for setting out on their journey, and tied on their feet. The Gísla Surssonarsaga says: 'þat er tíðska at binda mönnum helskô, sem menn skulo á gânga til Valhallar, ok mun ek Vesteyni þat giöra' (conf. Müller's Sagabibl. 1, 171). Sir W. Scott in Minstr. 2, 357 quotes a Yorkshire superstition: 'They are of believe, that once in their lives it is good to give *a pair of new shoes* to a poor man, forasmuch as after this life they are to *pass barefoote through a great launde full of thornes and furzen*, except by the meryte of the almes aforesaid they have redeemed the forfeyte; for at the edge of the launde an *oulde man* shall meet them with the *same shoes* that were given by the partie when he was lyving, and after he

hath shodde them, dismisseth them to go through thick and thin, without scratch or scalle.' The land to be traversed by the soul is also called *whinny moor*, i.e. furzy bog (Thoms 89). In Henneberg, and perhaps other places, the last honours paid to the dead are still named *todtenschuh* (Reinwald 1, 165), though the practice itself is discontinued; even the funeral feast is so denominated. Utterly pagan in character, and suited to the warlike temper of old times, is what Burkard of Worms reports p. 195^c: *Quod quidam faciunt homini occiso, cum sepelitur: dant ei in manum unguentum quoddam, quasi illo unguento post mortem vulnus sanari possit, et sic cum unguento sepeliunt.*¹ For a similar purpose, *slaves, horses, dogs* were burnt with a dead man, that he might use them in the next world. King Ring had king Harald buried in a great barrow, his horse killed that he had ridden in Bråvalla fight, and his *saddle* buried with him, so that he could ride to Walhalla. It was thought that to convey the corpse by any road but the traditional one (the hellweg, p. 801) was bad for the soul of the deceased, Ledebur's Archiv 5, 369 (see Suppl.).

The poems of the Mid. Ages occasionally describe a *conflict of angels and devils* round the parting soul, each trying to take possession of it. At the head of the angels is an archangel, usually Michael, who, as we shall see in chap. XXVIII, has also the task of weighing souls; sometimes he is called *Cherubim*: 'vor dem tievel nam der sêle war der erzengel *Kerubîn*,' he saw the soul first, Wh. 49, 10.

Lâzâ lâzâ tengeln!
dâ wart von den engeln

¹ The Lithuanians bury or burn with the dead the *claws of a lynx or bear*, in the belief that the soul has to climb up a steep mountain, on which the divine judge (Kriwe Kriweito) sits: the rich will find it harder to scale than the poor, who are unburdened with property, unless their sins weigh them down. A wind wafts the poor sinners up as lightly as a feather, the rich have their limbs mangled by a dragon Wizunas, who dwells beneath the mountain, and are then carried up by tempests (Woycieki's Klechdy 2, 134-5. Narbutt 1, 284). The steep hill is called *Anafielas* by the Lithuanians, and *szklanna gora* (glass mountain) by the Poles, who think the lost souls must climb it as a punishment, and when they have set foot on the summit, they slide off and tumble down. This *glass mountain* is still known to our German songs and fairytales, but no longer distinctly as an abode of the deceased, though the little maid who carries a huckle-bone to insert (like the bear's claw) into the glass mountain, and ends with cutting her little finger off that she may scale or unlock it at last, may be looked upon as seeking her lost brothers in the underworld (Kinderm. no. 25).

manec sêle empfangen
 é der strît was zegangen.
 Daz weinete manec amie :
 von wolken wart nie snê
 alsô dicke sunder zal
 beidiu ûf bergem und ze tal,
 als engel unde tievel flugen,
 die dô ze widerstrîte zugen
 die sêle her und widere,
 d' einen ûf, die ander nidere. Geo. 1234.
 Der engelfürste *Michahêl*
 empfienc des marcgrâven sêl,
 und manec engel lichtgevar
 die kâmen mit gesange dar
 und fuorten in vrcelîche
 inz schœne himelrîche.

Geo. 6082, conf. Diut. 1, 470. In the Brandan (Bruns p. 192-3) we read: 'de duvele stredeu umme de sêle mit sante *Michaêle*'; conf. Fundgr. 1, 92.

Gebt mir eine gâbe,
 daz des küniges sêle
 von sante *Michahêle*
 hiute gecondwieret sî. Gute frau 2674;

Michael having taken upon him the office of Mercury or the Walchure. A record of the 13th cent. (MB. 7, 371) calls him 'praepositus paradisi et princeps animarum.' A still more important passage, already noticed at p. 446, occurs in Morolt 28^a b, where three troops are introduced, the *black*, *white* and *pale*: 'den *strît* mahtu gerne schouwen, dens *umb die sêle* sulu hân.' For similar descriptions in the elder French poets, conf. Méon 1, 239. 4, 114-5. 3, 284.

And even so early as the 8-9th cent. we find quite at the beginning of the Muspilli fragment:

Wanta sâr sô sih diu sêla in den sind arhevit (rises)
 enti sî den lîhhamun likkan lâzit (leaves the body lying),
 sô quimit ein heri (comes one host) fona himilzungalon,
 daz andar fona pehhe (pitch, hell); *dar pâgant siu umpî.*

I have questioned (p. 420) whether this 'pâc umpî dia sêla'

(tussle for the soul) between the hosts of heaven and hell be traceable to christian tradition. The Ep. of Jude v. 9 does tell of archangel Michael and the devils striving for the body of Moses,¹ and the champion Michael at all events seems borrowed thence. But jealousy and strife over the partition of souls may be supposed an idea already present to the heathen mind, as the Norse Oðinn, Thôrr and Freyja appropriated their several portions of the slain. At pp. 60 and 305 we identified *Freyja* with *Gertrude*: 'some say the soul, on quitting the body, is the first night with *St. Gerdrant*, the next with *St. Michael*, the third in such place as it has earned,' Superst. F, 24. Now as Antichrist in the great world-fight is slain by Michael (p. 811), while Surtr has for adversaries Oðinn and Thôrr: 'Gêdrût and Michael' may fairly be translated back into 'Frôwa and Wuotan (or Donar)'. So at p. 198 a 'mons sancti Michaelis' was found applicable to Wuotan or Zio (see Suppl.).

An Irish fairytale makes the spirits of the Silent Folk maintain a violent contest for three nights at the cross-roads, as to which churchyard a human corpse shall be buried in, Ir. elfenm. p. 68. So that elves and dwarfs, as they steal live children and maidens, (p. 386-8), would seem also to have a hankering for our bodies and souls. The souls of the drowned the water-nix keeps in his house (p. 496).

All this leads up to a more exact study of the notions about Death.

¹ The passage is supposed to be founded on a lost book named 'Ἀνάβασις Μωϋσῆς', conf. Grotius ad S. Judae ep. 9, and Fabricii Cod. pseudepigr. V. T. p. 839.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DEATH.

To the olden time Death was not a being that killed, but simply one that fetched away and escorted to the underworld. Sword or sickness killed; Death came in as *messenger of a deity*, to whom he conducted the parting soul. Dying is announced, not caused, by his arrival. So to that child in the fairytale the angel of death had given a flower-bud: when it blossomed, he would come again.

And the Jewish notion, which Christianity retained, is in harmony with this. The soul of the beggar is *fetchèd away* by angels of God, and carried into Abraham's bosom, Luke 16, 22; or, as the Heliand 103, 5 expresses it: 'Godes engilôs andfengon is ferh, endi lédðon ine an Abrahâmes barm';¹ and it completes the picture of the rich man's fate by adding the counterpart (103, 9): 'lêtha wihti bisenkidun is sêola an thene suarton hel,' loathly wights (devils) sank his soul into swart hell. A sermon in Leyser 126 has: 'wane ir ne wizzit niht, zu welicher zît der *bote* (messenger) unsert herren Gotis zu ture clopfe (may knock at the door). Welich ist der *bote*? daz ist der Tôt (death)'; and 161: 'nu quam ouch der *gemeine bote* (general messenger), der nieman ledic lât (lets alone), wie lange im maniger vorgât, daz ist der gewisse tôt.' 'Dô der Tôt im sîn zuokunft enbôt (announced), sô daz er in *geleite*,' he might escort him, Greg. 20.

There is no substantial difference between this and the older heathen view. *Halja, Hel*, the death-goddess, does not destroy, she receives the dead man in her house, and will on no account give him up. To kill a man is called sending him to her. Hel

¹ It is a beautiful image, that the dying return to God's bosom, children to that of their father, whence they had issued at birth. But the same thing was known to our heathenism, which called newborn and adopted children 'bosom-children, wish-children,' RA. 455. 464, and interpreted *dying* as departing to Wuotan, to Wish (p. 145). To heathens then, as well as christians, to die was to fare to God, to enter into God's rest and peace, 'Metod seon,' Beow. 2360, 'fêran on Freân wære,' the Lord's peace 52. So, to be buried is to fall into the mother's bosom (p. 642); mother and father take their children into their keeping again.

neither comes to fetch the souls fallen due to her,¹ nor sends messengers after them. The dead are left alone to commence the long and gloomy journey; shoes, ship and ferry-money, servants, horses, clothes, they take with them from home for the hell-way. Some ride, others sail, whole companies of souls troop together: no conductor comes to meet them.

There were other gods besides, who took possession of souls. The sea-goddess Rân draws to herself *with a net* all the bodies drowned within her province (p. 311). Water-sprites in general seem fond of detaining souls: dame Holle herself, at whose dwelling arrive those who fall into the well (pp. 268. 822), has a certain resemblance to Hel (see Suppl.).

It is another matter with the souls destined for Valhöll. Oðinn *sends out the valkyrs to take up* all heroes that have fallen in fight, and *conduct* them to his heaven (p. 418): wish-maidens fetch his wish-sons, ‘*þær hiósa feigrð á menn,*’ Sn. 39. Their attendance and the heroes’ reception are splendidly set forth in the Hâkonarmâl. But these *messengers* also take charge of heroes while alive, and protect them until death: they are *guardian-angels* and *death-angels*. How beautiful, that the gracious god, before he summons them, has provided his elect with an attendant spirit to glorify their earthly path!

I can see a connexion between valkyrs and *Hermes*, who is wielder of the wishing-rod (p. 419) and conductor of souls to the underworld, *ψυχαγωγός, ψυχοπομπός, νεκροπομπός*. These maids are Oðinn’s messengers, as *Hermes* is herald of the gods, nay *Hermes is Oðinn* himself, to whom the souls belong. Thus the god’s relation to the dead is an additional proof of the identity between *Wuotan* and *Mercury*. A distinction appears in the fact that *Hermes*, like the Etruscan *Charun* (O. Müller 2, 100), conducts to Hades, but not, as far as I know, to Elysium; valkyrs, on the contrary, to Valhöll, and not to Hel. Further, the function of guardian-spirit is wanting to *Hermes*.

This idea of a protecting spirit finds expression more in the personified *Thanatos* (death) of the Greek people’s faith. He is pictured as a genius, with hand on cheek in deep thought, or

¹ It is only in a dream-vision that she appears: ‘*postera nocte eidem Proserpina per quietem adstare aspecta postridie ejus complexu usuram denunciat. nec inane somnii praesagium fuit.*’ Saxo Gram. p. 43.

setting his foot on the psyche (soul) as if taking possession of her ; often his hands are crossed over the extinguished torch. At times he appears *black* (like Hel, p. 313) or *black-winged* (atris alis) : τὸν δὲ πεσόντα εἶλε μέλας θάνατος, ψυχὴ δ' ἔκ σώματος ἔπτῃ (Batrach. 207)¹, and ἀλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν (ibid. 85). But usually the departing dead is represented riding a *horse*, which a *genius leads* : an *open door* betokens the departure, as we still throw open a *door* or *window* when any one dies (Superst. I, 664). As a symbol, the *door* alone, the *horse's head* alone, may express the removal of the soul.² The Roman genius of death seems to announce his approach or the hour of parting by *knocking at the door* ;³ a knocking and poking at night is ghostly and ominous of death (see Suppl.).

Roman works of art never give Death the shape of a female like Halja, though we should have expected it from the gender of *mors*, and originally the people can scarcely have conceived it otherwise ; the Slavic *smrt*, *smert* (the same word) is invariably fem., the Lith. *smertis* is of either gender, the Lett. *nahwe* fem. alone. And the Slav. *Morena*, *Marana* (Mořena, Marzana), described p. 771, seems to border closely on *smrt* and *mors*.

These words find an echo in Teutonic ones. *Schmerz*, *smart*, we now have only in the sense of pain, originally it must have been the pains of death, as our *qual* (torment) has to do with *quellan*, AS. *cwellan*, Eng. *kill* :⁴ the OHG. MHG. and AS. have alone retained the strong verb *smërzan*, *smërzen*, *smeortan* (*dolere*). OHG. *smërza* is fem., MHG. *smërze* masc., but never personified. *Nahwe* answers to the Goth. masc. *náus*, pl. *naveis*, *funus* (conf. ON. *nár*, *náinn* p. 453), as *θάνατος* too can mean a corpse.⁵ But this Grk. word has the same root as the Goth. *dáuþus*, OHG. *tód*

¹ One would suppose from this passage, that Death took only the corpse of the fallen to himself, that the soul flew away to Hades, for it is said of her in v. 235 αἰδώς δὲ βεβήκει.

² O. Müller's Archäol., ed. 2, pp. 604. 696. For the horse's head, conf. Boeckh's Corp. inscr. no. 800. Marm. Oxon. p. 2, no. 63-7. R. Rochette's Monum. inéd. 1, 126. Pausan. vii. 25, 7. Gerhard's Antike bildw. p. 407.

³ Hor. Od. i. 4, 13 : *pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumque turres.*

⁴ Constant use will soften down the meaning of the harshest terms ; we had an instance in the Fr. *gêne*, p. 800n.

⁵ Goth. *leik* (*corpus*, *caro*), our *leiche*, *leichnam*, Eng. *lich* (*cadaver*) ; the OHG. *hrêo*, AS. *hræw*, MHG. *rê* (*cadaver*, *funus*), and Goth. *hráiv* (whence *hráiva-dubó*, *mourner-dove*) are the Lat. *corpus*.

(orig. tôdu) masc., OS. *dôd*, *dôð*, AS. *deáð*, ON. *dauði*, all masc., the M. Nethl. *dôt* having alone preserved the fem. gender, which is however compatible with the Gothic form. The verb in Gothic is *diva*, *dáu* (mорий), standing in the same relation to *θνήσκω*, *θανον*, *θάνατος* as the Gothic *Tiv* to the Slavic *dan* (day, p. 195). The ON. *dauði* I find used only of the condition, not of the person, while the Goth. *dáubus* does express the latter in 1 Cor. 15, 55 (see Suppl.).

To this affinity of words corresponds a similarity of sentiments. The most prominent of these in our old poets seem to be the following.

As all spirits *appear suddenly*,¹ so does Death; no sooner named or called, than he comes: 'hie *náhet* der Tôt manigem manne,' Roth. 277^b. 'daz in *náhet* der Tôt,' Nib. 2106, 4. 'dô *náhte* im der Tôt' 2002, 3. 'Mors *praesens*,' Walthar. 191. 'der Tôt *gêt* dir vaste zuo,' Karl 69^b. He lurks in the background as it were, waiting for *call* or *beck* (Freidank 177, 17. 'dem Tôte *winken*,' beckon to D., Renn. 9540). Like fate, like Wurt, he is *nigh* and *at hand* (p. 406). Like the haunting homesprite or will o' wisp, he rides on people's necks: 'der Tôt mir *sitzet úf dem kragen*,' Kolocz. 174. '*stét vor der tür*,' Diut. 2, 153. A story in Reusch (no. 36) makes Death sit *outside the door*, waiting for it to open; he therefore catches the soul as it goes out.

Luckless life-weary men call him to their side, complain of his delay: '*Tôt*, nu nim dîn teil an mir!' now take thy share of me, Wh. 61, 2. '*Tôt*, daz du mich nu kanst sparn!' 61, 12. '*wá nú Tôt*, du nim mich hin!' Ecke 145.² '*Mort*, qar me pren, si me delivre!' Ren. 9995. 'Mors, cur tam sera venis?' Rudl. 7, 58. 'ô wê *Tôt*, dazt' ie sô lange mîn verbære!' shouldst forbear, shun me, MsH. 1, 89^a. 'por ce requier à Dieu la mort,' Méon nouv. rec. 2, 241. We know the Aesopic fable of the old man and Thanatos. To wish for death is also called *seeking Death*,³ *sending for Death*, having him fetched: 'jâ wænet des der degen,

¹ Supra p. 325. Reinhart p. liii. cxxx.; like Night, Winter, and the Judgment-day, Death 'breaks in.'

² So beasts of prey are invited, Er. 5832: '*wá nú hungerigiu tier*, bêde wolf und ber, iwer einz (one of you) kume her und ezze uns beide!'

³ Straparola 4, 5 tells of a young man who from curiosity started off to hunt up Death.

ich habe gesant nâch Tôde (he fancies I have sent for D.): *ich wil's noch lenger pflegen,*' Nib. 486, 5. Of a slothful servant it is said *he is a good one to send after Death*, i.e. he goes so slow, you may expect to live a good while longer. This saying must have been widely diffused: 'en lui avon bon mesagier por querre *la Mort* et cerchier, que il revendroit moult à tart,' Ren. 5885. 'du werst ein bot gar guot zuo schicken nach dem Todt, du kommst nit bald,' H. Sachs 1, 478^c. 'werst gut nach dem Tod zu schicken' iv. 3, 43^d. Fischart geschichtkl. 84^a. 'du är god att skicka efter Döden,' Hallman p. 94. 'bon à aller chercher la mort,' Pluquet contes p. 2. In Boh.: 'to dobré gest pro Smrt posjlati,' Jungmann 4, 193^a. Can this lazy servant be connected with *Gánglati* and *Gánglöt*, the man and maid servant of the ancient Hel? Sn. 33.

Death takes the soul and carries it away: '*hina fuartanan Tôd,*' O. i. 21, 1. 'dô quam der Tôt und *nam in hin,*' Lohengr. 186. 'er *begrîfet,*' Gregor. 413. Diut. 3, 53. *ergreif,* gript, Greg. 19, an expression used also of Sleep, the brother of Death, when he falls upon and overpowers: 'der Slâf in *begreif,*' Pf. Chuonr. 7076. He presses men into his house, the door of which stands open: 'gegen im het der Tôt *sînes hûses tür entlochen* (unlocked),' Bit. 12053. 'der Tôt weiz manige sâze (trick), swâ er wil dem menschen schaden und in *heim ze hûs laden* (entice),' Türh. Wh. 2281. 'dô in der Tôt *heim nam in sîn gezimmer* (building),' 'brâht *heim in sîn geniure* (walls),' Lohengr. 143. 150. These are deviations from the original idea, which did not provide him with a dwelling of his own; or is he here an equivalent for Hel?

Probably, like all messengers (RA. 135), like Hermes the conductor of souls, he carries a *staff*, the symbol of a journey, or of delegated authority. With this wand, this rod (of wish), he touches whatever has fallen due to him: '*la Mort de sa verge le toucha,*' Méon 4, 107.¹

To Death is ascribed a *highway*, levelled smooth and kept in repair, on which the dead travel with him: '*des Tôdes pfat wart g'ebenet,*' Turl. Wh. 22^a. 23^b. 'dâ moht *erbouwen* der Tôt *sîn strâze,*' Bit. 10654. 'nu seht, wie der Tôt umbe sich mit krefteu

¹ In Danse Macabre p. m. 55, *trois verges* are wielded by Death.

hât gebouwen,' Kl. 829. Like a shifty active servant, he *greases the boots* of the man he comes to fetch, in preparation for the great journey; in Burgundy his arrival is expressed in the phrase: '*quan la Mor venré graisse no bote,*' quand la Mort viendra graisser nos bottes; Noei Borguignon p. 249 (see Suppl.).

A thoroughly heathen feature it is, to my thinking, that he appears *mounted*, like the valkyrs; on horseback he fetches away, he *sets the dead on his own horse*. In a folksong of wide circulation the lover, dead and buried far away, comes at midnight and rides off with his bride.¹ Possibly that *horse's head* at p. 841 stands more for Death's horse than for the dead man's. Both Hel and her messenger, like other gods, had doubtless a horse at their service; this is confirmed by certain phrases and fancies that linger here and there among the people. One who has got over a serious illness will say: '*jeg gav Döden en skiäppe havre*' (Thiele 1, 138), he has appeased Death by sacrificing to him a bushel of oats for his horse. So the heathen fed the horse of Wuotan (p. 154), of dame Gaue (p. 252); the Slavs did the same for their Svantevit and Radegast (p. 661). Of one who blunders in noisily they say, in Denmark as above: '*han gaaer som en helhest,*' he goes like a hel-horse, Dansk ordb. 2, 545^a. There are more things told of this *hel-hest*: he goes round the churchyard on his three legs, he fetches Death. One folktale has it, that in every churchyard, before it receives human bodies, a live horse is buried, and this is what becomes the walking dead-horse (Thiele 1, 137); originally it was no other than the Death-goddess riding round. Arnkiel quotes 1, 55 the Schleswig superstition, that in time of plague '*die Hell*² *rides about on a three-legged horse, destroying men*'; if at such a time the dogs bark and howl in the night (for dogs are spirit-seers), they say '*Hell is at the dogs*'; when the plague ceases, '*Hell is driven away*'; if a man on the brink of death recovers, '*he has come*

¹ 'The moon shines bright, *the dead ride fast,*' Bürger's life p. 37. Wh. 2, 20. 't maantje schijnt zo hel, mijn paardtjes lope zo snel,' Kinderm. 3, 77. 'mänan skiner, *dödman rider,*' Sv. vis. 1, liii. and even in the Edda: '*rida menn dauðir,*' Sæm. 166^b. 167^a. Norw. 'manen skjine, *döman grine, värte du ikkje räd?*' Conf. the Mod. Grk. song in Wh. Müller 2, 64, and Vuk 1, no. 404.

² He writes '*der Hell,*' masc.; but the Plattdeutsch, when they attempt H. Germ., often misuse the article, e.g. '*der Pest*' for '*die Pest.*'

to terms with Hell.' Here, as in other cases, the notion of Death has run into one with the personified plague. In our own medieval poems we never read of Death riding about, but we do of his loading his horse with souls. Thus, in describing a battle: 'seht, ob der Tôt dâ iht *sîn soumer lüede* (loaded his sumpter at all)? jâ er was unmuëzee gar (high busy),' Lohengr. 71. 'daz ich des Tôdes vuoder mit in *lüed und vazzet!*' Ottocar 448^a. The Mod. Greeks have converted old ferryman *Χάρων* into a death's-messenger *Χάρος*; you see him crossing the mountains with his dusky throng, himself riding, the young men walking before him, the old following behind, and the tender babes ranged on his saddle.¹ The Lübeck Dance of Death makes him ride on a lion, and he is so represented in a picture also, Douce p. 160. 'Mortis *habenae*,' Abbo de bellis Paris. 1, 187. 322 (see Suppl.).

The dead march like captives in *Death's bonds*; to the Indian imagination likewise he leads them away bound.² 'ei, waz nû dem Tôde geschicket wart an *sîn seil* (to his rope)!' Lohengr. 115. 'maueger quam an des Tôdes *seil*' 123. 'in Tôdes *sîl stigen*,' Ls. 3, 440. 'zuo dem Tôde wart *geseilet*,' Geo. 2585. 'wê dir Tôt! dîn *slôz* und dîn *gebende bindet und besliuzet*,' Wigal. 7793. 'der Tôt hât mich *gevangen*,' Karl 81^b. Greg. 50.

As the old divinity of the lower world fell into the background, and Death came forward acting for himself, there could not but ensue a harsher reading of his character, or a confounding of him with other gods. From the silent messenger who did no more than punctually discharge his duty, he becomes a grasping greedy foe, who will have his bond, who sets traps for mortals. Already O. v. 23, 260 imputes to him crafty *besuïchan* (decipere), and Conrad *strik* (meshes) and *netzegarn*, Troj. 12178, which reminds of the goddess Rân with her net (pp. 311. 840). We think of him still under the familiar figure of a fowler or fisher, spreading his toils or baiting his hook for man: 'dô kam der Tôt als ein *diep* (thief), und *stal* dem reinen wîbe daz leben ûz ir lîbe (the life out of her body),' Wigal. 8033.³ But he uses

¹ Τὰ τρυφερὰ παιδῶπουλα ἴς τὴν σελλ' ἀρραδιασμένα, Fauriel 2, 228. Wh. Müller 2, 8; conf. Kind 1849, p. 14.

² Bopp's Sündflut, pp. 37. 50. In Buhez santez Nonn p. 205, Death says 'j'attire tout dans mes liens à mon gîte.'

³ Life-stealer, man-slayer, names for Death.

open violence too, he *routs out*, pursues and *plunders*, Nib. 2161, 3. 2163, 1; he '*bifalta sie*,' felled them, O. iii. 18, 34; '*mich hat der Tôt gevangen*,' clutched, Greg. 50; he *juget*, hunts, Roth. 2750, *bekrellet* (claws?), Fundgr. 196, 20; and the Bible has the same thing: in Ps. 91, 3—6 he comes out as a hunter with *snares* and *arrows*. His messenger-staff has turned into a *spear* which he hurls, an *arrow* which he discharges from the bow. Worth noting are the Renn. 24508: '*wirt dem des Tôdes sper gesandt*;' and Freid. 177, 24: '*der Tôt gât her, der widerseit uns an dem sper*,' defies us at point of lance; a reading which I prefer to the accepted one '*âne sper*,' without spear. Oðinn has a spear Gûngnir (p. 147) whose thrust or throw was fatal. The Lith. *Smertis* comes as a warrior with *sword* and *pike*, riding in a chariot, i.e. in the form of a god. All this carries with it the idea of Death having a regular *fight* and *wrestle* with man, whom he overpowers and brings to the ground: '*mit dem Tôde vehen*,' fence with D., MS. 2, 82^b. '*der Tôt wil mit mir ringen* (wrestle),' Stoufenb. 1126. '*dô ranc er mit dem Tôde*,' Nib. 939, 2. '*alsô der Tôt hie mit ime rank*,' Ecke 184; and we still speak of the death agony, though without any thought of a personality. In a Mod. Grk song a daring youth *wrestles* with Charos on smooth marble from morn till midday; at the hour of eve Death flings him down. In another case Charos takes the shape of a *black swallow*, and shoots his arrow into a maiden's heart.¹ A doubtful passage in Beow. 3484 we ought perhaps to refer to Death, who is there called a destroyer that shoots with arrow-bow of fire: '*bona, se þe of flânbogan fýrenum sceoteð*;' conf. the Serv. *krvnik*, bloodshedder p. 21. Brun von Schonebeke makes Death wield a *scourge of four strings*; and our MHG. poets lend him an *arrow* and *battle-axe*: '*des Tôdes strâle het si gar versniten*,' cut them up, Tit. 3770. '*wâ snidet des Tôdes barte*,' Wh. 3, 220 (Cod. cass.). The '*isernporte*' in a Meister-song of the 14th cent. (Hagen's Mus. 2, 188) means surely *isernbarte*? Here Death promises a *thousand years' grace*, should his adversary gain the victory (see Suppl.).²

¹ Wh. Müller 2, 4. 6; conf. Tommaseo's *Canti popolari* 3, 301 seq.

² Our poets too are no strangers to the idea of Death *prosecuting at law* his claim upon a man: '*do begunde der Tôt einen grâven beclagen und mit gewalte twingen ze nôtigen dingen*,' accuse a count and drive him to straits, Iw. 5625 seq.

In such a conflict, however, Death must appear as the leader of a *large* and ever increasing *army*. There is a following, a retinue assigned him: 'der Tôt suochte sêre dâ sîn *gesinde* was,' Nib. 2161, 3. The Greeks set us the fashion of calling the dead *οἱ πλείονες* the majority, and *ἐς πλείονων ἰκέσθαι* meant the same as *ἐς Ἄιδου ἰκ.*, to reach the abode of the great multitude, join the great host, as we still say. In the 'Bohemian Ploughman,' Death is styled *captain of the mountain*; because, as in the Greek song (p. 845), the march of his army covers the mountains? 'In des Tôdes *schar varn*,' fare to D.'s host, Wh. v. Orl. 2113. 'ist *an die vart*,' gone his way (obit), Walth. 108, 6. Though taking no part in the fight, the dead seem to *bear a badge* (flag or lance), which, so to speak, he fastens on the dying, with which he touches them, enrolls them in his band.¹ That is how I understand 'des Tôdes *zeichen tragen*,' Nib. 928, 3. 2006, 1, though it may include the collateral sense of having received a death-wound, which now serves as his badge and cognisance. Hence in Nib. 939, 3: 'des Tôdes *zeichen* ie ze sêre sneit,' D.'s token aye too sore he cut; where one MS. reads *wâfen* (arms), and elsewhere we find 'eines *wâfen tragen*,' carry some one's arms, Parz. 130, 4. Freidank 74, 18. Wigal. 7797, and even 'des tôdes *wâpen* (coat of arms) *tragen*,' Wh. 17, 16. 'Tristandes *zeichen vüeren*,' Heinr. Trist. 2972, is to be wounded like him. So far back as Ælfred's Boeth. p. 16 (Rawl.) we have 'Deaðes *tâcnung*'; even Zio's or Tiwes *tâcen* p. 200, and Oðin's *spear* p. 147 are worth considering (see Suppl.).²

With the idea of messengership and that of the great company were associated some others, which probably reach a long way

the count is called 'der verlorne, wand' er muose im ze suone (satisfaction) *geben* beide sîn gesunt und sîn leben.' So Iw. 7161 speaks of having to '*gelten* (pay) *vür* des Tôdes *schelten*'; and the same perhaps is meant by 'der Tôt hát úf si *gesworn*,' Nib. 2017, 5. In the 'Aekermann aus Böhmen' on the contrary, Death is the defendant, and a man whose wife he has carried off is prosecutor. Similar law-suits are brought by the *Devil*. 'Nu kune vil grimmelecher Tôt, und rihte Gote von uns beiden!' MS. 1, 17. Observe too 'mit des Tôdes *hantreste übersigelet*,' sealed with D.'s sign manual, Wh. 391, 27. The Indian god of death, Yama, is a lord of law.

¹ Conf. 'einem des Tôdes *muoder* (mieder) *sniden*,' Titur.; to cut D.'s coat on (or for) a man.

² It is worthy of note, that in the Meister-song already quoted (Mus. 2, 187) Death says: 'be ready, when I send thee my messengers (the infirmities) to *give thee the signs*, to mark thee for my own. Death, orig. a messenger himself, sends out under-messengers. Conf. Kinderm. no. 177. Even the O. Fr. Chanson des Saxons 2, 134 has: 'la Morz le *semont* sovent et menu,' viz. by fainting-fits.

back. *Messengers* in ancient times were often fiddlers and pipers : it was nothing out of the way, to make Death and his meny perform a *reihen* (rig, round dance) ; with fife and fiddle he seeks to win recruits. Really a pleasant fancy, tending to mitigate the harshness of dying : the souls of the dead enter at once upon dancing and revelry. To the ancient Romans there were *songs and dances* in the Elysian fields ;¹ and it accords with the resemblance of departed spirits to elves, who also love music and dancing (p. 470). Yet our poets of the 13th cent. never once allude to the *Dance of Death*, which from the 15-16th became such a favourite subject. The oft-recurring phrase ‘er hât *den Tôt an der hant*,’ by the hand (Nib. 1480, 4. 1920, 4. 1958, 4. Wigal. 2453. 4700. Alph. 286. 345. 359) seems to mean, not catching hold for the purpose of dancing, but of leading away (like ‘*dôd is at hendi*,’ p. 406).

Holy Scripture having already likened our fleeting life to grass, it was not difficult to see in Death a *mower* or *reaper*, who cuts men down like flowers and corn-stalks. *Knife, sickle, or scythe* is found him in this connexion : ‘There’s a reaper they call Death, Power from God most high he hath, He whets his knife to-day, Keener it cuts the hay ; Look to thyself, O flowret fair !’ Pop. Hymn. The older poets never give him these implements, but the figure of ‘Death carried out’ is sometimes furnished with a *scythe* (p. 772). In later times the *harpé* (sickle) of the Greek Kronos (O. Müller’s Archäol. p. 599) may have had an influence too, conf. *falcitenens* in Radevicus 2, 11. To ‘match men with flowers, make them bite the grass,’ Lohengr. 138, is said equally of other conquerors beside Death. But he weeds out the plants : ‘in lebens garten der Tôt nu *jat*,’ Turl. Wh. 23^b. Conversely Death, like the devil, is called a *sower*, who disseminates weeds among men ; ‘*dô der Tôt sînen sâmen* under si gesæte,’ Wh. 361, 16. ‘er *ier* durch in *des Tôdes furch*,’ he eared through him D.’s furrow, Ulr. Trist. 3270, simply means : he planted in him a mortal wound (see Suppl.).

Before explaining certain other conceptions, I have to enumerate the names and epithets of Death in our old poetry.

¹ Virg. Aen. 6, 644 : pars pedibus plaudunt *choreas* et *carmina* dicunt. Tibull. 3, 59 : hic *choreae cantusque* vigent.

Very commonly he is called 'der grimme,' furious, Roth. 2750. Nib. 1360, 4. 1553, 3. Mar. 218. Flore 1931. Troj. 2317-25. 10885. Ls. 3, 124; ¹—'der ferchgrimme,' Morolt 4059, a felicitous compound, as Death has designs upon the life or soul (ferch); —'der grimrige,' Roth. 517. Reinh. 360. 1248. Berthold 303; —'der bittere' (πικρὸς θάνατος) and 'amara Mors,' ² Rudl. 1, 110. Unibos 117, 4. Diut. 3, 89. Mar. 206. Alex. (Lampr.) 820. 1097. 3999. 4782. Gr. Ruod. C^b 15. Wh. 253, 28. Wigal. 1113; —'der bitterliche,' Troj. 3521. 22637; —'der sûre,' sour, Parz. 643, 24; —'der scharfe': ein scharpher bote, Freid. 21, 6; —'der irre,' Amgb. 29^a in Wizlau neighbhd. therefore prob. for *ërre*, ireful; —'der gemeine,' common (qui omnes manet), En. 2081. All, so far, epithets taken from his unavoidableness, cruelty, bitterness; not a hint about his personal presence. Nowhere is he the black, the pale, after the Latin 'mors atra, pallida.' Otto II was called '*pallida mors Saracenorum*,' Cod. lauresh. 1, 132; and in Renner 23978. 80 I find 'der gelwe tôt,' yellow d.; in both cases the aspect of the dead, not of Death, is meant. So when Walth. 124, 38 says of the world, that it is 'innân swarzer varwe, vinsten sam der tôt,' inwardly black of hue, dark as death, he means the abode of the dead, hell, not the figure of Death. In one song he is addressed as 'lieber Tôt!' dear D. (Hagen's Mus. 2, 187), and H. Sachs i. 5, 528^d speaks of him as 'der heilig Tod,' holy D.; 'her Tôt!' Sir D., again in voc. case only, Apollonius 295 and often in the Ackerman aus Böhmen (see Suppl.).

It is more important to our inquiry, that in the Reinardus 3, 2162 a bone fiddle is said to be 'ossea ut dominus Blicero,' by which nothing but Death can have been meant, whether the word signify the pale (bleich), or the grinning (blekend), or be, as I rather think, the proper name *Blidger*, *Blicker* with a mere suggestion of those meanings. A *bony horse's head* is here handed in mockery to the wolf as a skilful player (joculandi gnarus) by way of fiddle, 'bony as a skeleton.' And now that unexplained *caput caballinum* at p. 661n. may be interpreted as in fact a sym-

¹ Der *grimme tôt*, the name of a knife (Wolfd. 1313), is remarkable, as Hel's knife was called *sultr* (p. 313) from *svelta* esurire, which in the Goth. *sviltan* takes the meaning of mori.

² Isidore even says, 'mors dicta quod sit amara.'

bol of Death (p. 844) and the dead-man's steed (p. 841). As the convent clergy set up human death's-heads in their cells for a memento mori, may not they also have nailed up *horse's skulls* inside their walls? did an older heathen custom, here as in so many instances, have a christian thought breathed into it? If this holds good, we can see why the horse's head should have set the Flemish poet thinking of Death; it may even be, that fanatic sculptors used to fashion Death as playing on it instead of a fiddle or fife.¹

In any case *dominus Blicero* proves that in the middle of the 12th cent. it was the practice to represent Death as a *skeleton*. I do not know of any earlier evidence, but think it very possible that such may be hunted up. We know that to the ancient Romans fleshless shrivelled-up masks or *skeletons* served to indicate Death.² On tombs of the Mid. Ages, no doubt from an early time, corpses were sculptured as whole or half *skeletons* (see Suppl.). Poets of the 13th cent. paint the *World* (p. 792n.) as a beautifully formed woman in front, whose back is covered with snakes and adders:³ the notion itself may be of much higher antiquity; it is closely related to the story of three live and three dead kings.⁴

This mode of representing Death, which soon became universal, stands in sharp contrast with the ancient portraitures and the old heathen conceptions of him. The engaging form of the genius, akin to Sleep, the childlike Angel of death, is now supplanted by a ghastly figure copied from the grim reality of corruption in the grave. Yet even here poetry steps in with her all-embracing, all-mellowing influence. The older conceptions of Death as *leading away*, as *attacking*, as *dancing*, applied to this new and hideous figure, have called forth a host of truly popular, naïve and humorous art-productions; nay, their wealth is not nearly exhausted by the artists yet. Without this *bag of bones*

¹ *Todenpfeife* is a place in Lower Hesse, Rommel 5, 375. Remigius demonol. 145 says, at witches' gatherings they played on a dead *horse's head* instead of a cithern: a coincidence almost decisive. Philand. von Sittew. (p. m. 174) has also a Death with his lyre.

² O. Müller's Archäol. 696-7. Lessing 8, 251-2.

³ The poem was printed before the Wigalois.

⁴ Staphorst i. 4, 263. Bragur 1, 369. O. Fr. 'les trois mors et les trois vis,' Roquefort 2, 780. Catal. de la Vallière p. 285-6; conf. Douce p. 31 seq. and Catal. of MSS. in Brit. Mus. (1834) 1, 22 (Cod. Arund. no. 83 sec. xiv), also plate 7.

aping the garb and gestures of the living,¹ and his startling incongruity with the warm life around, all the charm and quaintness of those compositions would be gone. Less enjoyable must have been the processions and plays in which these spectacles were exhibited in France during the 15th cent. and perhaps earlier; there and then originated that peculiar name for the Dance of Death: *chorea Machabaeorum*, Fr. *la danse Macabre*.²

Another name of Death, much later seemingly than Blicher, but now universally known, is *Freund Hein* or *Hain*; I cannot even trace it up to the middle of last century.³ In itself it looks old and fitting enough, and is susceptible of more than one explanation. Considering that Death has so many points of contact with giants and other spirits, the name *Heine* (p. 503) might be borrowed from the homesprite for one, and the addition of *Friend* would answer to the 'fellow, neighbour, goodfellow' of those elvish beings whom we meet with under the name of *Heimchen*, *Heinchen* (pp. 275. 459n.), and who border closely on the idea of departed spirits. Add the L. Germ. term for a winding-sheet, *heinenkleed* (p. 446). But it is also spelt *hüenenkleed*, which brings us to 'heun, hüene,' giant (p. 523); and Hein itself might be explained as *Heimo* (p. 387), or *Hagano* (p. 371). A Voigtland story of the god *Hain* (Jul. Schmidt, p. 150), or the Thuringian one about an ancient *haingott*, grove-god (Rosencranz's *Neue zeitschr.* i. 3, 27), being themselves very doubtful, I am not inclined to fasten on our still doubtful Friend Hein. Still less attention is due to a name for mortuary, 'hainrecht,'⁴ coming as it probably does from heimrecht, *i.e.* heimfall, lapse of property.

¹ As the beasts in a fable ape those of men.

² Latest writings on the Dance of Death: Peignot, 'Recherches sur les danses des morts' (1826). F. Douce, 'The Dance of Death' (1833). The latter derives *Macabre* from St. *Macarius*, to whom three skeletons appeared in a vision. I do not see how '*chorea Machabaeorum*,' as the oldest authorities have it, could have come from that; conf. Carpentier sub v. (a. 1424-53). It ought to appear by the old paintings, that the 7 heroes of the O.T. martyred in one day [2 Maccabees 7] were incorporated as leading characters in the dance. Perhaps it is more correct to explain 'macabre' from the Arabic *magabir*, *magabaragh* (dead-yard, cimeterium). On the French performances conf. Michelet's *Hist. de France* 4, 409-412 (Paris 1840).

³ It is used by Musäus (Volksm. 1, 16), Claudius and Gotter. J. R. Schellenberg in Pref. to *Freund Heins erscheinungen* (Winterthur 1785) thinks Claudius in his *Asmus* (after 1775) invented the name, which I very much doubt; he has given it currency.

⁴ Mittermaier's *Privatrecht* § 77, no. 27.

Kaisersberg calls Death *holz-meier*, wood-mower. He wrote a book, *De arbore humana* (Strasb. 1521 fol.), 'wherein easily and to the glory of God ye may learn to await blithely the *woodcutter Death*.' Then, p. 118^b: 'So is death called a *village-mower* or *wood-mower*, and justly hath he the name, for he hath in him the properties of a *wood-cutter*, as, please God, ye shall hear. The first property of the *village-mower* is *communitas*, he being possessed in common by all such as be in the village, and being to serve them all alike. So is the *wood-cutter* likewise common to all the trees, he overlooketh no tree, but heweth them down all.'¹ Here Death is regarded as a forester, a ranger, who has a right to fell any of the forest-trees. It is said that in some places the gravedigger is called *holzmeier*.

In the *Deutsche Schlemmer*, a drama of the 16th cent., Death is called the pale *Streckefuss* or *Streckebein* (leg-stretcher), as Gryphius too (*Kirchhofsged.* 36) names him *Streckfuss*, because he stretches out the limbs of the dying, loosens them (*λυσιμελής*); and before that, the twice quoted Meister-song of the 14th cent. has: 'er hat kein ru, er hab *gestreckt mir das fell* (my skin),' Hag. mus. 2, 188. In Chr. Weise's *Drei erz.* 314 I find *Streckebein* and *Bleckezahn*, bleak (*i.e.* bared) teeth; and elsewhere *Dürrbein*, *Klapperbein*, names for a skeleton. The allusion in *kupferbickel* (*Ackern. aus B.* p. 34) remains obscure (see *Suppl.*).

It remains for me to mention certain more fully developed myths respecting Death, which have survived from assuredly a remote antiquity.

H. Sachs (1, 102^b), speaking of Death's arrival, says he *twitches* or *jerks the stool* from under man, tips it over, so that he tumbles to the ground. He takes from him his seat and standing among the living: I suspect there was a fuller story at the back of this. More commonly the same thing is expressed by 'Death has *blown the man's candle out*' (as Bertha blew out the lights of the eyes, p. 277), for the notions of light, life and sojourn among the living, run into one another.² The living principle was linked

¹ The earlier editions in Latin (1514, 115^{b,c}, and 1519, 105^{b,c}) have in parentheses 'der dorfmeiger' and 'der holzmeiger.'

² Wh. 416, 14: 'bi liechter sunnen dā *verlasch* (went out) manegem Sarrazin *sin lieht*.' Lohengr. 133: 'er sluoc in, daz im muose *daz lieht erlischen*.'

to a light, a taper, a brand: when these were wasted, death ensued (pp. 409. 415). Here then the idea of Death is intimately connected with that of fate. The genius *lowers his torch*, reverses it, and the light of life is quenched. For the child as soon as born, the norn has *kindled a light*, to which his thread of life is fastened; possibly even our lighting of tapers in connexion with birthday gifts has reference to this.¹ We have a capitably contrived story of *Gossip Death* (gevatter Tod, Kinderm. no. 44), the conclusion of which represents a subterranean cavern, with thousands of lights burning in endless rows. These are the lives of men, some still blazing as long tapers, others burnt down to tiny candle-ends; but even a tall taper may topple or be tipt over. The preceding part relates, how Death has stood gossip² to a poor man, and has endowed his godson with the gift of beholding him bodily when he approaches the sick, and of judging by his position whether the patient will recover or not.³ The godson becomes a physician, and attains to wealth and honours: if Death stands at the sick man's head, it is all over with him; if at his feet, he will escape. Occasionally the doctor turns the patient round, and circumvents Death; but in the end Death has his revenge, he catches his godson napping, and knocks his candle over.⁴ Throughout this fable Death shews himself friendly, good-natured and indulgent, only in case of absolute need does he fulfil his function; hence too his *gossiphood*⁵ with man, which evidently corresponds to that ancient visit of the norns to the newborn child, and their bestowing gifts on him (pp. 408—12), as in some nursery-tales the fays are invited to stand *godmothers*.⁶ The extinguished light resembles the taper and the brand, to which are linked the lives of Norma-gestr and Meleager (pp. 409. 415). It is then a primitive myth

¹ In the child's game 'If the fox dies I get the skin' (Kinderm. 2, xviii.), a piece of *burning wood* is passed round, and its extinction decides.

² *God-sib* expresses the kinship of god-parents to each other or to the parents.
—TRANS.

³ So the bird charadrius, by looking at or away from you, decides your life or death. Freid. introd. lxxxvi., where a couplet in Tituel 5154-5 and the O.Fr. Bestiaire (Roquef. sub v. caladrio) are left unnoticed.

⁴ May not that 'stool' also, when upset, have knocked the candle over?

⁵ Is Death likewise called the *brother* of man, as he is of Sleep? The 'brøder tót' in Ben. 262 means *fratris mors*.

⁶ The semi-divine norns and fays protect and bestow gifts like christian sponsors.

of heathen Germany; in telling which, Death was pictured, even till recent times, not as a skeleton, but in the shape of a living man or god. We cannot wonder that the story is found with a great many variations, which are collected, though still incompletely, in *Kinderm.* 3, 72: in some of them Death presents his godson with a ring, by which he can judge of diseases.¹ Old Hugo von Trimberg at the close of his work had told a tale 'von dem *Tóde*, wie er ein kint huop (took up),' but there is not much in it (*Bamb. ed.* 23665—722): Death promises to *send* his gossip some *messengers* before he comes to fetch him (as in the *Meister-song* p. 847n.); these are, ringing in the ears, running at the eyes, toothache, wrinkled skin, and grizzled beard. The gossiphood is the only guarantee of any connexion with the later *märchen*.—The resemblance of the OHG. *toto*, godfather, MHG. *tote* (*Parz.* 461, 10. Wh. 7, 21) to *tót*, death, is striking, though strictly the quantity of the vowel keeps the two words apart, and to harmonize them some derivative process must be presupposed. The story never grew out of a play on the words (see *Suppl.*).²

Equally celebrated, but gayer in tone, is the tale of *Death* and *Player Jack* (*Spielhansel*, no. 82; conf. 3, 135—148), who by a spell binds *Death* to a tree, so that nobody dies in the world for seven years. *Welcker* (*Append. to Schwenk* p. 323-4) has pointed out a parallel story in *Pherekydes*, how *Death* is set on by *Zeus* to attack *Sisyphos*, who binds him in strong chains, and then no one can die; *Hades* himself comes and sets *Death* free, and delivers *Sisyphos* into his hands. Our German fable interweaves the *Devil* into the plot. Once the *Devil* was put in possession of hell, he had to take his place beside *Death*, as the alliteration 'death and devil!' couples them together. So *Welnas*, *Wels*, originally the death-god of the Lithuanians and Lettons, got converted into the *Devil*. According to the christian view, *angels* received the souls of the just, *devils* those of the wicked (p. 836); therefore *Death* in coming for souls was divided into a double power, according as he resembled the angel or the devil. As angelic messenger, he comes nearest the christian *Michael*, whose office it was to receive souls (*Morolt*

¹ *Ettner's Unwürid.* doctor p. 290.

² *Conf.* p. 14 on the affinity between *göd* and *góde*.

2660. 2715), conf. p. 836. Of very aged people, who still live on, we say 'Death has *forgotten* to fetch them.' The Nib. Lament 122 has: 'der Tôt *het* ir *minne*, die dâ sterben solden,' D. bore those *in mind* that there should die, or, as Lachmann interprets it, *desired* them for his band (conf. p. 848).

These investigations will hardly have left it doubtful, that the heathen 'Death' is one of a secondary order of gods; hence too he coincides more especially with the semi-divine valkyrs and norns, he is dependent on Oðinn and Hel; of the Grecian gods, it is Hermes and Hades, Persephone and the ferryman Charon that come nearest to him. But his nature is also not unrelated to that of elves, homesprites and genii.

Chap. XXIV. has explained how he got mixed up with one of the time-gods, Winter; no wonder therefore that he now and then reminds us of Kronos.

In our Heldenbuch, *Death* figures as a *false god*, whom the heathen Belligian serves above all other gods, and whose image is demolished by Wolfdietrich. I do not know exactly how to account for this: it must be a diabolic being that is meant.

In the Finnish lays, *Manala* and *Tuonela* are often named together, but as separate beings. One is the underworld, from 'maa,' earth; the other the kingdom of the dead, as *Tuon* (θάνατος) is Death, Halja. In Kalewala, runes 6—9, *Tuonela* seems to be a river of the underworld, with sacred swans swimming on it (see Suppl.).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

DESTINY AND WELL-BEING.

This is the place to insert a more exact survey of ancient opinions on fortune and destiny, than it was possible to take in chap. XVI, where the semi-divine directresses of human fate were spoken of. Fate in the proper sense has so much to do with men's notions about birth, and more especially those about death, and these have only just been expounded. Thus, a man over whom there impends a speedy and inevitable death is said to be *fey*.¹

Our ancestors, like other heathens, appear to have made a distinction between destiny and fortune. Their gods bestow prosperity and bliss: above all, Wuotan is the giver of all good, the maker and author of life and victory (pp. 133-7). But neither he nor any other god was at the beginning of creation, he has himself sprung out of it (p. 559), and can do nothing against a higher constitution of the world, which exempts neither him nor victory-lending Zeus² from a general destruction (pp. 316-8). Some things turn out contrary to his will: Oðinn and all the *âses* cannot prevent the misfortune of Balder; another instance of overruling destiny at p. 425. Ragnarök, the world's destruction, far overtops the power of the gods.

This predetermined and necessary character of all that comes into being and exists and perishes, was expressed by a plural

¹ OHG. *feigi*, MHG. *veige*; OS. *fêgi*, Hel. 72, 4; AS. *fæge*, Beow. 5946; ON. *feigr*. The old meaning of the word has been preserved longest in Lower Saxony [and Scotland]: 'dar is en *veege* in'n huse'; 'en *veegminsche*, dat balde sterven werd (will die soon)'; per contra, 'he is nau nig *veege* (not fey yet)' of a man who comes in when you are talking of him. Also Nethl. 'een *veeg* man (with one foot in the grave), een *veege* teken (sign of death)', hence also *veeg* = debilis, periculis expositus. Our own *feig* has acquired the sense of fainthearted, cowardly, pitiable, as the Lat. *fatalis* has, in the Fr. *fatal*, that of unlucky, disagreeable. So the Lith. *paikas*, bad (see Suppl.).

² Τρώεσσι βούλεται νίκην (Il. 7, 21, 16, 121), as βουλή will, counsel, is usually attributed to Zeus (ἡμῖν βούλεται 17, 331); and sometimes νόος (17, 176) or νόημα, purpose (17, 409). His great power is illustrated by the gold chain (σειρά, Il. 8, 19-28), but passages presently to be cited shew that he had to leave destiny to be decided by the balance.

noun, ON. *scöp*, OS. *giscapu*, AS. *gesceapu*; I have not found an OHG. *scaf*, *kiscaf* in the same sense, though the sing. is forthcoming, and, like the sing. *skap* in ON., signifies indoles, consilium, Graff 6, 450. The later Icelandic uses a masc. *skapnaðr*, and the Dan. *skiebne* (ON. *skepna*=forma, indoles). The OS. intensifies its *giscapu* by prefixes: *wurdigiscapu*, Hel. 103, 7. *reganogiscapu* (supra p. 26), *decreta fati*, *superorum*, where the old heathen notions of *wurd* and *regin* plainly assert themselves. In ON. the neut. pl. *lög* (statuta) is never used of destiny, except when joined to the particle *ör* (for or), *örlög*, which in all the other dialects becomes a sing., OHG. *urlac* (neut.? Graff's quotations 2, 96-7 leave it doubtful, Notker uses *urlag* as masc., pl. *urlaga*), OS. *orlag*, AS. *orlæg*, all denoting a 'fixing from the first;' but as the most momentous issue of fate was to the heathen that of war, it early deviated into the sense of bellum, and in Hel. 132, 3 *urlagi* bellum seems distinct from *orlag*, *orleg* fatum, but in reality both are one. So the OHG. *urteil*, *urteili*, AS. *ordæl*, from being the award of a judge, came to mean that of battle. The OS. compound *aldarlagu* (vitae decretum), Hel. 125, 15 retains the old plural form. Now *aldr*, *aldar* is strictly aevum (p. 792), and *hveila*, OHG. *huila* tempus, but also vitae tempus; hence these words also run into the sense of fatum, conf. AS. *gesceap-hwíl*, *orleg-hwíl*, Beow. 52. 4849. 5817, OS. *orlag-huila*, Hel. 103, 8, and OHG. *huilsálda*.¹ Then there is an ON. *auðna*, Swed. *öde*, destiny, and 'auðinn' fato concessus: 'auðna ræðr hvörs manns lífi,' rules every man's life, Fornald. sög. 1, 95. Our modern words, not introduced till late, *schicksal* (fr. *schicken* aptare, conf. *geschickt* aptus), *verhängnis*, *fügung*, do not come up to the old ones in simplicity or strength.

To the nouns 'scapu, lagu,' correspond the verbs to *shape*, to *lay*, which are used in a special sense of the decrees of fate (pp. 407. 410): 'ist tha kindee *skepen* (is it shaped for the child)' says the O. Fris. Law 49, 10. But we also meet with an ON. *ætla* (destinare, to intend for some one), OHG. *ahtôn* and perhaps *ahtilôn*, MHG. *ahten*, and *beslahten*, as *ahte* and *slahte* are akin to one another (see Suppl.).

¹ *Wilsálda* (fortuna), N. Cap. 20-3-5. 53. 77. MHG. *wilsælde*, Kaiserchr. 1757. Massmann 3, 669. Geo. 61^a. 'diu *wile* mîn und ich müez Got bevolhen sîn,' must be committed to God, Bit. 3^b.

Destiny has principally to do with the beginning and the end of human life. The Wurd visits the newborn and the dying, and it is for one or the other of these events that the above-mentioned names of destiny are mostly used by the poets; thus Beow. 51 speaks of dying 'tô geseaphwîle,' at the appointed time: Hel. 103, 7: 'tho quâmun wurdegiscapu themu ôdagan man, orlaghuîle, that he thit licht farlêt.' The hour of birth too settles much as to the course and outcome of one's life: 'qualem *Nascentia* attulit, talis erit,' and 'Parcae, dum aliquis nascitur, valent eum designare ad hoc quod volunt,' Superst. A, and C 198°. The infant's whole course of life shall be conformable to what the norms or fays in their *visitation* have bestowed, have shaped.¹

It is a deviation from this *oldest* way of thinking, to put the settlement of destiny into the hands of the gods; yet it is a very old one. Undoubtedly the faith of many men began early to place the Highest God *at the very head* of the world's management, leaving those weird-women merely to make known his mandates. The future lies on the lap of the gods, θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται, and with this agrees that 'laying on the lap,' that 'taking to the bosom,' which is performed by the paternal or maternal deity (pp. 642. 839). If above the gods themselves there could be conceived a still higher power, of the beginning and end of all things, yet their authority and influence was regarded by men as boundless and immeasurable, all human concerns were undoubtedly under their control (see Suppl.).

The Gautrekssaga tells us (Fornald. sög. 3, 32), that at midnight *Hrosshârsgrani*² awoke his foster-son Starkaðr, and carried him in his boat to an island. There, in a wood, eleven men sat in council; the twelfth chair stood vacant, but *Hrosshârsgrani* took it, and all saluted him as Oðinn. And Oðinn said, the demsters should deem the *doom* of Starkaðr (*dômendr skyldi døma örlug St.*). Then spake Thôrr, who was wroth with the mother of the lad: I *shape* for him, that he have neither son nor

¹ We still say: 'born in *happy hour*.' OHG. 'mit heilu er giboran ward,' O. Sal. 44. Freq. in the O. Span. Cid: 'el que en *buen ora* nascio, el que en *buen punto* nascio.' From this notion of a good hour of beginning (à la bonne heure) has sprung the Fr. word *bonheur* (masc.) for good hap in general. Similarly, about receiving knighthood, the O. Span. has 'el que en *buen ora* cinxo espada.'

² That is, Grani, Siðgrani, the bearded, a by-name of Oðinn (p. 147).

daughter, but be the last of his race. Oðinn said: I *shape* him, that he live three men's lifetimes (conf. Saxo Gram. p. 103). Thôrr: in each lifetime he shall do a 'nîðings-verk.' Oðinn: I *shape* him, that he have the best of weapons and raiment. Thôrr: he shall have neither land nor soil. Oðinn: I *give* him, that he have store of money and chattels. Thôrr: I *lay* unto him, that he take in every battle grievous wounds. Oðinn: I *give* him the gift of poetry. Thôrr: what he composes he shall not be able to remember. Oðinn: this I *shape* him, that he be prized by the best and noblest men. Thôrr: by the people he shall be hated. Then the demsters awarded to Starkaðr all the doom that was deemed, the council broke up, and Hrosshârsgrani and his pupil went to their boat.

Thôrr plays here exactly the part of the ungracious fay (pp. 411-2), he tries to lessen each gift by a noxious ingredient. And it is not for an infant, but a well-grown boy, and in his presence, that the destiny is shaped.

According to Greek legend, Zeus did not always decide directly, but made use of two *scales*, in which he *weighed* the fates of men, e.g. of the Trojans and Achæans, of Achilles and Hector:

Καὶ τότε δὴ χρύσεια πατὴρ ἐπίταινε τάλαντα
 ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
 Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων.
 ἔλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβῶν ῥέπε δ' αἰσιμον ἡμαρ Ἀχαιῶν.

Il. 8, 69. 22, 209; conf. 16, 658. 19, 223. The same of Aeneas and Turnus, Aen. 12, 723:

Jupiter ipse, *duas* aequato examine *lances*
 sustinet, et *fata* imponit diversa *duorum*,
 quem damnet labor, et quo *vergat* pondere letum.

I am the more particular in quoting these, as the christian legend also provides the archangel Michael, the conductor of souls, with *scales*, in which the good and evil deeds of them that die are weighed against one another, and the destinies of souls determined by the outcome¹ (see Suppl.). The application of a balance to actions, to sins, is very natural; the (apocryphal) 2 Esdras 3, 34

¹ Conf. Deut. S. no. 479; a coll. of authorities in Zappert's *Vita Acotanti* (Vienna 1839), pp. 79, 88.

has: 'nunc ergo pondera *in statera* nostras iniquitates,' and 4, 36: 'quoniam *in statera* ponderavit seculum.'¹ The Jomsvîkingasaga cap. 42 (Fornm. sög. 11, 128-9) describes the magical luck-scales or wishing-scales of Hâkon iarl: 'Sîðan tekr iarl *skâlinir góðar þær* er hann âtti, þær voro gervar af brendu silfri ok gyldar allar, en þar fylgðo 2 *met*, annat af gulli en annat af silfri; â hvârotveggja metino var gert sem væri líkneskja, ok hêto þat hlotar, en þat voro reyndar hlutir, sem mönnum var títt at hafa, ok fylgði þesso náttúra mikil, ok til þess alls, er iarli þótti skipta, þâ hafði hann þessa hluti. Iarl var því vanr at leggja hluti þessa í skâlinnar, ok kvað â hvat hvâr skyldi merkja fyrir honum, ok âvalt er vel gêngo hlutir, ok sâ kom upp, er hann vildi, þâ var sâ ôkyrr hlutrinn í skâlinni, er þat merkði at hann vildi at yrði, ok breysti sâ hlutrinn nokkot svâ í skâlinni, at glam varð af.'

I do not find that in our earlier heathen time the fates of men were calculated from the *stars* at their birth. This kind of soothsaying (p. 721) seems not to have become known till the latter part of the Mid. Ages. Radulphus Ardens (an Aquitanian priest of the 11th cent.) says in his Homilies (Antverp. 1576, p. 41^b): Cavete, fratres, ab eis qui mentiuntur, quod quando quisque nascitur, *stella sua secum nascitur, qua fatum ejus constituitur*, sumentes in erroris sui argumentum, quod hic in scriptura sacra (on the star of the Magi) dicitur '*stella ejus.*' One instance we find in Klinsor's star-gazing on the Wartburg; another in the wishing-wife who *looks into the stars*, Altd. bl. 1, 129 (see Suppl.).

For individuals then, as well as for whole families and nations, length of days and happiness were ordained beforehand.² But the decrees of norms and gods lay shrouded in an obscurity that disclosed its secrets only to the glances of wise men and women (p. 400).³ The people believed in a predetermining of fates, as they did in the certainty of death.

¹ We need not go to 2 Esdras to find plenty of similar passages in the O. T., e.g. 1 Sam. 2, 3. Job 31, 6. Prov. 16, 2. Isa. 26, 7. Dan. 5, 27.—TRANS.

² Not unfrequently depending on their possession of certain things: a *hoard* drags the whole kindred of the Nibelungs to ruin; the gift, the *jewel*, of the dwarfs (p. 457) insures the prosperity of particular families.

³ It is worthy of remark, that, acc. to the ON. view, not all the gods, but only the highest ones possessed a *knowledge of destiny*; so to the Greeks, none but Zeus and those whom he made his confidants knew of it. Of Frigg it is said, Sæm. 63^b: 'at öll örlög viti, þótt hun sialfgi segi,' all fates she knows, but tells not. And

The Old Norse *fatalism* is proved by the following passages: ‘*lagt er alt for,*’ predestined is all; and ‘*era með löstom lögð æfi þer,*’ Sæm. 175^b. ‘*siâ mun gipt lagið â grams æfi,*’ and ‘*munat sköpom vinna,*’ 179^b. ‘*eino dægri mer var aldr um skapaðr oc allt líf um lagit,*’ 83^a. ‘*var þer þar skapat,*’ 164^b. ‘*þat verðr hvern at vinna, er ætlat er*’; ‘*þat man verða fram atkoma, sem ætlat er*’; ‘*ecki man mer þat stoða, ef mer er dauðinn ætlaðr*’; ‘*koma man til mín feigðin, hvar sem ek em staddr, ef mer verðr þess auðit*’, Nialss. pp. 10. 23. 62. 103. So in Swed. and Dan. folksongs: ‘*detta var mig spádt uti míu barndom,*’ Arvidss. 2, 271. ‘*hver skal nyde skiebnen sin,*’ Danske V. 1, 193.

The same with our MHG. poets: ‘*swaz sich sol füegen, wer mac daz understên (what is to happen, who can hinder)?*’ Nib. 1618, 1. ‘*swaz geschehen sol, daz füeget sich,*’ what shall be, will be, Frauend. ‘*dâ sterbent wan die veigen,*’ there die (none) but the fey, Nib. 149, 2. ‘*ez sterbent niuwan die veigen, die lægen doch dô heime tôt,*’ would lie dead though at home, Wigal. 10201. ‘*di veigen fielen dar nider,*’ Lampr. 2031. ‘*hinnerstirbet niman wan di veigen,*’ Pf. Chuonr. 8403. ‘*then veigen mac nieman behuoten, thiû erthe ne mag in niht ûf gehaven (hold up), scol er tha werthen geslagen, er sturve (would die) thoh thaheime,*’ Fr. belli 42^b. ‘*swic ringe er ist, der veige man, in mac ros noch enkan niht vûrbaz getragen,*’ the fey man, however light, no horse can carry farther, Karl 72^b. Rol. 207, 24. ‘*die veigen muosen ligen tôt,*’ Livl. chron. 59^b. ‘*der veigen mac keiner genesen,*’ none recover, ib. 78^a. ‘*ich ensterbe niht vor mînem tac (day),*’ Herb. 53^d. ‘*nieman sterben sol wan zu sînem gesatten zil (goal),*’ Ulr. Trist. 2308. ‘*daz aver (whatever) scol werden, daz nemac nieman erwenden (avert),*’ Diut. 3, 71. ‘*gemach erwenden niht enkan swaz dem man geschehen sol,*’ Troj. 58^c. ‘*daz muose wesen (what had to be), daz geschach,*’ Orl. 11167. ‘*swaz geschehen sol, daz geschiht.*’ Freid. 132^b. MS. 1, 66^a. 71^b. ‘*daz solt eht sîn, nu ist ez geschehen,*’ MS. 74^a. 80^a. ‘*ez geschiht niht wan daz sol geschehen,*’ Lanz. 6934. ‘*ez*

Oðinn says (62^b), that Gefjon knows the world’s destiny (aldar örlög) equally with himself. Among men, particular heroes and priests spy out the secrets of the future, preëminently Grípir (p. 94); to women, to priestesses, belonged the gift of divination.

ergât doch niht, wan *als ez sol,*' Trist. 6776. 'tot avenra qanque *doit avenir,*' Ogier 7805. 'bin ich *genislich,* sô genise ich,' if I was made to live thro' it, I shall, A. Heinr. 190. 'swaz ich getuon (do), bin ich *genislich,* ich genise wol; bin ich dem valle ergeben (doomed to fall), so n' hilfet mich mîn woltuon nicht ein hâr,' MS. 2, 129^a. 'ez *muose sîn,* und ez was mir *beschaffen,*' it was to be, was shaped for me (134^b). 'diu maget was iu *beschaffen,*' that girl was cut out for you, Wigal. 1002. 'ez was im *beslaht* (destined),' Eracl. 2394. 'swaz ist *geschaffen* (shapen), daz muoz geschehen,' MsH. 3, 434^b. 'nu mir daz was *in teile,*' well, that was in my lot (portion), En. 11231. 'ez was *enteile* uns *getân,*' Herb. 18418. 'ez ist mich *angeborm,*' I was born to it, Herb. 6^c.—The words *geschaffen*, *beschaffen* and *beslaht* are identical with the ON. *skapat* and *ætlat*, and this sameness of the words testifies to their original connexion with the heathen doctrine. Even at the present day the fatalist view prevails largely among the common people (Jul. Schmidt pp. 91. 163). 'ez müste mir sein *gemacht* gewesen,' must have been made for me, Sieben ehen eines weibes, p. 211. 'fatum in vulgari dicitur "'tis *allotted* unto me (*bescheert*, my share)"; ego autem addo "allotting and deserving run alway side by side."' Sermones disc. de tempore, sermo 21. 'was *bescheert* ist, entläuft nicht,' Schweinichen 3, 249 (see Suppl.).¹

Now, in themselves, the gifts of destiny would include every earthly blessing. But gradually men began ascribing whatever in human life seemed bane or blessing (excepting birth and death) to a separate being: thus the Greeks and Romans, in addition to *μοίρα* and *fatum*, held by an independent *Τύχη* and *Fortuna*.

Müllenhoff in the Nordalbingia p. 11 (conf. Schlesw. holst. sagen xlv) infers from the name of a place *Welanao*, occurring in Ansgar (Pertz 2, 687-99), an OS. god *Welo*, AS. *Wela*, the very thing I had had in my mind (p. 163): an older god of *weal* in the place of the later goddess *Sálida*, *Sælde*. But instead of his interpretation *Welanaha*, I should prefer *Welan-owa*, which is supported by the more modern *Welnau*, a place that stood on

¹ The same belief is held by the Lithuanians and Lettons, fate they call *likkimas* *liktens*, from *lik-t* to lay down, arrange: 'tai buwo jo likkims,' 'tas jau bija winnam liktz,' that was destined for him.

the right bank of the Elbe near Itzehoe, the river Stör having apparently formed the 'aue, ea'; Welan-owa would then be uniform with Wunschesouwa and Pholesouwa (p. 600). The great thing is, first to establish from other sources the personality of *Welo*, which the quotations from the Heliand fail to do, for *welanowa* taken simply as isle of luck (Atterbom's *lycksalighetens ö*) is quite compatible with the old ways of thinking: Reichenau (*augia dives*) has much the same meaning, and in the vicinity of *Welnau* has arisen *Glückstadt*. In the AS. '*welan bewunden*' (Gramm. 4, 752), *wela* is used, though mythically, yet not of a person but a thing: God himself sits '*welan bewunden*,' Adam and Eve stand '*mid welan bewunden*,' wrapt in splendour, in bliss, *Cædm.* 42, 2. 27, 19. But the '*gold welan bewunden*' forms a contrast to the '*gold galdre bewunden*,' a holy divine power is imagined confronting that of sorcery; and this *wela* does seem to lead up to *Wela*, as the kindred notion of *wunsch* to *Wunsch*.

The ON. distinguishes its fem. *heil* (*felicitas*) from a neut. *heil* (*omen*), so does the AS. its *hælu* f. (*salus*) from *hæl* n. (*omen*), and the OHG. its *heilî* f. (*salus*) from *heil* n. (*omen*). Both meanings are combined in MHG. *heil* n. Personifications of this I scarcely know, unless such be intended by a passage obscure to me, *Ottoc.* 683^b, which gives out as a common proverb: '*chum hail hauenstain!*' In MS. 2, 130^b: '*waz ob iuwer heil eime andern kumet an sîn seil*,' what if your hap prove another's hanging? And so early as O. ii. 18, 7: '*thaz heil ni gifâhit iuwih*,' luck comes not your way (see *Suppl.*).

On the other hand, it is the commonest thing with our 13th cent. poets to treat *sælde* (*fortuna*) as a female person, and that apparently not in imitation of the Romance writings: even the OHG. *sâlida* occurs with the like import, and the compound *huilsâlida* (*supra* p. 857) was a stronger expression of the same thing. O. i. 26, 4 speaking of the baptism of Christ in the water, uses a remarkable phrase, to which no church writer could have prompted him: '*sîd wachêta allên mannon thiû Sâlida in thên undon*.' Waking presupposes life. The personification comes out still more clearly in poets four centuries after him: '*unser Sælde wachet*,' *Parz.* 550, 10. '*mîn sorge slâfet, sô dîn Sælde wachet*,' *Tit.* 31, 3. '*z'aller zît des S. wachet*,' MS. 1, 16^b.

‘unser *S.* diu wil *wachen*,’ Trist. 9430. ‘des noch *sîn S. wachet*,’ Ernst. 5114. ‘ir *S. wachet*,’ Amgb. 35^a. ‘daz mir *S. wache*,’ ib. 43^a. ‘ich wæn *sîn S. släfe*,’ ib. 44^a. ‘sô ist im al diu *S. ertaget* (dawned),’ Trist. 9792. ‘diu *S.* ist dir *betaget*,’ Wartb. kr. jen. 21. ‘diu *S.* was mit im *betaget*,’ Dietr. 5^a. 27^a. ‘iuwer *S.* wirt *erwecket*,’ Lohengr. 19. Observe in these MHG. quotations the frequent poss. pron.¹ or gen. case: the *Sælde* dedicates herself to certain men, protects and prospers them, *wakes for them while they sleep*, as we say ‘luck came to me in my sleep.’ A mode of speech so common need not always be felt to personify: ‘daz im *sîn* heil niht slief,’ Troj. 9473. ‘dâ wachet schande, und slæft daz heil,’ Zauberbecher (magic bowl) 1113. ‘Tristans gelücke dâ niht slief,’ Heinr. Tr. 2396. It was even extended to other notions of the same kind: ‘wachet *sîn êre* und ouch *sîn lop*,’ honour, praise, Amgb. 47^a. ‘ir milte wachet,’ ib. 12^b. ‘ir genâde (kindness) mir muoz wachen,’ MS. 1, 33^a. ‘ich wæne an ir ist genâde entslâfen (asleep), daz ich ir leider niht erwecken kan,’ MS. 1, 48^a. ‘du (minne) bist gegen mir hart entslâfen,’ MS. 1, 60^a. ‘mîn schade wachet,’ Ben. 121. ‘dîn kraft mit ellen dô niht slief,’ Parz. 85, 24. We still say, ‘treason sleeps not’; and some phrases of this sort can have a personal sense. The heathen colouring of *Sælde’s* *waking* and *being waked* I infer chiefly from the analogous ‘*vekja Hildi*’ noticed on p. 422, who not only was awaked, but herself awoke the heroes (Sn. 164). And ‘*vilbiörg scal vaka*,’ Sæm. 46^a, may bear the same meaning: we can translate it ‘*jucunda salus*,’ or suppose it a proper noun. Frôði makes Fenja and Menja (p. 531) grind gold, peace and happiness (gull, frið oc sælu), allowing them but scanty rest at night: they *wake* to grind *prosperity* for him, and afterwards misfortune (salt) for Mýsîngr, Sn. 146-7 (see Suppl.).

And this is far from being the only way personification is applied to her. *Sælde* is called *frau*, she appears, meets, bends her face toward her favourites, hearkens to them (as a god hears prayer), smiles on them, greets them, is kind and obliging, but can be cross; those whom she dislikes, she forgets, shuns, flees, runs away from,² turns her back upon; she has a door and a

¹ So: ‘des sí *mîn S.* gein iu bote,’ Parz. 416, 4. ‘des sol *mîn S.* piant *sîn*,’ be pledge thereof, Frauend. 23. ‘lât dir’z *dîn S.* wol gezemen,’ MS. 2, 252^a.

² This *escaping* is the same thing as the ON. *hverfa* (evanescere): *heillir*

road. Here again old Othfrid leads the way (ii. 7, 20): 'thiu *Sâlida* in thar *gaganta*' (eis occurrit). Walther sings 55, 35: 'frô *Sælde* teilet umbe sich (scatters gifts around), und *kêret mir den rügge zuo* (turns her back), sie stêt ungerne *gegen mir*, si n' ruochet (recks) mich *niht an gesehen*'; and 43, 5: 'mîn *frou S.*, wie si mîn *vergaz!*' 'vrô *S.* hât in an sich genomen, wil dîn pflegen (cherish),' Ecke 10, 160. 'ob *vrouwe S.* mînes heiles welle ruochen,' Ben. 425. 'die wîle es mîn *S.* ruochte,' Parz. 689, 20. 'hæte mir diu *S.* ir ôre baz *geneiget*,' inclined her ear, MS. 2, 220^b. 'dô was mir *S.* *entrungen*,' Parz. 689, 8. '*S.* was sîn *geleite*,' conductress, Wigal. 8389. '*frou S.* ir was *berêit*,' ready to help, Er. 3459; and perhaps we ought to add what follows: 'diu Gotes *hövescheit* ob mîner *frowen swebte*,' God's kindness over my lady hovered; for so hover the valkyrs over the heroes they befriend. 'Got wîse mich der *Sælden wege*,' guide me on Fortune's way, Parz. 8, 16. 'den *vnoz* (foot) setzen in der *S.* *pfat*,' Ben. 306. '*frowe S.* muoz in ûf ir *strâze wîsen*,' Tit. 5218. 'der *Sælden stîc*,' path, Karl 19^b. 'über frô *S.* *stec gân*,' Fragm. 46^a. 'tuo mir ûf (open) der *S.* *tür!*' MS. 1, 36^a. 'der *S.* *porte*,' A. Heinr. 243, 33. 'der *S.* *tür* *besliezen*,' shut, MsH. 3, 336^a. 'setzen zuo der *S.* *tür*,' Zauberb. 1150. 'den begiuzet *S.* *vluot*,' flood, MsH. 3, 205^a. '*Sælde* und ir *gesinde* (household) walt ir,' MS. 1, 88^b. 'diu *Sâlde folget* sînen vanen,' follows his banners, Lampr. 2089. 'mir enwil diu *S.* ninder *folgen* einen fuoz,' Ben. 367. 'mir ist diu *S.* *gram*,' unfriendly, Gregor 2390. 'diu *S.* was ime *gram*,' Diut. 1, 10. Athis D. 84. 'diu *S.* *vliuhet* (flees) von mir,' Greg. 1526. 'diu *S.* hât mich *verlân*,' Karl 95^a. 'diu *S.* hât si *besetzen*,' possessed her, Wigal. 884. 'dîn *S.* het ir *gesworn*' 941. 'diu *S.* het zuo im *gesworn* zeim stæten *ingesinde*,' to be his steadfast follower, Lanz. 1561. 'der *Salden spil*,' game, Wigal. 8761. 9271. 9386. 'diu *gespil* der *S.*,' playmate 10532. 'swes diu *S.* ze *gesellen* gert,' desires as companion 945. 'im gab diu *S.* ir *hantgift*,' Silv. 534. 'dîn *S.* vlôz im in den munt' 1024. 'ez rîse (drop) ûf dich der *S.* *tuft*' 1389. 'so grüenet *dâner S.* *rîs*,' spray, MsH. 2, 258^a. '*frouwe S.* *lachtet* mir,' laughs, Ernst 4334. 'daz dir frô *S.* *lache*, und al dîn heil *bewache*,' Silv. 2565. '*Fortûne* wolt im dô niht

horfnar (felicitates evanitæ), Sæm. 93^a. 'swi ime di *Salden volgen*, werdent si ime *verbolgen*, si ne *kêru* *zornliche wider*,' once offended, they come not back, Al. 6189.

mê genædeclîchen (graciously) *lachen*,' Troj. 5754. 'sô decket uns der *S. huot*,' hood, hat, Winsbekin 45, 7: a wishing-cap. 'daz iuch *frouwe S. müeze behüllen*' (fovere), Lohengr. 101: *behüllen* prob. in its literal sense, to wrap, to clothe, as Walther 43, 1 and 7 makes frô Sælde *kleiden* (clothe) people, and *schrôten* (cut out) for them; she cuts out sorrow and high courage. And so, no doubt, under many more aspects, which we can guess from our present figures of speech: 'fortune favours, visits, pursues him,' etc. etc. And here again we find, even in old poets, the more vague neuter: 'gelücke hât den nuwen gegen mir gekêrt,' turned its back toward me, LS. 1, 238; 'hât den nuwen noch gegen mir endecket; enblecket gên mir sînen zan (bared its teeth, gnashed); het zer rechten hende griffen' 3, 539. 'dô kêrte von im unde vlôch gelücke,' Troj. 5750. We say 'my fortune blooms, grows,' as though it were attached to a tree or herb: 'mein glücke das blühete mir,' Schweinichen 1, 170. 'gelücke wahset mit genuht,' Troj. 5686. 'uns ist niht wol erschozen gelücke' 12438. 'Got wil uns sælde lâzen wahsen,' Lohengr. 66. The proverb 'das glück kommt von ungefähr wol über neunzig stauden her,' Simplic. 2, 158, well expresses the suddenness and surprise, the windfall nature of luck, to which are owing the very names of *τύχη* (from *τυχεῖν*, *τυγχάνειν*) and *fortuna* (from *fors*). Very likely some of the phrases quoted above have come to us from the ancients, or they had them in common with us (see Suppl.).

The tale of the Wunderer (wonder-worker, Etzels hofh. 208), makes *frau Sælde* a *king's daughter* with three miraculous gifts, (1) that of knowing a man's thoughts, (2) of blessing warriors against wounds in battle, (3) of transporting herself whither she will (24—26). Who can fail to detect in this the echo of an old heathen valkyr?

The now universally familiar image of Fortune riding *on a rolling wheel* (*κύλινδρος*),¹ which was attributed to *Fors*, *Tyche* and *Nemesis* (O. Müller's Archäol. 607), is, I consider, an importation. 'Versatur celeri *Fors levis orbe rotæ*,' Tibull. i. 5, 70. 'stans in orbe *dea*,' Ov. ep. ex Ponto ii. 3, 56. '*Fortunæ rotam pertimescebat*,' Cic. in Pison. 10. '*rota Fortunæ*,' Tac. de orat.

¹ A different thing therefore from the wheel that *Krodo* and *Vishnu* carry in the hand (p. 248-9).

23. 'assumptus in amplissimum Fortunae fastigium, *versabiles* ejus *motus* expertus est, qui ludunt mortalitatem, nunc *evahentes* quosdam in sidera, nunc ad Cocyti profunda *mergentes*,' Amm. Marc. 14, 11 : '*Fortunae volucris rota* adversa prosperis semper alternans' 31, 1. '*Fortunae* te regendum dedisti, dominae moribus oportet obtemperes, tu vero *volventis rotae* impetum retinere conaris? Si manere incipit, *Fors* esse desistit,' Boëth. de consol. ii. pr. 1. Notker cap. 25. '*rotam volubili orbe* versamus (says Fortune of herself), infima summis, summa infimis mutare gaudemus. *ascende* si placet, sed ea lege uti ne, cum ludicri mei ratio poscet, *descendere* injuriam putes,' ib. ii. pr. 2.—There seem to be two separate images here: one, that of the goddess herself standing or sitting¹ on the revolving wheel,² and so whirling by in breathless haste; the other, that she makes the favoured ones ascend the wheel, and the unlucky ones descend, those soar aloft, these hang below. Our poems of the Mid. Ages often speak in general terms of the *rat* (wheel) or *schibe* (disc, orb) of Fortune, of luck, of Sælde: '*orbita Fortunae* ducit utroque *rotam* (a better reading: *utramque viam*),' Reinh. 1, 1494. '*volubilis Fortunae rota*,' Rodulfus chron. Trudonis, p. 381. '*rota Fortunae*,' Radevicus 1, 40. '*swaz ie geschicht, daz stât an glückes rade*,' whatever happens rests on fortune's wheel, Freid. 110, 17. '*daz im der sælekeit rat mit willen umbe lief*,' Troj. 9471; '*jâ walzet ir gelückes rat vil stæteclich ûf und nider, her und hin, dan und wider loufet ez*,' her (i.e. Sælde's) wheel of luck rolls right steadfastly,³ etc. 2349. '*im dienet daz gelückes rat, daz im nâch êren umbe lief*' 7229. '*gelückes rat louft uns die sumer und die winder*,' Lohengr. 119. '*mîn schibe gât ze wunsche*,' Ben. 353; '*dem gêt sîn schibe enzelt*,' 360. '*wol gie* (or, gie für sich) *ir schibe*,' Lohengr. 146. 189. '*si vuoren* (they rode) *ûf gelückes rade*,' Flore 844. '*Sælde diu ist sinewel* (sphe-

¹ Pentam. 5, 9 has also a '*vecchia seduta ncoppa na rota*' as Fortune.

² The mere turning of a wheel (daz *sueibônta rad*, N. Boëth. 47) may, quite apart from the goddess, suggest the mutability of fate. When Cyrus saw a captive king attentively watch the rising and falling spokes of wheels, and inquired the reason, the latter replied, that they put him in mind of the instability of life, *πῶς τὰ κάρω ἄνω γίνονται, καὶ τὰ ἄνω κάρω* (Cedrenus, ed. Paris, 142).

³ This is contrary to James I. of Scotl.'s idea: '*the sudden sweltering of that ilk wheel ... so tolter whilom did she it to-wry (twist about)*.' But it seems the prevailing one here, unless '*sîn schibe gêt en-zelt*' (3 lines lower) mean '*goes tolter*,' *tolutans*, *ambling*, as *zelter* is an *ambler*. Further on, '*mich hin verdrücke*,' push me off, need not imply a waddling movement.—TRANS.

rical), und walzet umb als ein rat,' Uebel wîp 241. 'der *Salden schûben* trîben,' Amis 2053. 'entschûben,' Ulr. Trist. 708. Yet that ascending and descending is often mentioned too: 'sô stîge ich ûf, und nînder abe,' never down, Parz. 9, 22. 'gelücke ist rehte als ein *bal*, swer stîget der sol vûrhten val,' who climbs must fear a fall, Freid. 115, 27. 'sô hangen ich an dem *rades* teile (limb), dâ maneger hanget âne trôst (without hope),' Ben. 88; 'ê daz der *Salden schûbe* mich hin verdrücke gar zuo der verzalten schar' 91. 'si waren hôhe gar gestigen (mounted high) ûf des . . . *gelückes rat*, nû mûezens leider von der stat aber nîder rûcken (move down again),' Flore 6148. 'swer hiute sitzet *ûf dem rade*, der sîget morgen drunder (sinks under it to-morrow),' Troj. 18395. 'er ist komen *ûf gelückes rat*, daz muoz im immer stille stân,' Geo. 193. 'gelückes rat, wenne sol ich mîue stat ûf dir vinden?' Ben. 306. 'swebe oben an der *Selichkeit rade*,' Zauberb. 1860. 'Got werfe in von (hurl him from) *gelückes rat!*' Kolocz. 74. 'gelückes *rait* geit up ind neder, ein velt (one falls), der ander stîget weder,' Hagen's Cöln. chr. 1770. 'gelückes rat nu rîde in ûf die hœhe,' turn (writhe) him up aloft, Tit. 5218; 'gelücke, *dîn rat* nu rîde!' 5275. 'Fortûna diu ist sô getân, ir *schûbe* lâzet si umbe gân, umbe loufet ir *rat*, dicke vellet der da vaste saz,' oft falleth he that sat there fast, Lampr. Alex. 3066.¹ This notion carried into detail shews us four (or twelve) men at once standing on fortune's wheel in ceaseless revolution: 'gelückes rat treit vier man, der eine stîget ûf, der ander stîget abe, der dritte ist obe, der vierde der ist under,' MS. 2, 221^a; and Wigal. p. 41 tells us of one who had in his house such a *wheel cast of gold*, and who was always happy (like Frode with his mill of luck, which also went round): 'ein rat enmitten ûf dem sal, daz gie ûf und ze tal (down); da wâren bilde gegozzen an (molten images thereon), iegelîchez geschaffen als ein man. hie sigen diu (sank these) mit dem rade nîder, sô stigen (mounted) diu ander ûf wider. daz was des *gelückes rat*.'² In Renart le nouvel 7941—8011, Fortune lifts the fox on to her wheel, and promises not to turn it. Hence too the story of the twelve landsknechts or

¹ Conf. the passage on *la roe de la Fortune* in the *Jeu d'Adan* (Théâtre français au moyen âge p. 82).

² From this wheel, which Wigalois wore on his helmet (1862—6), came the name of *Ritter mit dem rad* (already in Gildas of Banchor 'miles quadrigae'), not from the adventure he had to brook with a brazen wheel (pp. 252—4 of the poem).

Johanneses on *fortune's wheel*, Deut. sag. nos. 209. 337. Our Sælde is never painted *blind* or blindfolded¹ (see Suppl.).

What seems to me to be far more significant than this wheel, which probably the Sálida of our heathen forefathers never had (a whole carriage to herself would be more in their way), is the circumstance of her *adopting children*, owning her favourites for her sons: 'ich bin ouch in frô Sælden schôz geleit,' laid in her lap. Fragm. 45^b. To be a *darling of fortune*, a *child of luck*, to sit in *fortune's lap*, implies previous adoption (Goth. frasti-sibja, Rom. 9, 4), conf. RA. 160. 463-4. A select being like this is called 'der Sælden barn,' Barl. 37, 36. 191, 38. Engelh. 5070. 'Artûs der S. kint,' Zauberb. 1433. 'S. kint hât S. stift' 1038. 'Maria der S. kint,' Wartb. kr. jen. 56. 'ir sît gezelt gelücke ze ingesinde (as inmate), dem heile ze liebem kinde,' Warnung 2596. 'Si ist S. sundertriutel (fondling), in der wûrzegarten kan si brechen ir rôsen,' MS. 1, 88^a. Now, as Wuotan can take the place of the gifting norn (p. 858), so he can that of Sælde; he is himself the bestower of all bliss, he takes up children to his bosom. Altogether identical therefore with Sælden barn must be 'des Wunsches barn, an dem der Wunsch was volle varn,' on whom Wish had perfectly succeeded, Orl. 3767. A child of luck has 'des Wunsches segen,' Lanz. 5504. For more references, see pp. 138—144.² Accordingly Sálida can be regarded as a mere emanation of Wuotan (see Suppl.).

Such a child of luck was Fortunatus, to whom *Fortuna* (conf. Felicia, MsH. 2, 10^b and infra ch. XXXII.) appears in a forest of Bretagne, and gives a fairy purse: and who also wins the *wishing-cap* (souhaitant chapeau), the tarn-cap, which one has only to put on, to be in a twinkling at some distant place. Evidently a hat of *Wish* or *Wuotan* (p. 463), a *πέρασος* or winged cap of *Hermes* the giver of all good, of all sælde. And 'Sælde's hat' is expressly mentioned: 'sô decket uns der Sælden huot, daz uns dehein weter selwen mac,' no weather can befoul us, MsH. 3, 466^a. The never empty purse I connect with the goddess's horn of plenty: 'mundanam cornucopiam Fortuna gestans,' Amm.

¹ Nor is she called *glesin*, like the Lat. *Fortuna vitrea*; Gotfrid of Strassburg alone (MS. 2, 45^b) has 'daz glesin glücke,' and we have now the proverb 'luck and crock are easy broke.'

² I find also a proper name Seldenbot = Sælde's messenger, Weisth. 3, 277-8.

Marc. 22, 9. 'formatum Fortunae habitum cum *divite cornu*,' Prudent. lib. 1 contra Symm.; also with Amalthea's horn or Svantovit's (p. 591), nay with the *κέρας σωτηρίας*, Luke 1, 69. Of the wishing-rod we are reminded by the synonymous expressions: 'alles heiles ein *wünschel-ris*,' -twig, -wand, Troj. 2216, and 'des *Wunsches* bluome,' Barl. 274, 25.

The belief in *fairy things* [wünscheldinge, lit. wishing-gear] is deeply rooted in our mythology: let us examine it minutely. There are things, belonging to gods, but also lent to men, which can bestow a plenitude of bliss, the best that heart can *wish*; so that our old vernacular word seems quite appropriate. The Sanskrit for wish is significant: *mano-ratha*, wheel of the mind; does this open to us a new aspect of the divine wish? *Wish* turns the wheel of our thoughts. In the Edda the wishing-gear is the cunning workmanship of dwarfs, and is distributed among the gods. Óðinn possessed the spear *Gúngnir*, the hurling of which brings victory, Thôrr the hammer *Miölnir*, which comes crashing down as thunderbolt, which also consecrates, and *of itself comes back* into his hand. Freyr had a *sword* of similar nature, that *swung itself* (er siálfst vegiz), Sæm. 82^a. Sn. 40; its name is unrecorded. The 'cudgel jump out o' your sack!' in our fairy-tale is the same story vulgarized; in Ægi's hall the pitchers or beakers of ale *brought themselves* (siálfst barsc þar öl), Sæm. 48; Wolfdieterich (Cod. dresd. 296-7) fell in with goddesses, to whose table the wheaten *loaf came walking*, and the *wine poured itself out*: such gear the Greeks called *αὐτόματον* (self-taught), Il. 18, 376. *Ægis-hialmr* must originally have been Ægi's own (and Ægir is at times undistinguishable from Óðinn), as Aegis is wielded by the two highest deities Zeus and Athena: afterwards the helmet came into the hand of heroes. Out of the magic helm sprang *helot-helm*, *grím-helm*, *tarn-kappe*, *wunsch-mantel* (Kinderm. no. 122), *wunsch-hut*, which bestow on dwarfs, heroes and fortune's favourites the power to walk unseen, to sail swiftly through the sky. To the goddesses Freyja and Frigg belonged *Brisínga men*, which, like the *ἰμάς* of Venus and Juno, awakened longing (*ἔμερος*), and matches the sword, spear and hammer of the gods (p. 885). On the veil or hood of the goddess Sif grew golden hair, as corn does on the earth: its proper name is not given. *Skíðblaðnir* is described,

now as a ship, now as a hat, both of which could either be folded up or expanded, for sailing in or for raising a storm; *wishing-ships* occur in *Norske eventyr* 1, 18. 142 and *Sv. folkv.* 1, 142-3. Not unlike this are our *winged sandals* and *league boots*. *Gullinbursti*, too, Frey's boar, carries him through air and water. From Oðin's ring *Draupnir* dropped other rings as heavy; the miraculous power of Fulla's ring (*Fullo fíngurgull*, Sn. 68) is not specified, perhaps it made one invisible, like that of *Aventiure* (p. 911). *Draupnir* suggests the *broodpenny* (*Deut. sag.* no. 86) or *hatching dollar* of later times: whoever ate the bird's heart, would find a gold-piece under his pillow every morning. With this are connected the *wishing-purse*, and the *wishing-rod*, which unlocks the hoard, but apparently feeds it as well (ch. XXXI); also the *wunderblume* and the *springwurzel* [root which springs open the door of a treasure]; a *bird's nest* makes invisible (*Deut. s.* no. 85. *Haupt's Zeitschr.* 3, 361. *Mone's Anz.* 8, 539). Fróði's *wishing-mill* Grótti would grind anything the grinder wished for aloud (Sn. 146), gold, salt, etc.; this we can match with the *wheel of fortune*, an image that may be an importation to us (p. 866), yet not have been strange to our remote ancestry; of manoratha I have spoken before. British legend too had its own version of fortune's wheel (p. 869). Such a mill, such a wheel ought above all to grind food for gods. The gods possess the *drink of immortality*, which inspires man with song, and keeps a god young. Iðun's *apples* restore youth, as *apples* in *Völsúngasaga* make pregnant, in *Sneewitchen* send sleep, and in *Fortunatus* give horns and take them away. But the wishing-cloak becomes a *wishing-cloth*, which when spread brings up any dish one may desire: in Danish and Swedish songs such a cloth is woven of field wool (*ageruld*, *D. vis.* 1, 265. 300. *åkerull*, *Sv. vis.* 2, 199), a sort of grass with a woolly flower (*eriphorum polystachium*); the same wishing-cloth occurs in *Norske ev.* 1, 44. 274, it is pulled out of a mare's ear, p. 112. Other *wishing-cloths* have to be spun in silence, or the hemp for them must be picked, baked, braked, hatchelled, spun and woven all in one day. The Servians tell of a *miraculous cow*, out of whose ear yarn is spun, she is then killed and buried, and miracles are wrought on her grave. A wishing-cow *Kámaduh* or *Kámadhenu* is mentioned in Indian myth (*Pott* 2, 421. *Somadeva* 1, 198);

a *wishing-goat*, who procures money, in the Norw. tales 1, 45; an *ass* in Pentam. 1, 1. The machandelbom (juniper) in our fairy-tale is a *wishing-tree*, so is that from which Cinderella shakes down all her splendid dresses; the Indians call it *kalpa vriksha* (tree of wishes) or *Manoratha-dayaka* (wish-giving), Somadeva 2, 84. Beside the dresses of sun and moon, the gold-hen and seven chickens (p. 728) are contained in the nut. Fortuna carries a *horn of plenty* (p. 870). The goat Amaltheia's *horn* supplied the nymphs who had nursed Zeus with all they wished for; another legend makes the nymph Amaltheia possess a bull's horn, which gave in abundance all manner of *meat* and *drink* that one could wish. A Scottish tradition has it, that if any one can approach a banquet of the fairies, take away their *drinking-bowl* or *horn*, and carry it across a running stream without spilling, it will be to him a cornucopia of good fortune; if he break it, his good days are done (R. Chambers pp. 32-3). We know that wise-women and elfins offer *drinking-horns* to men (p. 420); that jewels of the elves (like those of the smith dwarfs) ensure luck to human families, viz. their *sword*, *ring* and *goblet* (p. 457); that the swan left in Loherangrîn's family a *sword*, *horn* and *fingerling* (ring, Parz. 826. 19). Oberon's *horn*, and he is of elf kind, was a *wishing-horn*, and excited magic dancing. Other wonders are wrought by the *harps* of gods and heroes (p. 907). The elves, beside the horn, have in their gift a *bread* of grace that blesses. By the side of this may stand the beautiful myths of the *cruse of oil* that never runs dry, the savoury *pottage* that brims over, the *yarn* that has never done winding. *Jemshid's goblet* too was a miraculous one, so was the far-famed *Grail* (greal, Ducange sub v. gradalus, graletus, grasala, grassale, grassellus), that nourished and healed, which Romance legend took up and intertwined with christian, as indeed the spear of Longinus and the bleeding lance are very like a heathen wishing-spear; nails of the true cross are worked up into bridles that bring victory (El. xxii), wood of the cross and a thousand relics are applied to thaumaturgic uses (ch. XXXVI), rings and precious stones were held against a relic, that its virtue might pass into them; precious stones themselves are in a sense *wishing-stones*, such to the Indians was *Divyavatna* (Pott 2, 421), which fulfilled all the wishes of its owner. And the Grail cannot be more

celebrated in the poems of the Round Table than *Sampo* is in the epic of the Finns. It was fashioned by the god Ilmarinen in Pohjola, and a joy it was to live in the land that possessed it, the fields were covered with standing corn and hanging fruits. But the gods tried to win it back (just like Oðhrœrir, p. 902), and Wäinämöinen and Ilmarinen succeeded in the theft; yet Louhi the princess of Pohjola pursued them in *eagle's shape* (as Suttûng did Oðinn), and overtook the fugitives on the open sea. While Louhi makes a clutch at Sampo, and Wäinämöinen strikes at her fingers with the rudder, Sampo falls into the sea and breaks; the lid alone (Kirjokannen 23, 393, conf. 11, 361) is left in Louhi's hand, and with it she flies back to Pohjola: wretchedness and famine have reigned there ever since. Wäinämöinen finds pieces of Sampo on the shore, and has them sown, out of which grow up trees, one of them a lofty oak that darkens the sun. The points of likeness between this *Sampo* and the Norse drink of immortality are startling, and the pieces picked up on the strand by the highest god, and giving birth to trees, may be compared to Askr and Embla, whom the three âses found on the sea-shore (p. 560. Sæm. 3^b). The name *Sampo*, doubtless one of high antiquity and sacredness, calls to mind a Mongolian legend of a tree Asambu-bararkha, whose fruit dropping in the water uttered the sound *sambu* (Majer's Myth. wtb. 1, 565); *sangpa* in Tibetan means purified, holy. We gather from all these examples, still far from complete, how under the veil of sensuous images—spear, hammer, hat, helmet, cloak, horn, goblet, necklace, ring, ship, wheel, tree, rod, flower, cloth, meat and drink—lay hidden the spiritual ones of victory, happiness, peace, healing, fertility, riches, virtue and poetic art. But when several single attributes met in one object, as in Sampo and the Grail, they still further enhanced its meaning and sacredness (see Suppl.).

From the prologue to the Grîmnismâl, Sæm. 39, we learn that Oðinn and Frigg, beside being the chief paternal and maternal deities of antiquity, bestow their protection on special favourites: under the form of an old man and woman, they bring up the boys Geirröðr and Agnar respectively, the act being expressed by the verb *fóstra*. Frigg had even, according to Sn. 38, a

special handmaid, herself a divine being, whom she appointed for the defence (til gætslu) of such foster-sons against all dangers; this personified Tutela was named *Hlîn* (p. 884), as if the couch, κλίνη, OHG. *hlîna* (recubitus, Gl. Ker. 273) on which one leans (root *hleina* hláin, Gr. κλίνω, Lat. *clîno*). We find ‘*harmr Hlînar,*’ Sæm. 9^a, and there went a proverb ‘*sâ er forðaz hleinir,*’ he that is struggling leans for help. *Hlîn* (Goth. *Hleins*?) shelters and shields, the Goth. *hláins* is a hill [Germ. *berg*, a hill, is from *bergen*, to hide], the OHG. *hlinaperga*, *linaperga* = fulcrum, recinatorium.

Those who are born with a caul about their head are popularly believed to be *lucky children*. Such a membrane is called *glücks-haube*, *wehmutter-häublein*, and is carefully treasured up, or sewed into a band and put round the babe.¹ Fischart in Garg. 229^b calls it *kinderpelglin* (balg, bag), while the Icelanders give it the name of *fylgja* f., and imagine that *in it resides the child's guardian-spirit or a part of its soul*: midwives are careful not to injure it, but bury it under the threshold over which the mother has to pass. Whoever carelessly throws it away or burns it, deprives the child of its guardian, Edd. Sæm. Hafniens. 2, 653. This guardian-spirit is variously named *fylgja* (who follows man), sometimes *forynja* (who goes before him, F. Magn. lex. 379), oftener *hamíngja* (felicitas) from *hamr* *induviae*, nay, this *hamr* of itself seems to stand for the same thing: ‘*hamr Atla,*’ genius

¹ Kinderm. no. 29, conf. 3, 39. Ettner's Hebamme p. 534. Journal v. u. f. D. 1788. 1, 574. Ital. ‘*nascere vestito*’ = *avventurato*; Fr. *né coiffé*; Pol. *w czepek urodził*, Haupt's Zeitschr. 1, 137. The Servians name the caul *koshulitsa*, little shirt, and a child born with it *vidovit*: he will go to the Vilas and know more than other men. In Holland they say ‘*met den helm geboren zin*’ (conf. p. 389): such children have the power of seeing spectres; a *ham* (ovum) in which a foal came into the world is hung up on a high tree, Westendorp p. 518. Of the *glücks-helm* we are told: ‘*ab eo tegmine obstetrices et delirae ancilulae infantibus bona ex colore rubicundo, vel mala ex nigricante praesagire solent. magno vendunt hujusmodi pileos infantiles credulis advocatis, qui se hinc adjuvari putant.*’ This in Anton. Diadum. cap. 4 is borrowed from an older passage in Aelius Lampridius: ‘*solent pueri pileo insignari naturali, quod obstetrices rapiunt et advocatis credulis vendunt, siquidem causidici hoc iuvare dicuntur.*’ [AS. *heafela*, *hafela*. MHG. *hüetelin*, *batwât*, *kindbügel*, *westerhåfe*, *westerhuot*; conf. the *westerwât* preserved in churches, and the names *Glückshelm*, *Barnhelm*. ‘*Membranulae ad modum retis dispositae, in quibus quandoque nascuntur pueri et vocantur in vulgari (Bohemico) wodienic. de his membranis famant vetulae: si recipiantur IX vel ad minus V et habeantur cum filo aureo et sericeo in ecclesia per novem dies illo tempore quo horae canonicæ dicuntur per nonam, et ferantur per aliquem ad iudicem vel ad iudicium, ille obtinet causam suam.*’ Jungmann sub v. oděnj. Lith. *namai kudikio*, child's house. ON. *Hlöd̄r* born with *helmet* and sword.—Extr. from SUPPL., vol. iii. Not a word about it as a charm against drowning.]

Atli, Sæm. 253^b. According to Ihre (de Superst. p. 24-5), the Swed. *hamn* denotes a genius that follows each man.

What is essential to the notion of a *guardian-angel* is his being *native* to us: this distinguishes him from the home-sprite (*genius familiaris*), who devotes himself to an individual man, but not from birth. Regula Benedicti cap. 7: 'ab *angelis nobis deputatis* cotidie die noctuque Domino Factori nostro opera nostra nuntiantur.' Berthold preaches (p. 209): 'als daz kint lebende wirt an sîner muoter lîbe, sô *giuzet im der engel die sêle in*, der almechtige Got *giuzet dem kinde die sêle mit dem engel in*;' and St. Bernard (sermo 12 in ps. Qui habitat): 'quoties gravissima cernitur urgere tentatio et tribulatio vehemens imminere, invoca *custodem tuum*, doctorem tuum, adiutorem tuum. in opportunitatibus, in tribulatione, in quovis diversorio, in quovis angulo, *angelo tuo* reverentiam habe. tu ne audeas *illo præsente*, quod vidente me non auderes.' One more passage I will transcribe, from Notker's Capella 137: 'allên menniskôn wirdet sunderig unde gemeine *huotâre* gesezzet. ten heizent si ouh *flihtâre* (pflichter, care-taker), wanda er alles werches fliget. ten gemeinen betônt (adore) tie liute sament, unde âne daz iogelîh ten sînen (beside that, each his own). fone diu heizet er *genius*, wanda er *genitis* sâr gegeben wirt ze flihte. tiser huotâre unde diser getriwo bruoder behuotet iro sêlâ unde iro sinna allero. wanda er ouch tougene gedancha Gote chundet, pediu mag er ioh *angelus* heizen.'¹ This doctrine, partially retained as we see by the church, seems to have got mixed up with that grosser native superstition of guardian and attendant spirits. Caesar heisterb. 8, 44 supposes every man to have a *good* and a *bad angel*, who seeks to bring him weal or woe. The valkyrs too were to a certain extent guardian-spirits of the heroes (pp. 400. 419), and remained bound to them for a time. It is said of slain heroes (Lament 922): '*ir engel* vil wol wisten, war ir sêle solten komen,' full well their angels wist whither their souls should go. Other

¹ The Lat. text runs: 'et generalis omnium praesul, et specialis singulis mortalibus *genius* admovetur, quem etiam *praestitem*, quod praesit gerundis omnibus, vocaverunt. nam et populi genio, quum generalis poscitur, suppliciant, et unusquisque gubernatori proprio dependit obsequium. ideoque *genius* dicitur, quoniam *quum quis hominum genitus fuerit, mox eidem copulatur*. hic tutelator fidissimusque germanus animos omnium mentesque custodit. et quoniam cogitationum arcana Superae annuntiat Potestati, etiam angelus poterit nuncupari.' Conf. Porphyry's Vita Plotini p. 14. Plutarch's Vita Antonini p. 430.

passages speak of these angels: 'sie redeten, daz *ir engel* muose lachen,' they said her angel must laugh for joy, Wartb. kr. jen. 38; 'ein *wiser* (wizer, white?) *engel bi dir gat*, der *dinen tiuvel* sô von dir gescheiden hât' 47: 'teile *din pater noster* mite *dinem engel*' 23; 'ein *engel*, der *din hât gepflegen* (tended)' 62. 'ich wil gelouben, daz den list *din engel finde*,' will find out a way, Lohengr. p. 3. 'in was *ir engel bi*,' Geo. 343. 'daz der *engel din* *diner êren hûete!*' guard thy honour, MsH. 3, 230^b. 'zuo *im was geweten ein engel*, daz im niht geschach,' Geo. 3205. 'als im *sîn engel* gab die lêre,' Kolocz. 148; 'daz iuch *mîn engel* grüeze!' greet you 102; and elsewhere 'daz iuwer *mîn engel* walte!' Graceful equivalents for 'I from my inmost soul.'¹ (see Suppl.).

In Nialssaga cap. 101 a heathen submits to baptism, but only on the assurance that St. Michael (receiver of souls, p. 854-5) shall thereby become his *fylgju engill*. And cap. 23 speaks of the *fylgja* Gunnars.

One who is near death sees his angel first: 'þú mant vera feigr maðr, oc munt þú sêð hafa *fylgju þína*,' sure thou art fey, and hast seen thy f., Nialss. cap. 41. Quite logically, as the man's death severs the bond between him and his *fylgja*. Then the *fylgja* presents herself to another person, and offers him her services: Helgi forecast his own death, because a witch riding her wolf appeared to his brother at night, and offered her attendance, 'bauð fylgð *sína*; *fylgjo beiddi*,' Sæm. 14^a. 147^a. When a man sees his *fylgja*, she is giving him up, quitting him. In Norway the vulgar opinion is, that the *fölgie* likes to shew herself in the shape of some animal that typifies the character of the man she belongs to (Faye p. 77). Can this have indicated a future transmigration? conf. p. 823. There were *fylgjur* that, like the dwarfs, stuck to certain families: *kynfylgjur*, *ettarfylgjur*; and this is important, as teaching the affinity of

¹ Conf. H. Sachs's poem 'die engels hut,' and 'der lockige knabe,' in Hebel's Karfunkel. [Not only men, but even some animals, have an angel of their own, Keisersp. brosäml. 19^c. The Pass. 337, 46 agrees with Caes. heist.: 'zwêne engel, einen *guoten*, einen *leiden*']; yet 'sîn engel' 41 means only the good one, and so it is generally. Conf. Menander's protest (abridged): 'a *good daemon* is given at birth; never dream that there are evil daemons, for God is good.' Angels are always imagined as *male*; thus, when two ladies appear: 'ob ez von himele wæren *zwêne engele* (masc.), des enweiz ich niht,' Frib. Trist. The guardian-angels of two friends are also friends, Renn. 18902.—Extr. from SUPPL.]

such spirits to elves and dwarfs, who (like the white lady, the ancestress Berhta, p. 280) shew themselves when a death in the family is imminent.

Hamíngjor, occurring as early as Sæm. 37^b. 93^b, are very like our personified *sælde*: *hamíngja* too at first denoted fortuna, felicitas; and afterwards a being that bestowed these blessings, holding a middle place between a fate, a guardian-spirit and a goodnatured homesprite; conf. Laxd. saga p. 441. '*Hamíngjor* horfnar, *heillir* horfuar' in Sæm. 93 are those that have abandoned their man.

The ON. *landvætt* (p. 441) is, like the fylgja and *hamíngja*, a female being, not however the guardian-spirit of an individual or a family, but of the whole country. In the code of Ulflot it is ordered that every ship shall have its figure-head taken down before it come in sight of land (í landssýn), lest the gaping jaws affright the *landvættir*: 'sigla eigi at landi með gapandi höfðum ne gínandi triðnu, svâ at *landvættir* fældist við'¹ (see Suppl.).

With the Slavs the notions of luck, chance and destiny touch one another, yet their mythology is destitute of beings equivalent to the norns and parcae (p. 436). For luck the Servians have *srétia* [from s-rétiti to meet], the Slovèns *srézha*, and they personify them too: *dobra Srétia* (bona Fortuna, Vuk 3, 444) is their ἀγαθὴ Τύχη, their frô Sælde.² The Lettish *Laima* (p. 416) comes nearer the parca or moira: she is called mahmina, i.e. mother, goddess. Then again the fostermother *Dehkla* (ibid.) by the boon of her milk bestows luck and aptitude: 'kâ Dehkla noleek, tà noteek,' as D. disposes, so it happens.³ In Lith. also *Laima* = Λαιμός, Lat. Lamia (see Suppl.).

¹ Fornm. sög. 3, 105. Isl. sög. 1, 198-9. This gaping yawning ship reminds me of the Gepanta (navis tardius vecta) in Jornandes cap. 17. [Biarki's fylgja appears as a bear, and fights while B. slumbers; Gunnar's fylgja too is a *biarndyr*. Glúmr, having dreamt of a woman higher than the hills coming towards him, concludes that Vigfâs is dead, and this is his *hamíngja* coming to look for a new place. It follows, that *fylgja* and *hamíngja* are one. Similar is the Engl. *fetch* (Scot. *fye*) or *double*, N. Riding *waff*, *wiff*, Scot. *wraith*, Cumbl. *swarth* (all in Hone's Daybk). Ir. *taise*, etc.—Extr. from SUPPL.]

² The name has given rise to a sad blunder. Anton in Versuch 1, 50 having paraded a Dalmatian goddess *Dobra Frichia*, he was followed by Karamzin 1, 85, by Jungmann 1, 342, and who knows how many more. It all rests on a clerical error in translating Forti's Viaggio in Dalmazia (Venice 1774); the Ital. text, 1, 74 has quite correctly *Dobra-srichia*. I would have any one beware of likening this false Frichia to our fru *Frecke* (p. 304).

³ Magaz. der lett. gesellsch., Mitau 1838. 6, 141.

As the goddess of destiny has both good and evil in her hand, there needs no separate representation of misfortune. Our elder poets however do treat her more or less as a person, and apply to her much the same phrases as to Sælde. ‘*Unsælde* hât ûf mich gesworn,’ Gregor 2394 (so of Tôt, p. 847n.). ‘*Unsælde* hât mich bedâht,’ Troj. 17105. ‘*der Unsælden kint*,’ Iw. 4449. ‘*dîn heil sîn ungelücke* begonde erwecken harte,’ Gold. schm. 1306. ‘über in het gesworn sînes lîbes *unheil*,’ Klage 1240. ‘*Unsælde* sî mir ûf getan!’ Rab. 896. ‘wie in diu *Unsælde* verriete,’ Dietr. 38^b. ‘*der Unsælden vart varn*,’ go the way of, Doc. misc. 2, 163. ‘so wirt *unheil* von mir gejaget,’ chased away, Herm. Dam. 42. ‘*ungelücke*, waz ir mir leides tuot!’ what hurt you do me, Lampr. Alex. 3065. Other images are peculiar to misfortune: she is a dog bestriding one’s path, and barking at one: ‘*unheil* mir über den wec schreit gelîch einem hunde,’ Hartm. erstes büchl. 1671. ‘wen nâch gelücke grôz *unheil* an bellet (barks, billet? or vellet, velt?)’ Ls. 1, 239. A M. Nethl. poet ascribes to her a net: ‘al hêft dat *ongheval* nu mi aldus onder tnet ghevaen?’ Rein, 6180.—Two separate stories deserve quoting at greater length: A poor knight sits in the forest, consuming a scanty meal; he looks up and spies in the tree overhead a monstrous being, who cries to him ‘I am thy *ungelücke*.’ He invites ‘his ill-luck’ to share his meal, but no sooner is it down, than he seizes it firmly and shuts it up in an ‘eicher’ (hollow oak?). From that moment all goes well with him, and he makes no secret of what has happened. One who envies him, wishing to plunge him into misery again, goes to the wood and releases *ill-luck*; but, instead of burdening the knight any longer, it jumps on the traitor’s back, just as a kobold would (Ls. 2, 575). This fable was known to H. Sachs iii. 2, 72^c: *Misfortune* shall be made fast with chains and ropes to an oaken stake, so it may visit no houses more, unless some man be so fond to let it loose again.—The other story may as well be given in Reinmar’s own words, MS. 2, 134^b:

Ez was ein gar unsælic man (a most unlucky man)
in einer stat gesezzen, dar inne er nie dehein heil gewan,
der dâhte, ich wil versuochen, wie mîn gelûke in fremden
landen sî.
dô im der reise ze muote wart (resolved to travel),

Unselde wart sîn geverte, diu huob sich mit im ûf die vart ;
er lief gegen einem walde, er wânde er wære Unsælden wor-
den vrî (he weened he was free of U.).

er sprach : ‘ *Unselde*, nu bin ich dir entrunnen (escaped).’
‘ nein ’ sprach *Unselde*, ‘ ich hân den sig (victory) gewonnen ;
swaz du geliefe, daz selbe ich rande (I ran as fast as thou),
ûf dînem halse (neck) *was mîn gemach* (I took my ease.)’¹
der man dâ zuo im selbe sprach (to himself spake) :
‘ *só ’st niht só guot, ich enkêre wider ze lande !* ’ (best to turn
back).

Exactly the story of the homesprite, who flits with you, and you cannot shake him off (p. 513) ; Misfortune personified is here substituted for the more living kobold. *Unselde* occurs in the plural too : ‘ *ganc z’allen onselden* hin ! ’ in a Lower Rhine poem by Wilhelm (F. A. Reuss p. 13). It reminds me of ‘ *zuo zallen marsen varn* ’ (p. 362 ; see Suppl.).

¹ Post equitem sedet atra Cura. Hor. Od. 3, 1

CHAPTER XXIX.

PERSONIFICATIONS.

This is a convenient place to treat more fully of Mythical Personification.

All objects are either perceptible to our senses, or merely exist in our thoughts. Of sensible objects a very general characteristic is, that they strike upon the eye (*εἰς ὤπα, πρὸς ὤπα*), for which we once possessed the pretty word *äugen*, OHG. *ougan*, Goth. *áugjan*, to come in sight, appear (hence *sich er-eigenen*, Gramm. 1, 226). The form and shape of this appearance was called in Goth. *siuns*, ON. *sýn*, OHG. *gisiuni*, which come from *sáihva* (I see), as species from *specio*, *visus* from *video*, *εἶδος* from the lost *εἶδω*, and signify the seen, the present; ¹ while *váihts*, which Ulphilas uses also for *εἶδος* (p. 440), is derived from *veiha* (*facio*, p. 68). More commonly still we find combinations: Goth. *andáugi*, *andvairþi*, OHG. *antwert*, Goth. *andavteizn*, AS. *andwite*, OHG. *anasiumi*, *anasiht*, *gisiht*; all of which, formed like the Gr. *πρόσωπον*, have alike the sense of *aspectus*, *obtutus*, and the narrower one of *facies*, *vultus*, *frons* (Goth. *vlits* fr. *vleita*), because vision is directed mainly to the visage. The Lat. *persona*, obscure as its origin ² may seem, agrees with the above in its use, except that *siuns* and *πρόσωπον* may refer to any sight, *vlits* and *persona* more especially to the human form.

The freest personality is proper to gods and spirits, who can suddenly reveal or conceal their shape, appear and disappear (chap. XXX). To man this faculty is wanting, he can but slowly

¹ MHG. *schin* used in the same way: *disen ritter oder sinen schin*, Parz. 18, 13. *sante Martins gewer oder sîn schîn*, Fragm. 28^b. *wip, man oder tieres schîn*, Diut. 2, 94. *sîn wesen und sîn schîn (schein)*, Er. 10047-9. *der menschlich schîn*, Ls. 3, 263.

² Hardly from *πρόσωπον*, like Proserpina from *Περσεφόνη*, where the change of sound is exactly the other way. What if the old etymology from *persōnare* should prove defensible, and *sonus* be conn. with *siuns*? There are plenty of analogies between sound and sight (c.g. that Romance 'par son', p. 745), and also changes of short vowels into long (*persōna*); *πρόσωπον* itself happens to be an example of both (*δψ* voice and eye, *δψις* visio, *ὠψ* eye, face, *ὠπή* look); the formation of *persona* would be as in *Perenna*, *Pertunda*, *Pervinca*.

come and go, and in his body he must bide, unless magic intervene; hence he is [not] in the strictest sense a person, his veriest self being emphasized in our older speech by the term *lîp* (life), body (Gramm. 4, 296). But language and an open brow distinguish him from beasts, who have only voice and *προτομή*, not a real *πρόσωπον* or countenance. Still less of personality have plants, silent as they are, and rooted to the soil. Nevertheless both animals and plants have in common with man a difference of sex and the power of propagation; to both of them language assigns natural gender and, only where that is non-apparent, a purely grammatical. It goes yet further, and concedes it to lifeless tools and to things beyond the reach of sight or sense.

Then poetry and fables set themselves to *personify*, i.e. to extend personality, the prerogative of gods, spirits and men, to animals, plants, things or states to which language has lent gender. All these appear in *Æsop* endowed with human speech, and acting by the side of gods and men; and this not only in the case of trees and shrubs (like the bean or corn stalk in the fairy-tale), but of utensils like pot and file (*χύτρα, ρίνη*), of days and seasons (*έορτή, ύστέρη, χειμών, έαρ*), even of mere emotions, as love, shame (*έρωσ, αίσχύνη*). Our own simple-hearted *eld* loves to emphasize this livingness by the formalities of address and relationship: horse, ship and sword are gravely apostrophized by the hero (Gramm. 3, 331. 434. 441); such entities receive the title of 'herr' or 'frau' (3, 346); as animals are invested with gossip-hood and brotherhood (Reinh. p. xxvii), the *Edda* makes *alr* (the awl) brother to *knîfr*, Sn. 133. Under this head too I bring the practice of coupling 'father' and 'mother' with lifeless things (Gramm. 4, 723).

Things deeply intergrown with speech and story can at no time have remained foreign to mythology, nay, they must have sucked up peculiar nourishment from her soil, and that universal life conceded in grammar and poetry may even have its source in a mythical *prosopopœia*. As all the individual gods and godlike attributes really rest on the idea of an element, a luminary, a phenomenon of nature, a force and virtue, an art and skill, a blessing or calamity, which have obtained currency as objects of worship; so do notions related to these, though in themselves

impersonal and abstract, acquire a claim to deification. A distinct personality will attach to animals, plants, stars, which stand connected with particular gods, or have sprung out of metamorphosis. One might say, the heathen gods as a whole have arisen out of the various personifications that were most natural to each nation's way of thinking and state of culture; but that individual figures among them, by combining several attributes and by long continued tradition, were sure to attain a higher rank and reputation.

In this process however we notice an important distinction with regard to sex: strong, vehement forces and operations are by preference made into *gods*, mild and gracious ones into *goddesses*, which of itself determines the superior power, as a rule, of the male divinities. Yet this inferiority of the goddesses, added to their grace, tended, as I have more than once remarked, to secure their status longer, while the stern sway of the gods was being rooted out.

Everywhere the two sexes appear hand in hand, so that out of their union, according to human notions, may issue new births and new relationships. Wherever personification is not directly intended, it is the habit of our language to use the crude undeveloped neuter.

Amongst elements, we find air and fire handed over more to gods, earth and water more to goddesses. *Wuotan* appears as an all-pervading atmosphere, as a murmur that sweeps through heaven and earth; this we made out under the words *wuot* (p. 131) and *wôma* (p. 144; conf. p. 745), and perhaps we have a right to connect even *wehen* (to blow) with *waten* (to wade), *beben* (to quake) with *Biflindi* (p. 149). The hurricane of the 'furious host' will then have real point and significance. Favourable wind (p. 636-7) was in the hands of *Wuotan* and *Zeus*, *Oðinn* 'weathered,' stormed or thundered, and was called *Viðrir* (ibid.). The shaking of the air by thunder is everywhere traced to the highest god, whom our antiquity represents separately as *Donar*, *Thunar*, the son of *Wuotan*, but in *Zeus* and *Jupiter* it is the father again; *Thrymr* seems identical with *Thórr* (p. 181). *Loptir* (pp. 246. 632) is another emanation of *Oðinn*. *Zio*, and perhaps *Phol*, as whirlwinds (turbines), must be regarded in the same

light (p. 632).—Of goddesses, we have to reckon whoever may stand for the ‘wind’s bride’ and whirlwind, *Holda* who accompanies the ‘furious host,’ and *Herodias* (p. 632); and bear in mind that to the same *Holda* and to *Mary* is given power over snow and rain (pp. 267. 641. 174-5). It is in Wikram 251^a that a ‘*frau luft*’ first occurs, as H. Sachs makes *aër*, *ignis*, *aqua* all ‘*fräulein*.’ Whenever dwarfs, giants and giantesses raise wind, weather and storm (pp. 631-6-7), they act as servants of the highest god. *Kâri* also represented air.

Loki and *Logi* (p. 241) are gods of fire, and so was probably *aúhns*, *ovan*, which to us denotes the mere element itself (p. 629). The ‘*dea Hludana*’ (p. 257) might stand beside him. *Donar*, like the Slavic *Perun*, hurls the lightning flash, yet the Slavs make *Grom*, thunder, a youth, and *Munya*, lightning, a maiden (p. 178 n.). Fire, the godlike, is spoken to, and called ‘*bani viðar*,’ wood-killer. *Balder*, *Phol*, is perhaps to be understood as a divinity of light (pp. 227. 612-4), and from another point of view *Ostara* (p. 291). *Mist* was taken for a valkyr (p. 421).

Hlér (p. 240) and *Oegir* (pp. 137. 311) are gods of the wave, and *Rân* a goddess (p. 311); *Geban*, *Gefjon* (pp. 239. 311) is divided between both sexes. The fem. *ahva* (p. 583 n.) and the female names of our rivers (p. 600) lead us to expect water-goddesses, with which agrees the preponderance of nixies and mermaids (p. 487), also the softness of the element, though *Oðinn* too is found under the name of *Hnikar* (ibid.) *Snow* and *Hoarfrost* are thought of as male (p. 761), but the Norse *Drífa* (loose drifting snow) is a daughter of *Snior* (Yngl. saga 16).

The *Earth*, like *Terra* and *Tellus*, could not be imagined other than female, so that the masc. *Heaven* might embrace her as bride; *Rindu* is a goddess too, and *Nerthus* (p. 251), though she and the masc. *Niörðr* play into one another. Out of the Goth. *faírguni*’s neutrality unfolded themselves both a male *Fíörgynn* (p. 172) and a female *Fíörgyn* (p. 256); the former answers to *Perkunas* (Faírguneis) and to other cases of gods being named after mountains, conf. *ans*, *âs* (p. 25) and *Etsel* (p. 169). And *Hamar* the rock-stone (p. 181) is another instance of the same thing. The forest-worship dwelt upon in ch. IV could not fail to introduce directly a deification of sacred trees, and most trees

are regarded as female; we saw (pp. 651-2-3) how the popular mind even in recent times treated 'frau *Hasel*, frau *Elhorn*, frau *Wacholder*, frau *Fichte*' as living creatures. *Hlîn* and *Gnâ*, handmaids of Frigg, are named in Sn. 38 among âsynjor, and *Hlœck* in Sn. 39 among valkyrjor: all three, according to Biörn, are likewise names of trees, *Hlîn* apparently of our leinbaum, leinahorn, lenne (acer, maple), in the teeth of our derivation (p. 874); conf. AS. *hlîn*. Again Sn. 128 tells us more generally, why all fem. names of trees are applicable to women, e.g. selja is both salix and procuratrix.

Zio, like Zeus, appears to mean, in the first instance, sky and day (pp. 193. 736); yet our mythology takes no notice of his relation to the earth (p. 700). But still it personifies *Day* m. (p. 735), and makes him the son of *Night* f. At the same time evening and morning, *Apanrod* and *Tagarod* (p. 748) are masculine.¹ It is therefore the more surprising that the *sun*, the great light of day (p. 701), should be pictured as female and the *moon* as male, especially as the sun shines fiercely and the moon softly. Though this view is of high antiquity (p. 704), yet the identity of the Goth. *sáuil*, AS. *segil*, with sol and ἥλιος, makes it appear likely that with us too the relation between sun and moon was once the same as in the classical languages (p. 701), and was only departed from by slow degrees. Even in MHG. the gender of 'sunne' continued to vacillate, as the Latin conversely shews a *Lunus* by the side of *Luna*. In the same way the Goth. *stairnô*, ON. *stiarina*, is fem. like stella, but the OHG. *sterno*, OS. *sterro*, AS. *steorra*, masc. like ἀστήρ; and each has its justification in the particular stars personified.

Our *Summer* and *Winter* are masculine (p. 758), the Lat. *aestas* and *hiems* feminine, to which add the Gr. χεῖμών m., and the Slav. *zima* f. Excepting *Hrede* and *Eástre*, all our names of months were masc.; and *Mai* in particular often stands for summer. On the contrary, the vagueness of the neuter 'year' shews the absence of mythical prosopopœia, (see Suppl.).

On mere tools and utensils its operation seems more stinted: an exception must at once be made in favour of the *sword*. As this weapon received proper names and a living accusative

¹ Lith. 'Berlca dea vespertina, Breksta dea tenebrarum,' Lasiecz 47. In our Tristan, Isot is beautifully compared to the Sun, and her mother to the Dawn, f.

(Gramm. 3, 441), as it was often apostrophized (Klage 847. Wigal. 6514), and like Norse heroes, or like fire, was called *bani* (occisor, e.g. Hialmars bani, Fornald. sög. 1, 522), as its hilt and point were the haunt of snake and adder (p. 687-8); agreeable to all this is a deification of the *sword of war* (p. 203-4), and for this would be found available not the lifeless neuter 'swert,' but the masc. 'hairus, heru, cheru,' p. 203, to which correspond the divine names *Eor*, *Ἄρης* and *Sahsnót*: from this divine progenitor's name proceeded the national names of Cheruskans, Saxons, conf. Snar-dones, with Sweordweras, in Cod. exon. 322, 13.—In contrast with the sword, which ennobles men, stands female decoration, from which our language drew similar designations; and it is a significant thing that, as one of the highest gods borrowed lustre from the sword, so did the fairest of goddesses from her necklace, she after whom all ladies are called *freyja* (pp. 299. 306). In our oldest laws the sword¹ was an essential part of the 'her-gewäte,' war-equipment, and the necklace of the 'frauen-gerade,' woman's outfit (RA. 567 seq.); now, as we find in the Lex Angl. et Werin. 7, 3 the expression 'ornamenta muliebria quod *rhedo* dicunt,' it becomes a question, whether a totally different explanation of the AS. goddess *Rheda* from that attempted on p. 289 be not the right one. *Ostara*, *Eástre*, was goddess of the growing light of spring, and *Hrede* might be goddess of female beauty, another name for *Frouwa*, *Freyja*, or a personification of the necklace; ² the root might be the same as in the OHG. *hrat*, A.S. *hræd*, ON. *hraðr* (velox, celer), as the notions of swiftness and sweetness often meet. We must not overlook another word used for the above 'gerade:' *radelêve* (RA. 567), OHG. *rado-*

¹ And with it a *horse* and *ship*, the most precious of movable goods in antiquity. 'Mearas and māðmas' are coupled together in AS. poems; out of māðm was developed the notion of the Goth. māiþms, a costly gift, while the MHG. *meiden* retained the literal meaning of horse; the formula 'schiff und geschirr,' ship and harness, which afterwards meant the land-ship (waggon) and its rigging, may originally have signified the sea-ship, which ON. and AS. poets in varying phrase denominate 'sea-horse,' Andr. and El. xxxiv.-v.; even in the French *Simplic.* 3, 46 I find 'to put the wooden water-horse to his paces' = to sail. This borders closely on the notion of demonic sea-horses (p. 490).

² The personifications *Hamar* and *Heru* as weapons of the highest gods, and their counterpart the feminine *spindle* and *necklace*, support each other (conf. p. 204). The hammer was left to grow diabolic (ch. XXXIII) and superstitious (XXXVII), but the men would not allow their sword to be dishonoured. The Indians personified and apostrophized the *sacrificial knife* (Götting. anz. 1831, p. 1762).

leiba (Graff 3, 855), more exactly hrataleipa, on comparing which with the AS. sweorda lâfe, homera lâfe (Beow. 5868. 5654), i.e. lâfe preceded by a genitive, we see that Hredan or Hredean lâfe would originally mean jewellery the legacy (leavings) of the goddess, which afterwards all women divided among them. And this explanation is supported by several other things. Not only do the Norse skalds designate woman in general by the name of any ornament that she wears; but Freyja herself, whose bosom is adorned with that costly Brîsînga men (Goth. Breisiggê mani? p. 306), as mother earth too wears her 'iarðar men' the green-sward (p. 643), gave birth to a divine daughter identical with herself, whose name also gets to mean ornament and jewelry. Sn. 37 says, she was called *Hnoss*, and was so beautiful that everything elegant and precious was named hnossir; 'huossir velja,' Sæm. 233^b, means to select jewelry for a present. Hnoss may either be derived from hnoða, glomus, nodus (as hlass from hlaða, sess from sitja), or be connected with an OHG. form hnust, nust, nusc (Graff 2, 1006-7); either way it so obviously agrees with bris (compages, nodus), or with nusta (ansula), nuskil (fibula), that it is wonderfully like the Brîsînga (or Brisînga) men of the mother. But elsewhere we find Freyja provided with another daughter *Gersimi* (Sn. 212. Yngl. saga c. 13), whose name exhibits the same notion over again, nay it has found its way, like rhedo, into ancient legal phraseology. Gersemi (fem.) means costly ornament, cimelium (Gloss. to Grâgâs p. 26), also arrha, and mulcta pactitia; the Östgöta-lag giptab. 18 has gârsimi, the Vestgöta-lag p. 140 görsimar, the Dan. laws giörsum, giorsum; even A.S. records repeatedly use the phrase 'gærsuman, gersuman niman,' gersuman capere in the sense of thesaurum, cimelium (Spelm. p. 263^a. Ducange 3, 513), but I have not come across it in the poets. As the AS. -sum answers to OHG. -sam (Gramm. 2, 574), I conjecture an OHG. karosemi (from karo, gar, yare, paratus) meaning the same as wîp-garawi, mundus muliebris (Graff 4, 241); we should then have learnt three new equivalents for the grade of our German law: rhedo, hnoss, gersemi, all of them personified and deified as *Hreda*, *Hnoss*, *Gersemi*. Again, it occurs to me that in the story of Oswald, one that teems with mythical allusions (think of Tragemund, and the raven all but Odinic), there appears a maiden *Spange* (Z. f. d. a. 2, 96-7. 105, ver Spange 103, vor

Spange 115, like ver Hilde, ver Gane),¹ plainly a personified spange (armilla), a meaning highly appropriate to the beautiful princess. Such goddesses of female adornment and of household implements may also be supposed among the Lithuanian deities named in Lasicz p. 48-9. *Nádala* the snuggling, insinuating (p. 246) occurs at least as an OHG. proper name in Irmino 187^a; compare the personal relation attributed to alr and knifr (p. 881). *Illöck* we have explained (p. 401, conf. 421-2) as hlanca, catena (see Suppl.).

Latin, Romance and German poems of the Mid. Ages, as early as the 12th cent. it seems to me, introduce the player's die as a personal demonic being; the Cod. Monac. ol. benedictobur. 160^a fol. 94 contains the following passage: 'cum sero esset una gens lusorum, venit *Decius* in medio eorum, et dixit, Fraus vobis! nolite cessare ludere, pro dolore enim vestro missus sum ad vos;' and fol. 97^b speaks of the 'secta *Decii*,' i.e. of dicers. Other auths. are given by Ducange sub v. Decius = talus, taxillus, with a correct explanation of the word by the Fr. dé, O. Fr. dez, Prov. dat, datz, It. Sp. dado = Lat. datus,² because in playing 'dare' was used for edere, jacere. The same Munich codex fol. 95^b furnishes another remarkable phrase: 'nil hic expavescimus preter *Hashardi* minas,' the threatenings of the die; yet 'hasehart,' which is known to MHG. poets also,³ can only be traced to the Fr. hasart, hasard, whose own origin is obscure, whose wider meaning brings it sooner to the verge of personification. Add to all this, that the Indian myth makes *Dvâpara*, a demon, squeeze himself into the dice, and that these come in the shape of birds, Bopp's *Nalus* pp. 38-9. 50 (see Suppl.).

Scarcely will a deification grow out of notions of place; on the other hand, the idea and name of a deity can be transferred to space. Thus from the heathen Hali, Hel, arose the christian hell; the ON. Laufey (p. 246) is perhaps another instance, and the idea of a god often mingles with that of wood and grove.

¹ Ettmüller's text has an erroneous unmeaning Pange.

² Conf. lé, lez, It. lato, Sp. lado, Lat. latus; né, nez, It. nato, Sp. nado, Lat. natus; pré, prez, Prov. pratz, It. prato, Sp. prado, Lat. pratum.

³ Examples coll. in Z. f. d. a. 1, 577; to which may be added: 'spil geteilet úf bret ald an hasehart,' Gute frau 1093. 'den hasehart werfen,' Tauler's Sermons in Cod. Argent. A, 89.

Abstract immaterial objects open a far wider field for personifications; and here we see female ones decidedly predominate over male.

Of the latter the most striking instances are, I think, the following. Donar is pictured at once as *father* and *grandfather* (p. 167); Aija to the Lapps, Ukko to the Finns, are grandfather as well as thunder. *Wunsch*, *Oski*, a name of Wuotan (p. 143) signifies much the same as the female figures Sâvida, Fruma, *Χάρης*; and the Gr. *πόθος* (wish, longing) occasionally occurs as *Πόθος*. If I am right in my interpretations of *Gibika* (p. 137), *Gáuts* (pp. 23. 367—72), *Sigi* (pp. 27. 371), we can easily find female beings to match them also. All these names belonged to the highest god, whose creative bounty blesses; others to his near kinsman the majestic god of war: *Wíg* (pugna, p. 203, conf. Graff 1, 740) and *Hadu* (pp. 207. 223), to which many female names correspond, *Hilta*, etc.¹ With *Yggr* (p. 208) I have identified the Pallor and Pavor of the Romans; *Omi*, *Wôma* is better explained as elemental. What comes nearer to *Wíg* and *Hadu* is *Death*, *Daubus* (p. 842), which likewise from a male becomes a female person; that death is immediately related to hunger is shewn in our language, Goth. *svults* being mors, and ON. *sultr* fames [Germ. sterben, Eng. starve], like *λιμός* hunger, *λοιμός* pestilence; and personifications start up on every side: *húngr* is Hel's dish, *sultr* her knife (Sn. 33), *Herbout* (Renart 23362. Roman de la rose 18097) is a visitation of famine, a name I derive from the OHG. *Heribalt*, for Hunger stalks like a mighty warrior through the world: 'ferid unmet grôt *Hungar* hêtigrim obar helido barn,' Hel. 132, 8. 'der *Hunger* gie überal, breite sich in die werlt wîte,' Diut. 3, 101. The Roman *Fames* is fem., her personality comes out in Ov. Met. 8, 800. Doubt still hangs over the comparison attempted on p. 374 between a MHG. *Billich* and the Eddic *Bil* or *Bîl*, whose own being is as yet unexplained; but that the sexes do interchange is most satisfactorily proved by the frequent appearance, side by side, of an identical god and goddess, who are parent and child, or brother and sister, as *Niörðr* and *Nerthus*, *Freyr* and *Freyja*, *Liber* and *Libera*. So *Berhta* became *Berchtolt*, p. 279 (see Suppl.).

¹ Bruoder *Zornli*, *Ergerli* (p. 274). H. Sachs i. 5, 538^d exhibits *Hederlein* in a bear's hide as brother of *Zenklein*.

Of goddesses and godlike women that have sprung out of moral ideas, the number is far greater (p. 397). Under various forms a *divine mother* stands beside the father or grandfather: *frau Uote*, ancestress of all the heroic families (Zeitschr. f. d. a. 1, 21), *Holda* the gracious, *Berhta* the bright, *Frouwa*, *Freyja* the fair or happy, *Sippia*, *Sif* the kindly (p. 309). *Folla*, *Fulla*, *Abundia* means fulness of blessing rather than full-moon; the Romans hallowed *Copia* with her horn of plenty; 'aurea fruges Italiae pleno defundit *Copia* cornu,' Hor. Ep. i. 12, 28. 'divesque meo bona *Copia* cornu est,' Ov. Met. 9, 85. *Snotra* the wise, well-behaved, Sn. 38; the word lived on as an adj., Goth. snutrs, AS. snotor, ON. snotr, prudens, callidus, liter. emunctae naris, OHG. snozar by rights, but snotar appears to be used also (Graff 6, 845); any discreet sensible woman can be called *snotra*. Three *âsynjor*, who are protectresses in the sense of the Roman *Tutela*, are cited by Sn. 38: *Vör*, OHG. prob. *Wara*, she who is aware and wary, from whom nothing can be hidden; *Syn*, who guards the doorway, with which I connect the Goth. sunja veritas, sunjôns defensio (sunjô p. 310 was an error), and the sunnis excusatio found in our oldest laws, so that the meaning seems to be defence; *Hlîn*, whom Frigg has set for the protection of all men that are in peril, from hlîna tueri, fovere.¹ Even *Hali*, *Halja* is a sheltering goddess, who hides us in the bosom of the underworld, and originally a kind one.

From the oft-recurring phrases: 'was im thiú fruma gibidig,' Hel. 110, 2. 130, 13; 'thiú fruma ist hiar irougít,' O. i. 15, 32; 'thaz in thiú fruma queman was' 16, 17; 'sô quimit thir fruma in henti' 18, 42; 'nu uns thiú fruma irreimti,' O. ii. 14, 120; one would think this fruma (lucrum, utilitas) had once had a personal *Fruma* underlying it, especially as the OS. gibidig gibidi, AS. gifeðe (datus, concessus) is habitually used of superior gifts of fortune: tír gifeðe (gloria concessa), Jud. 136, 5; cáð

¹ Snorri, in proof of the three goddesses, quotes as many proverbs: 'kona verðr rör þess er hon verðr vís,' a woman is wary of what she is aware of; 'syn er fyrir sett,' a defence is set up (when one denies his guilt, conf. Fornm. sög. 9, 5: hann setti þar syn fyrri, ok bauð skirslur); 'sâ er forðaz hleinir,' he that is struggling leans (on the tutelary goddess). From hlîna to slant, κλίνειν, inclinare, Goth. hleinan, comes the causative hleina to lean, Goth. hláinjan. Hláins in Gothic is collis, [slanting or] sheltering hill? I do not see how to reconcile with this the sense attributed to hlîn of a (sheltering?) tree (p. 884).

gifeðe (opes concessae).¹ Like the above 'thiu fruma uns ir-reimta' we have 'thên thiu sâlda gireim,' O. i. 3, 17; girîman again is a higher 'falling to one's lot,' and in O. iii. 9, 11. 12 is the combination: 'fruma thana fuarta, sâlda inti heilî.' And sâlda, like fruma, comes 'in henti,' to hand. The unquestionable personifications of *Sâlda* have been treated p. 864, etc.

The OHG. name *Sigukepa* would suit a victory-giving valkyr, as the Norse Victoria or *Níkk* is in like manner named *Sigrdrífa* (p. 435); drífa is one that drives, and the name *Drífa* was also fitly given to a goddess of the snowstorm, for in the heat of battle darts and arrows fly like snowflakes,² Holda sends out the flakes, Wuotan the arrows. Our Bellona was both *Hiltia* and *Kundia* (p. 422).

Beside these divine or at least superhuman beings, from whom proceeded splendour, light, shelter, deliverance and a heap of blessings, especially victory, there were also others who were imagined as personifications of single *virtues*: as deity branched out bodily into separate powers, its spiritual attributes appeared likewise as though distributed into rays, so as to shine before mankind. But here again, honour, love, truth, gentleness, shame, self-control and pity all assume the guise of goddesses, because the people were accustomed from of old to hand over all that was fair and gracious to the female sex (see Suppl.).

It was the accepted belief that, like the wise-women of heathenism (pp. 400. 424), the virtues selected favourites with whom to lodge and consort. Offended or wronged by evil-doing, they took their leave, and *returned to the heavenly dwelling*, the place of their birth. In this too they are like the swan-wives, who after long sojourn among men suddenly take wing and seek their better home (p. 427).

Such notions must reach a long way back, and be widely spread. Hesiod in *Ἔργα* 198—200 tells how *Αἰδώς* and *Νέμεσις*, Shame and Remorse, having wrapt them in white raiment (put the swan-

¹ Eádgifu, OHG. OtiKepa, a woman's name = opes largiens, might translate the Lat. goddess Ops.

² Ac veluti Boreae sub tempore nix glomerata spargitur, haud aliter saevas jecere sagittas. Walth. 188. Von beidenthalben fouch daz scoz (flew the shots) alsô dicke sô der snê (as thick as snow). Alex. 2886 (3235). Daz geschoz als diu snie gie (went), und die wurfe under daz her (and the darts among them). Wigal. 10978.

shift on), depart from men to the immortal gods. We still say, *Truth and Honour are gone out of the land*; a chronicler of the 14th cent. (Böhmer's *Fontes* 1, 2) writes: 'tunc enim pax in exilium migravit.' Kl. 1575: 'jâ enwil mîn vrowe Ere beliben in dem rîche, sîd alsô jâmerlîche die êre tragende sint gelegen. wer solt si denne widerwegen, swenn ir geswîchet diu kraft? des het gar die meisterschaft mîn lieber vater Rûedegêr. vrowe Ere diu wirt nimmer mêr mit solchem wunsche getragen, als er sie truoc bî sînen tagen.' (Honour will not stay, now her bearers are in such pitiful case. Who is to steady her, when strength fails her? R. had the secret; she'll never again be borne as he bore her.) The hero to whom dame Honour had attached herself, knew how to maintain her equilibrium, to carry her upright. Nithart 135 speaks of a female being *Vrômuot* (merry-mind) in a way that excludes a human person; something mythical must lie at the back of it. Hiltrât and some other maidens are to meet for dancing, and with them shall fare *Frômuot*, 'diu ist ir aller wîsel,' queen-bee of them all. They brought their attendants, she at springtime had entered the land, but afterwards she is missing, *she has fled* out of Austria, probably because she was not held in honour there. The poet closes this (first) song with the exclamation: 'could we but win her back, we should bear her on our hands,' as the hero of the hour (a king, a bride) is raised on high and carried about; the passage on Rüdiger suggests the same kind of 'chairing.' In the second song we are told that *Frômuot* fareth sorrowful from land to land in search of cheerful men; now who so certain of his happiness and luck, that he dare send an embassy to her? Why, none but prince Friderich, his court by all means let her visit. It is mirth and gaiety that have left the kingdom: *frômüete*, OHG. *frawamuati*, OS. *frômôd* (Hel. 35, 1) means jovial, but *Frômuot* likewise occurs as a woman's name (Graff 2, 699), it is that of Sigeminne's handmaid in *Wolfd.* 673-5-6-7. 719, and the personification may have its reason in ancient ways of thinking.¹ In a poem of the early part of the 15th cent. (*Z. f. d. a.* 1, 424), *frau Gerechtigkeît* (righteousness) and her companions say: 'now am I clean

¹ The emendation proposed in *Aldt.* bl. 1, 371, 'vrou Muot,' is actually found in *MsH.* 3, 218^b, in case the var. lectt. 768^b have had full justice done them. But I have never met with the simple *Muot* as a woman's name.

rejected and *driven to another land* . . . we all have taken flight and are *chased out of the land.*' So Helbl. 7, 61 makes *Wârheit* (veritas) and *Triuwe* (fides) quit the country, but what he further tells of *Wârheit* is peculiar, how she slipt into a parson, and nestled in his cheek, but left him at last when he opened his lips, 7, 65—102. In 7, 751 vices are summoned to creep (sliefen) into a judge. So that both virtues and vices, like the daemon, take up their abode in men, and retire from them again. But such fancies were not far to seek, and even the elder poets make *Minne* especially visit the heart of man, possess it, e.g. MS. 1, 26^b: 'ach süeze *Minne*, füege dich in ihr herze, und gib ir minnen muot!' Notice too the naïve question the daughter puts to her mother, MS. 2, 260^a: 'nu sage mir ob diu *Minne* lebe und hie bî uns ûf erde sî, ald ob uns in den lûften swebe (or hovers in the air above us)?' She has heard of higher beings, whom she imagines living in the air, as the heathen valkyrs glided through it. The mother answers, speaking of *Venus*: 'si vert unsihtic (travels viewless) als ein *geist*, si en hât niht ruowe (no rest) naht noch tac;' conf. p. 456.

In the *Gute frau* 576: 'dô kam *vrou Sælde* und *Ere*, die wurden sîne geverten (companions), die in sît dicke ernerten von aller slahte swære (oft saved him from harm);' 611: 'im enschatte ouch niht sêre, daz *vrou Sælde* und *vrou Ere* sich sîn unterwunden (took charge), dô si'n ûf der strâze vunden (found him on march). *vrou S.* löste im diu pfant (difficulties), dar nâch versatzte si ze hant *vrou E.* aber vûrbaz.' Dietr. 49: 'des hete diu *Ere* zuo im fluht (resorted), durch daz (because) er ir so schône pfac (treated);' 105: 'daz er die *Ere* het ze hûs.' MS. 2, 174^a: '*vrô Ere* kumt mit im gerant.' Wartb. kr. cod. jen. 112: '*ver Triuwe* nam (took) an sich die *Scham*, sam tete diu *Zuht*, diu *Kiusche* (so did courtesy, chastity), *Mitte* und *Ere* alsam, si jâhen daz ir aller vriedel wære (they all declared their darling was) der vürste dâ ûz Düringe lant;' the preceding stanzas make it clear that dame Faith commands and leads the other five (see Suppl.).

It was clumsy of Otfried, after making *Karitas* (iv. 29) spin and weave the Saviour's tunic¹ in the manner of a heathen norn,

¹ The tunica *inconsutilis* (giscafôta sia mit filu kleinên fadumon joh unginâtên red'non kleinêro garno), and acc. to the Orendellied spun by Mary and wrought by Helena. Whence arose this myth? Greg. Tru. mirac. 1, 8 has already 'tunica

to give her for sisters two unfeminine ideas, 'fridu' and 'reht' (v. 23, 125); the Latin *Caritas, Pax, Justitia* would more fitly have discharged the office of fates, and a German Sippa and Rehtî would have answered to them: Notker in Cap. 133 manages better, when he translates Concordia, Fides, Pudicitia by *Gemeinmuoti, Triwa, Chiuski*. I bring these examples to shew how familiar such personifications were even in the 9-10th cent.; they need not have been invented or introduced first by the MHG. poets.

Minna, even in OHG. (p. 59), could signify not only caritas, but amor and cupido; and there is nothing offensive in Veldek's Lavinia and Eneas addressing Venus as *Minne* (En. 10083. 10948); in Hartmann, Wolfram and Walther, *frou Minne* appears bodily (Iw. 1537. 1638. Parz. 288, 4. 30. 291—5. Walth. 14, 10. 40, 26. 55, 16), and Hartmann, who is fond of interweaving dialogue, has a talk with her, Iw. 2971 seq., a thing imitated in Gute frau 328-46-80. A *froue Mâze* (modus, meetness) occurs in Walth. 46, 33; a *frou Witze* in Parz. 288, 14. 295, 8; examples of *frou Ere* were given a page or two back, and of *frou Selde* p. 865-6. These personifications are brought in more sparingly by Gotfried and Conrad, yet in the Trist. 10929 diu *Mâze* cuts out a garment, and just before that comes the fine passage (10900) on Isot's figure: 'als si diu *Minne* dræte ir selber z'eime veder-spil, dem Wunsche z'einem endezil, dâ für er niemer komen kan,' as if Venus had made her for a toy to herself, and for utmost bound to Wish, that he can never get beyond. Tristan 4807 has 'diu gotinne *Minne*,' and Parz. 291, 17 once *frou Liebe* as well as *frou Minne*. *Frou Ere* is freq. in Frauenlob: 'dâ hât *vrou Ere* ir wünschelruot' 41, 18; '*vroun Eren* diener' 134, 18; '*vroun Eren* bote' 194, 8; she excludes 'unwîp' from her castle (vesten) 274, 18; '*vroun Eren* strâze' 384-5 (see Suppl.).

In the 14-15th cent. these fancies are carried to excess, and degenerate into mere allegories: my ladies, the Virtues, instead of coming in, one at a time, where they are wanted to deepen the impressiveness of the story, intrude themselves into the plot of the whole story, or at least of long formal introductions and proems. And yet there is no denying, that in these preludes,

Christi non consuta.' [The author forgets the 'coat without seam,' χιτῶν ἀρραφος, John 19, 23.]

nearly all of one traditional pattern, which even Hans Sachs is excessively fond of, there occur now and then shrewd and happy thoughts, which must be allowed to possess a mythical significance. By degrees all the devices of poetry were so used up, the art was so denuded of her native resources, that no other expedient was left her; our Mythology will have to remember this, and in stray features here and there recognise [mangled but] still palpitating figures even of the heathen time. When the poet has missed his way in a wooded wild, and beside the murmuring spring comes upon a wailing wife, who imparts advice and information, what is this but the apparition of a wish-wife or valkyr, who meets the hero at the forest fount, and makes a covenant with him? And that dwarfs or giants often come between, as servants of these wild women, and conduct to their dwelling by a narrow path, this also seems no invention, but founded on old tradition.

Out of many examples I will select a few. MS. 2, 136^b: Ich kam geriten ûf ein velt vür einen grüenen walt, då vant ich ein vil schœn gezelt (tent), dar under saz diu *Triuwe*, si wand ir hende, si bôt ir leit, si schrê vil lûte... 'mîn schar ist worden al ze kleine (my followers are grown far too few).' Cod. Berol. 284 fol. 57-8: By a steep cliff in the greenwood lives *Virtue*, and on a high rock beside it her sister *dame Honour*, with whom are *Loyalty*, *Bounty*, *Meekness*, *Manhood*, *Truth* and *Constancy*, bewailing the death of a count of Holland. Ls. 1, 375 (a charming tale): On a May morning the poet is roused from sleep by a passionate cry, he starts up, goes into the forest, and climbs over steep rocks, till high up he reaches a delectable flowery vale, and in the dense thicket spies a little wight, who rates him soundly and wishes (like Laurin) to impound him for trampling his lady's roses. When pacified at last, he tells him that here in a stronghold not to be scaled lives *dame Honour* with five maidens of her household, named *Adeltrût*, *Schamigunt*, *Zuchtliche*, *Tugenthilt* and *Mâzebure* (the ancient Hiltia, Gundia, Drût, p. 422). Ls. 3 83: A woman on a pilgrimage, having lost her way in the wooded mountains, comes to a little blue house, in which there sits an ancient dame clothed in blue, who receives her kindly. This good dame calls herself the *Old Minne*, she still wears the colour of truth, but now she is banished from the world. The pilgrim

journeys on to the tent of *Young Minne*, who like her playmate *Wankelmut* (fickle-mind, a fem. formed like *Frômuot*) wears checkered garments, and is busy entering men and women's names in a book (like the *parca* and *wurd*, p. 406 n.), and proclaims the new ways of the world. In the end Old Minne declares that she hopes some day to appear again among men, and drag the false Minne openly to justice. A song in *MsH.* 3, 437^a describes how *dame Honour* sits in judgment, with *Loyalty*, *Charity* and *Manhood* on her right, *Shame*, *Chastity* and *Moderation* on her left. *P. Suchenwirt* xxiv. : The poet follows a narrow path into a great forest, where a high mountain rises to the clouds: a dwarf meets him at the mouth of a cave, and informs him of a court to be held in that neighbourhood by *dame Constancy* and *Justice*. He goes on his way, till he comes to the judgment-seat, before which he sees *Minne* appear as plaintiff, followed by *Moderation*, *Chastity*, *Shame*, and *Modesty*, he hears her cause pleaded and decided, but *frau Minne* spies him in his lurking-place. *H. Sachs* i. 273^b: In May time, in the depth of the forest, on a lofty moss-grown rock, the poet is met by a hairy wood-wife, who guides him to the tower of *dame Charity*, shows him through her chambers, and at last brings him before the high dame herself, who sends him away not empty-handed. The rock-dwelling in the wooded mountain seems an essential part of nearly all these narratives: it is the ruined castle in which the 'white lady' appears, it is the tower of *Veleda*, *Menglöð*, *Brunhild* (p. 96 n.). Are the companions, 'playmates,' by whom *dame Honour* is attended, as the highest virtue by the lower ones, to be traced back to a retinue of priestesses and ministering virgins of the heathen time? to valkyrs and messengers of a goddess? *Dame Era*, *Aiza* (p. 414 n.) may go a long way back by that very name: in the story from *P. Suchenw.* xxiv. 68 is uttered the notable precept 'êre all frouwen fîn!' honour all gentle dames (p. 398; and see *Suppl.*)

As a counterpart, there are personifications of Vices too, but far fewer and feebler, as our antiquity in general does not go upon dualism, and in higher beings the idea of the good preponderates. Besides, when malignant daemons do appear, they are by preference made masculine: *zorn* (anger), *hass* (hate), *neid* (envy); though the *Lat.* *ira* and *invidia* are fem., and *odium*

remains neuter, like our general word for vice (laster) against the fem. virtue (tugend). It surprises me that no personification of 'sünde' f., sin in the christian sense, is to be found in MHG. poets, for the word itself may lie very near the old heathen Sunja (p. 310), inasmuch as defence and denial includes fault and sin; the notion of 'crying sins, deadly sins' is Biblical. Neither does 'schuld' f. (causa, debitum, crimen) put in a personal appearance, the part she played of old (p. 407) seems totally forgotten; what lends itself more readily to personification is *Schande* f. (dedecus). It would be hard to find the negatives 'unêre, unmilde, unstæte' treated as persons, and we only meet with *Untriuwe* in *Frauenlob* 253, 5. 14; *frou Unfuoge* (unfitness) was quoted p. 311 n., but if, as is likely, the positive *Gefuoge* contains fundamentally a physical sense, it hardly falls under the category of vices, but like *Unsælde* (p. 878) marks the negation of a state. In the Bible Guiot (Méon 2, 344) the three fair maids *Charité, Verité, Droiture*, are confronted by three old and ugly ones, *Traïson, Ypocrisie, Simonie*; virtue is always painted fair and godlike, vice foul and fiendish (see Suppl.).

The personification of Rumour is of high antiquity. It was very natural to think of it as a divine messenger sent out through the air, to listen to all that goes on, and bring tidings of it to the highest gods, who have to know everything. To the Greeks Ὅσσα (voice, sound) was Διὸς ἄγγελος, Il. 2, 93; ὄσσα ἐκ Διὸς, Od. 1. 282:

Ὅσσα δ' ἄρ' ἄγγελος ὦκα κατὰ πτόλιν ᾗχετο πάντα,
Od. 24, 413.

Another name is Φήμη, Dor. Φάμα, to whom, says Pausanias i. 17, 1, as well as to Ἑλεος, Αἰδώς and Ὀρμή, there was an altar erected at Athens; the word is conn. with φημί, φήμις, as the Lat. Fama is with fari and famen (in effamen); I incline to refer the AS. bême, tuba, to the same, preferring that spelling to the commoner bÿme. As there would otherwise be nothing in the Edda parallel to this Fama, it is perhaps allowable to find her in the goddess *Gnâ*, Sn. 38, whom Frigg sends out on her errands (at eirindum sînum) to all parts of the world; through air and sea she rides on a steed named *Hóðvarpnir* (who flings out the hoof), she will neither fly nor drive, but ride through the air, and

all highflown things are said to 'gnæfa:' our Gotfried in a song puts 'gnaben' by the side of 'flying, flowing, trotting, creeping.' Hôfvarpnir may have been a winged horse,¹ but to the Greeks and Romans *Fama* herself was *winged*, and this appears to me to have arisen out of the notion of a *bird* that bore tidings as a divine messenger: 'ex ipsa caede *volucrum nuntium mittere*' in Cic. pro Roscio 36 simply means the speediest intimation, conf. Pertz 2, 578: 'subito venit nuntius pennigero volatu.' In our folksongs birds do errands (p. 672), and Oðinn has two ravens for his chosen messengers, but their office could also be handed over to divine beings of secondary rank, as Zeus employs Iris and Ossa, and the notion of angel has arisen directly out of that of messenger. Virgil's famous description of *Fama*, small at first, but quickly growing to enormous size (Aen. 4, 173) with innumerable feathers, eyes, ears, and mouths, seems almost borrowed from the image of a bird getting fledged; at all events the St. Gall monk (Pertz 2, 742) delivers himself thus: 'cum fama *de minima meisa* (sup. p. 683) *super aquilarum magnitudinem excresceret.*' Other writers: 'daz mære (news) dô *vedere gewan*, wîten fuor ez ze gazzen,' Mar. 144. 'alsus *flouk* Morgânes tôt, als ob er *flücke* wære,' so flew M.'s death as if it were fledged, Trist. 5483. 'ein böese mære wirt gar schiere *vlüsse*,' ill news is soon fledged, Renn. 18210. Yet Veldeck, just where we might have expected an imitation of Virgil, has merely: 'dô daz mære *ûf brach—ûz quam—ûz spranc*,' En. 1903-16-97, not giving it wings, though he does make it grow: 'daz mære *wahsen* began,' 9185. 12575; conf. Geo. 521: 'diu mære in der stunde (illico) *wuhsen.*' Most of the other poets confine themselves to the image of flight: 'leidiu *niumâre* (ill news) diu nu *fliegend* in diu lant,' Pf. Chuonr. 7544. 'daz mære *fluoc* dô wîten,' Mar. 45; 'dô daz mære chom *geflogen*' 214. 'dô *flugen* diu mære von lande ze lande,' Nib. 1362, 2; 'dô *flugen* diu mære von schare baz ze schare' 1530, 1. 'ob diz mære iht verre (far) *flüge?*' Wh. 170, 20. 'diu mære *flugen* über daz velt,' Wigal. 2930. 'sô daz mære ie verrer *vliuget*, sô man ie mër geliuget,' the farther it flies, they tell more lies, Freid. 136, 3. 'mære *vliegert* in diu

¹ Like Pegasus; conf. the O. Boh. gloss of Mater verb. 215: kridlatec (alatus) Pegasus equus Neptuni, qui 'fama' interpretatur.

lant,' Karl 116^a.¹ M. Neth. poets also make their fem. *niemare* fly: '*niemare ghevloghen*,' Floris 358; but often, like Veldeck above, they make her *run* or *leap* like started game: '*die niemare liep*' 173; '*die niemare sal lopen*' 1295; and with this agree the Dan. '*det springer nu saa vide*,' DV. 1, 63, and perhaps the AS. '*blæd wîde sprang*,' Beow. 36, if *blæd* (*flatus*, OHG. *plât*) may here be taken for *fama*. In a passage quoted above, p. 78, *fama* is imagined walking, and '*gressus suos retorquens*.' Now, vivid as these representations are, it is not personification that lies at the bottom of them, as we may see by the vague neuter *mære*, OHG. *mâri*; the OHG. *mârîda*, Goth. *mêriþa* (*us-iddja mêriþa* is, *ἐξῆλθεν ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ*, Mark 1, 28) would have lent itself more readily to that, but MHG. had no *mærde* in use, though Latin writers undoubtedly retained *fama*, e.g. in Helmold 1, 65: '*interim volat haec fama per universam Saxoniam*.' Hartmann in Er. 2515 personifies *frowe Melde*, while Tybo, a Dan. poet of the 17th cent., more floridly names her *Fyg-om-by* (*aestuans per terram*, from *fyge*, ON. *fiuka*), and gives her a *fiedreham*, Nyerup's Digtek. 2, 185. Ovid in Met. 12, 30 seq. attributes to *Fama* a house with innumerable approaches, and this is elaborately imitated by Conrad in Troj. 179^c. 180^a, only for fame he puts a masc. *Liümet*, OHG. *hliumunt*, our *leumund* (Gramm. 2, 343. Graff 4, 1100), who together with his followers is winged, and flies forth, but signifies more the listening *fama*; conf. Goth. *hliuma*=*auris*, and *Liüending*=*Favor* in N. Cap. 51. To such male beings would correspond the Lat. *rumor*, of which we read in Isengr. 13: '*Rumor per saltus et arva tonans*'; or the ON. *qvitr*: '*sâ kvitr fló î bygdum*,' Fornm. sög. 9, 237 (see Suppl.).

¹ 'Die æhtesal vlouc uber al; 'ir echte vlouc in die lant,' Kaiserchr. 6406-79.

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TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY.

JACOB GRIMM.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION.

WITH

NOTES AND APPENDIX

BY

JAMES STEVEN STALLYBRASS.

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION (1844).

Now that I am able to put my germinated sprout of German Mythology into its second leafing, I do it with a firmer confidence in the unimpeded progress of its growth. When the first shyness was once overcome, seeking and finding came more quickly together; and facts, that rebuked any effeminate doubt of the reality of scientific discoveries on a field till then considered barren, started up on every side, till now there is a glut of them. Well, I have got my joists and rafters, drawn some lines, laid some courses, and yet guarded against pretending to finality; for who would do that, so long as in one place the materials are wanting, and in another the hands are still full with fetching? I wish to explain all I can, but I am far from being able to explain all I wish.

Criticism, often brilliantly successful on foreign fields, had sinned against our native antiquities, and misused most of the means it had. The immortal work of a Roman writer had shed a light of dawn on the history of Germany, which other nations may well envy us: not content with suspecting the book's genuineness (as though the united Middle Ages had been capable of such a product), its statements, sprung from honest love of truth, were cried down, and the gods it attributes to our ancestors were traced to the intrusion of Roman ideas. Instead of diligently comparing the contents of so precious a testimony with the remnants of our heathenism scattered elsewhere, people made a point of minimizing the value of these few fragments also, and declaring them forged, borrowed, absurd. Such few gods as remained unassailed, it was the fashion to make short work of, by treating them as Gallic or Slavic, just as vagrants are shunted off to the next parish—let our neighbours dispose of the rubbish as they can. The Norse Edda, whose plan, style and substance

breathe the remotest antiquity, whose songs lay hold of the heart in a far different way from the extravagantly admired poems of Ossian, they traced to christian and Anglo-Saxon influence, blindly or wilfully overlooking its connexion with the relics of eld in Germany proper, and thinking to set it all down to nurses and spinning-wives (p. 1230), whose very name seemed, to those unacquainted with the essence of folk-lore, to sound the lowest note of contempt. They have had their revenge now, those norms and spindle-bearers.

One may fairly say, that to deny the reality of this mythology is as much as to impugn the high antiquity and the continuity of our language: to every nation a belief in gods was as necessary as language. No one will argue from the absence or poverty of memorials, that our forefathers at any given time did not practise their tongue, did not hand it down; yet the lack or scantiness of information is thoughtlessly alleged as a reason for despoiling our heathenism, antecedent to the conversion, of all its contents, so to speak. History teaches us to recognise in language, the farther we are able to follow it up, a higher perfection of form, which declines as culture advances; as the forms of the thirteenth century are superior to our present ones, and those of the ninth and the fifth stand higher still, it may be presumed that German populations of the first three centuries of our era, whose very names have never reached us, must have spoken a more perfect language than the Gothic itself. Now if such inferences as to what is non-extant are valid in language, if its present condition carries us far back to an older and oldest; a like proceeding must be justifiable in mythology too, and from its dry water-courses we may guess the copious spring, from its stagnant swamps the ancient river. Nations hold fast by prescription: we shall never comprehend their tradition, their superstition, unless we spread under it a bed on still heathen soil.

And these views are confirmed by what we know to be true of poetry and legend. If the heathens already possessed a finely articulated language, and if we concede to them an abundant stock of religious myths, then song and story could not fail to

lay hold of these, and to interweave themselves with the rites and customs. That such was the case we are assured by Tacitus; and the testimony of Jornandes and Eginhart leaves not the smallest room for doubt respecting later ages. Those primitive songs on Tuisco, on Mannus and the three races that branched out of him; are echoed long after in the genealogies of Ingo, Iscio, Hermino; so the Hygelâc of the Beowulf-song, whom a tenth century legend that has just emerged from oblivion names Huglacus Magnus (Haupt 5, 10), is found yet again—as a proof that even poetry may agree with history—in the ‘Chochilaichus’ of Gregory of Tours. If in the 12th and 13th centuries our country’s hero-legend gleamed up for the last time, poets must have kept on singing it for a long time before, as is plain from the saved fragment of Hildebrand and the Latin versions of Rudlieb and Waltharius; while not a tone survives of those Low German lays and legends, out of which nevertheless proceeded the Vilkinasaga that mirrors them back. The rise of our Court-poetry has without the slightest ground or necessity been ascribed to the Crusades; if we are to assume any importations from the East, these can more conveniently be traced to the earlier and quieter intercourse of Goths and Northmen with the Greek empire, unless indeed we can make up our minds to place nearly all the coincidences that startle us to the account of a fundamental unity of the European nations, a mighty influence which is seen working through long ages, alike in language, legend and religion.

I am met by the arrogant notion, that the life of whole centuries was pervaded by a soulless cheerless barbarism; this would at once contradict the loving kindness of God, who has made His sun give light to all times, and while endowing men with gifts of body and soul, has instilled into them the consciousness of a higher guidance: on all ages of the world, even those of worst repute, there surely fell a foison of health and wealth, which preserved in nations of a nobler strain their sense of right and law. One has only to recognise the mild and manly spirit of our higher antiquity in the purity and power of the national

laws, or the talent inherited by the thirteenth century in its eloquent, inspired poems, in order justly to appreciate legend and myth, which in them had merely struck root once more.

But our inquiry ought to have the benefit of this justice both in great things and in small. Natural science bears witness, that the smallest may be an index to the greatest; and the reason is discoverable, why in our antiquities, while the main features were effaced, petty and apparently accidental ones have been preserved. I am loth to let even slight analogies escape me, such as that between Bregowine, Freáwine, and Gotes friunt (p. 93).

True to my original purpose, I have this time also taken the Norse mythology merely as woof, not as warp. It lies near to us, like the Norse tongue, which, having stood longer undisturbed in its integrity, gives us a deeper insight into the nature of our own, yet not so that either loses itself wholly in the other, or that we can deny to the German language excellences of its own, and to the Gothic a strength superior to both of them together. So the Norse view of the gods may in many ways clear up and complete the German, yet not serve as the sole standard for it, since here, as in the language, there appear sundry divergences of the German type from the Norse, giving the advantage now to the one and now to the other. Had I taken the rich exuberance of the North as the basis of my inquiry, it would have perilously overshadowed and choked the distinctively German, which ought rather to be developed out of itself, and, while often agreeing with the other, yet in some things stands opposed. The case appears therefore to stand thus, that, as we push on, we shall approach the Norse boundary, and at length reach the point where the wall of separation can be pierced, and the two mythologies run together into one greater whole. If at present some new points of connexion have been established, more important diversities have revealed themselves too. To the Norse antiquarians in particular, I hope my procedure will be acceptable: as we gladly give to them in return for what we have received, they ought no less to receive than to give. Our memorials are

scantier, but older ; theirs are younger and purer ; two things it was important here to hold fast : first, that the Norse mythology is genuine, and so must the German be ; then, that the German is old, and so must the Norse be.

We have never had an Edda come down to us, nor did any one of our early writers attempt to collect the remains of the heathen faith. Such of the christians as had sucked German milk were soon weaned under Roman training from memories of home, and endeavoured not to preserve, but to efface the last impressions of detested paganism. Jornandes and Paulus Diaconus, who must have had plenty of heathen stories still within their reach, made but slight use of the mythical ones. Other ecclesiastics now and then, for a particular purpose, dole out scraps of information which are of great value to us : Jonas (pp. 56. 109), Beda (p. 289), Alcuin (p. 229), Widukind (p. 253), Adam of Bremen (p. 230). As I have said on p. 9, some monk at St. Gall, Fulda, Merseburg or Corvei might have conceived the happy idea of putting pen to the antiquities of his country, gathering up things of which the footprints were still fresh, and achieving for the foreground of our history, just where it begins to disengage itself from legend, a lasting work, such as Saxo Grammaticus accomplished. Even if German tradition was more blurred and colourless from the seventh century to the eleventh, than was Danish in the twelfth, if estrangement from native legend had advanced more slowly in the far North ; yet Waltharius and Rudlieb, or the rhyme of the boar in Notker, may shew us that in the very cloisters there was much still unforgotten of the ancient songs. It is likely that scribes continued for some time to add to the collection set on foot by Charles the Great, the destruction of which has proved an incalculable loss, and from which we might have obtained an abundance of materials and pictures of the remotest eld. The Middle High-German poets found themselves already much farther away from all this ; anything they might still unconsciously borrow from it must have been preserved accidentally in traditional forms of poetry or the living idiom of the people. The very book in which heathen names and cha-

acters might the most innocently have found a place, Albrecht of Halberstadt's translation of the *Metamorphoses*, is lost to us in its original form; when Rudolf in his *Barlaam* from a christian point of view refutes the Grecian gods after the fashion of *Chrothilde* (see p. 107), he sticks too closely to his text to let any native characteristics come into his head: the age was too entirely absorbed in its immediate present to feel the slightest inclination to look back into its own or other people's distant past. It is not till the 14th or 15th century that sundry writers begin to shew a propensity to this. *Gobelinus Persona* bestows a mite (p. 254); if *Böhmer* would but soon give us an edition of the *Magdeburg Schöppenchronick* and the *Chronicon Picturatum*, both sadly wanted! Conf. *Böhmer's Reg.* ed. 1849, p. xxi, pag. 62 ad ann. 1213; *Zeuss* p. 38. The statements of *Botho*, uncritical as they are, claim attention, for in his day there may have been accounts still afloat, which have vanished since. A curious one is contained in *Joh. Craemer's Chronica sancti Petri in monte crucis* ad ann. 1468: '*Matthaeus Huntler in cella Sancti Martini ad Werram vidit librum Johannis Vanderi, ord. S. Benedicti monachi in Reynertsborn, de omnibus gentilium deastris in provincia nostra, quem magna cura conscripsit, et quemlibet deastrum in habitu suo eleganter depinxit cum multis antiquitatibus, in quibus bene versatus esse dicitur.*' *Botho* drew his descriptions from figures of idols that were before his eyes; and at *Reinhartsbrunn* in Thuringia there might be similar things extant, or the very same that found their way to Brunswick, if only *Paullini*, whose *Syntagma* p. 315 furnishes that passage from the chronicle, were not himself suspicious. The like uncertainty hangs over *Joh. Berger* (p. 96), over a *Conradus Fontanus* quoted by *Letzner* (p. 190), and the Frisian *Cappidus* whose work *Hamconius* professes to have used (see my chap. XXI, *Lotus*). Any one that cared to read straight through *Berthold of Regensburg's* works, dating from the end of the 13th century, would very likely, where the preacher gets to speak of sorcery and devilry, come upon cursory notices of the superstitions of his time, as even the later sermons of *Johannes*

Herolt (my ch. XXXI, Berchta, Holda), Johannes Nider (d. cir. 1440), and Geiler von Kaisersberg offer some details. And even historians in the 16th and 17th centuries, who rummaged many a dusty archive, such as Aventin, Celtes, Freher, Spangenberg, Letzner (d. after 1612), Nicolaus Gryse (d. 1614), must have had all sorts of available facts within their reach, though to pick the grain out of the chaff would no doubt come easier to us than to them.

Much then is irrecoverably lost to our mythology; I turn to the sources that remain to it, which are partly Written Memorials, partly the never resting stream of living Manners and Story. The former may reach far back, but they present themselves piecemeal and disconnected, while the popular tradition of to-day hangs by threads which ultimately link it without a break to ancient times. Of the priceless records of the Romans, who let the first ray of history fall on their defeated but unsubdued enemy, I have spoken in the fourth and sixth chapters. If among gods and heroes only Tuisco, Mannus and Alx are named in German, and the rest given in 'Romana interpretatio;' on the other hand, the female names Nerthus, Veleda, Tanfana, Huldana (for Hludana), Aliruna, have kept their original form; and so have names of peoples and places that lead back to gods, Ingaevones, Iscaevones, Herminones, Asciburgium. Christian authors also, writing in Latin, prefer the Roman names, yet, when occasion calls, Wodan, Thunar, Frea, Sahsnót cannot be avoided. The refined language of the Goths, and the framework of their hero-legend, lead us to imagine a very full development of their faith, then just giving way to christianity, though to us it has sunk into such utter darkness: such expressions as fráúja, halja, sibja, un hulþo, skôhsl, anz, faírguni, sáuil (as well as sunna), vaíhts, alhs, gudja, hunsl, dulþs, jiuleis, midjun-gards, aúhus, aþn, blôtan, inveitan, must have heathen notions lying at their base, and these would offer themselves far more abundantly if portions of the Gothic Old Testament had reached us. After the lapse of a few centuries we find the other dialects all more or less corrupted when compared with the Gothic, and as a long

interval had then passed since the conversion of most of the races, heathenism must have retreated farther from the language also and the poetry. Nevertheless the fragment of Muspilli, the Abrenuntiatio, the Merseburg Lay and a few others, still allow our glances to rove back beyond our expectation; isolated words occur in glosses, and proper names of men, places, herbs, point to other vestiges; not only do gods and heroes step out of the mist, as Wuotan, Donar, Zio, Phol, Paltar, Frôho, Sintarfizilo, Orentil, and goddesses or wise women, as Frouwa, Folla, Sindgund, Wurt; but a host of other words, itis, wiht, urlac, fuld, haruc, hliodar, paro, sigil, zunkal, etc. are found uneradicated. Of course, among the Saxons, who remained heathen longer, especially among the Anglo-Saxons, whose language preserved its warmth better by poetry, such relics are trebly numerous, for beside Wôden, Thunor, Freá, Bealdor, Helle, Eástre, Hrêðe, and the rich store of names in the genealogies, there add themselves Forneot, Wôma, Geofon, Gersuma, Wuscfreá, Bregowine, Earendel, ides, wyrd, wælcyrge, þyrs, eoten, geola, hleodor, bearo, neorxenawong, hæleðhelm, Brosingamene, and many more. What the Middle High German poetry inevitably loses by comparison with the older, is compensated by its greater quantity: together with hero-names like Nibelunc, Schiltunc, Schilbunc, Alberîch, Wielant, Horant, which fall at once within the province of mythology, it has treasured up for us the words tarnkappe, albleich, heilwâc, turse, windesbrût, goltwine and the like, while in oft-recurring phrases about des sunnen haz, des arn winde, des tiuvels muoter, we catch the clear echo of ancient fables. Most vividly, in never-tiring play of colours, the minne-songs paint the triumphal entry of May and Summer: the pining heart missed in the stately march its former god. The personifications of Sælde and Aventure spring from a deep-hidden root; how significant are the mere names of Wunsch and vâlant, which are not found in all the poets even, let alone in O.H.German! Yet we cannot imagine otherwise than that these words, although their reference to Wuotan and Phol was through long ages latent, were drawn directly

and without a break from heathenism. They are a proof of the possibility of traditions lingering only in certain spots, and thus finding their way after all to here and there a poet; totally silenced in places and periods, they suddenly strike up somewhere else, though any district, any dialect, can boast but few or comparatively few of these; it is not many arch-mythical terms, like *frau*, *hölle*, *wicht*, that our language has constant need of, and has never to this day cast off.

If these numerous written memorials have only left us sundry bones and joints, as it were, of our old mythology, its living breath still falls upon us from a vast number of Stories and Customs, handed down through lengthened periods from father to son. With what fidelity they propagate themselves, how exactly they seize and transmit to posterity the essential features of the fable, has never been noticed till now that people have become aware of their great value, and begun to set them down in collections simple and copious. Oral legend is to written records as the folk-song is to poetic art, or the rulings recited by *schöffen* (*scabini*) to written codes.

But the folk-tale wants to be gleaned or plucked with a delicate hand. Grasp it rudely, it will curl up its leaves, and deny its dearest fragrance. There lies in it such a store of rich development and blossom, that, even when presented incomplete, it contents us in its native adornment, and would be deranged and damaged by any foreign addition. Whoever should venture on that, ought, if he would shew no gap in his harness, to be initiated into all the innocence of popular poetry; as he who would coin a word, into all the mysteries of language. Out of *elben* (elves) to make *elfen*, was doing violence to our language; with still less of forbearance have violent hands been laid on the colouring and contents even of myths. They thought to improve upon the folk-tale, and have always fallen short of it: not even where it shews gaps, is any restoration to be dreamt of, which sits upon it as new whitewash on old ruins, contriving with a couple of dabs to wipe out all the charm. Astonishing are the various shapes its identity assumes,

additional adornments spring up on ground where we least expect it; but it is not in every soil that it thrives luxuriantly, here and there it shews scanty or shy; it is sure to be vigorous where rhymes and spells abound in it. The heaviest crops seem to be realized by those collections which, starting from a district rich in legend, glean cautiously from the surrounding neighbourhoods, without straying far from its limits; thus Otmar's Harz-sagen found a favourable field, which is probably worth going over a second time within the like modest bounds. Among collections that have lately come to light, I name Börner's Tales of the Orla-gau, which, grown up on rich legendary soil, yield much that is valuable, though the accompanying discourses fail to realize the true nature of Folk-legend. Bernhard Baader's Tales of Upper Germany afford a rich treasure, in simple suitable language; but in Mone's Anzeiger they are presented in so scattered and inconvenient a form, that they ought to be re-digested in a new edition: the two different versions of the story of Dold (quoted on p. 983), are a good illustration of what I meant just now by 'meagre' and 'luxuriant.' Bechstein's Thuringian Legends seem to me only in the last two volumes to attain the true point of view, and to offer something worth having. The Legends of Samogitia and the Mark, collected by Reusch and Kuhn, satisfy all requirements; they furnish most copious material, and put to shame the notion that any district of Germany is poor in popular traditions, which only elude those who know not the right way to approach them. Soon perhaps we shall get collections laid out on the same thoughtful plan from Holstein, Westphalia, Bavaria and Tyrol.

For Denmark too we have a model collection by Thiele, whose last edition has only just reached me, and still remains unused. Many of the finest Swedish legends have been given us in various places, but a still greater number must be lying ungathered: Afzelius's Sago-häfder, welcome as they are, go too much on the plan of extracting the juice from whatever came to hand. Norway can hardly be less stocked with legend than Sweden, it has moreover its popular lays to shew, into which songs of

the Edda have been transmuted, witness the lay of Thor's hammer (p. 181) and the Sôlar-lay. In our own day, J. W. Wolf is labouring on the popular traditions of Belgium, and Rob. Chambers on those of Scotland, with zeal and visible success.

The Fairy-tale (märchen) is with good reason distinguished from the Legend, though by turns they play into one another. Looser, less fettered than legend, the Fairy-tale lacks that local habitation, which hampers legend, but makes it the more home-like. The Fairy-tale flies, the legend walks, knocks at your door; the one can draw freely out of the fulness of poetry, the other has almost the authority of history. As the Fairy-tale stands related to legend, so does legend to history, and (we may add) so does history to real life. In real existence all the outlines are sharp, clear and certain, which on history's canvas are gradually shaded off and toned down. The ancient mythus, however, combines to some extent the qualities of fairy-tale and legend; untrammelled in its flight, it can yet settle down in a local home.

It was thought once, that after the Italian and French collections of Fairy-tales it was too late to attempt any in Germany, but this is contradicted by fact; and Molbech's collection, and many specimens inserted in his book by Afzelius, testify also how rich Denmark and Sweden are in fairy-tales not yet extinct. But all collections have wellnigh been overtopt lately by the Norwegian (still unfinished) of Moe and Asbiörnsen, with its fresh and full store; and treasures not a few must be lurking in England, Scotland, and the Netherlands, from all of which Mythology may look to receive manifold gain.

To indicate briefly the gain she has already derived from the Folk-tale (legend): it is plain that to this alone we owe our knowledge of the goddesses Holda, Berhta and Fricka, as also the myth of the Wild Hunt which leads us straight to Wôdan. The tale of the old beggar-wife is a reminiscence of Grîmnir. Of the wise-women, of swan-wives, of kings shut up in hills we should have learnt little from written documents, did not Legend spread her light over them; even the myths of the Sin-flood and

the World's Destruction she has not lost sight of to this day. But what is most fondly cherished in her, and woven into the gayest tissues, is the delightful narratives of giants, dwarfs, elves, little wights, nixies, night-hags and home-sprites, these last being related to the rest as the tame beasts of the fable are to the wild and unsubjected: in poetry the wild is always superior to the tamed. The legend of the sun-blind dwarfs (pp. 466n., 1247) and that of the blood-vat (pp. 468n., 902) remind us of the Edda.

In the Fairy-tale also, dwarfs and giants play their part: Swan-witchen (Swan-white) and Dorn-röschen (Thorn-rose= Sleeping Beauty), pp. 425, 1204 are a swan-wife and a valkyr; the three spinning-wives, p. 415, are norms; the footstool hurled down from the heavenly seat (p. 136), Death as a godfather (p. 853), the player's throw and Jack the gamester (pp. 818n., 887) reach back to heathen times. Fairy-tales, not legends, have in common with the god-myth a multitude of metamorphoses; and they often let animals come upon the stage, and so they trespass on the old Animal-epos.

In addition to the fairy-tale and folk-tale, which to this day supply healthy nourishment to youth and the common people, and which they will not give up, whatever other pabulum you may place before them, we must take account of Rites and Customs, which, having sprung out of antiquity and continued ever since, may yield any amount of revelations concerning it. I have endeavoured to shew how ignition by friction, Easter fires, healing fountains, rain-processions, sacred animals, the conflict between summer and winter, the carrying-out of Death, and the whole heap of superstitions, especially about path-crossing and the healing of diseases, are distinctly traceable to heathen origins. Of many things, however, the explanation stands reserved for a minute inquiry devoting itself to the entire life of the people through the different seasons of the year and times of life; and no less will the whole compass of our law-antiquities shed a searching light on the old religion

and manners. In festivals and games comes out the bright joyous side of the olden time; I have been anxious to point out the manifold, though never developed, germs of dramatic representation, which may be compared to the first attempts of Greek or Roman art. The Yule-play is still acted here and there in the North; its mode of performance in Gothland (p. 43) bears reference to Freyr. The little wights' play is mentioned on p. 441 n.; on the bear's play (p. 785) I intend to enlarge more fully elsewhere. Sword-dance and giant's dance (p. 304), Berchta's running (p. 279), Whitsun play (p. 785), Easter play (p. 780), the induction of summer or May, the violet-hunt and the swallow's welcome are founded on purely heathen views; even the custom of the kilt-gang, like that of watchmen's songs (p. 749), can be traced up to the most antique festivities.

Such are our sources, and so far do they still carry us: let us examine what results the study of them hitherto has yielded.

Divinities form the core of all mythology: ours were buried almost out of sight, and had to be dug out. Their footmarks were to be traced, partly in Names that had stubbornly refused to be rooted out, yet offered little more than their bare sound; partly, under some altered guise, in the more fluid but fuller form of the Folk-tale. This last applies more to the goddesses, the former to the gods. Gods and heroes are found in the very names of runes, the first of which in Old Norse is Freyr, others are Thor, Zio, Eor, Asc, Man, but nowhere goddesses.

The gods that have kept the firmest hold are the three marked in the days of the week as Mercury, Jupiter, Mars; and of these, Wuotan stands out the most distinct. Jonas, Fredegar, Paulus Diaconus and the Abrenuntiatio name him, he towers at the head of ancient lines of kings, many places bear the indelible impress of his name. Woedenspanne signified a part of the human hand, as the North named another part 'úlf-liðr,' wolf-lith, after the god Týr. Unexpectedly our 13th century has preserved for us

one of his names [Wish], which lies in abeyance even in the Norse system, yet is the one that stands in the closest contact with the women that do the god's bidding, with the wand that unlocks his hoard, with the mantle that carries him through the air, nay, is the only one that puts all these in the true light. The Norse name Omi is not quite so clearly explained by the A.S. Wôma, though the word marks unmistakably the stormful god whom we know more certainly through our legend of the 'furious host': the wide cloak and low hat are retained in the name Hackelbernd, which I venture to trace back to a Gothic Hakul-bairands (p. 146-7). As Longbeard, the god deep-sunk in his mountain-sleep is reproduced in the royal heroes Charles and Frederick: *who* better than Wuotan, on whose shoulder they sit and bring him thoughts and tidings, was entitled to inquire after the flying ravens? Ravens and wolves scented his march to victory, and they above all other animals have entered into the proper names of the people. In the Norse sagas the questioner is a blind graybeard, who just as plainly is old Oðin again. Father of victory, he is likewise god of blessing and bliss, *i.e.* Wish over again, whose place is afterwards occupied by Sálida (well-being). Since he appears alike as god of poetry, of measurement, of the span, of the boundary and of the dice-throw, all gifts, treasures, arts may be regarded as having proceeded from him.

Though a son of Wuotan and yielding to him in power or influence, Donar (Thunar, Thor) appears at times identical with him, and to some extent as an older god worshipped before Wuotan. For, like Jupiter, he is a father, he is grandfather of many nations, and, as grandfather, is a god of the hills, a god of the rocks, a hammer, sits in the forest, throned on the mountain top, and hurls his old stone weapon, the lightning's bolt. To him the oak was sacred, and his hammer's throw measured out land, as did afterwards Wuotan's wand. He rather flies furiously at the giants than fights battles at the head of heroes, or meditates the art of war. I think it a significant feature, that he drives or walks, instead of riding like Wuotan: he never

presents himself in the wild hunt, nor in women's company. But his name is still heard in curses (Wuotan's only in protestations, p. 132); and as Redbeard, Donar might sit in the mountain too. The heroes all go to Wuotan's heaven, the common folk turn in at Donar's; beside the elegant stately Wuotan, we see about Donar something plebeian, boorish and uncouth. He seems the more primitive deity, displaced in the course of ages (yet not everywhere) by a kindred but more comprehensive one.

If Wuotan and Donar are to be regarded as exalted deities of heaven, much more may Zio, Tius, be accepted as such, whose name expresses literally the notion of sky, while Wuotan signifies the air, and Donar the thunderstorm. And as Wuotan turns the tide of battle, Zio presents himself as the special god of war; as Donar flings the hammer and Wuotan the spear, he is god of the sword, as exhibited in the names Sahsnôt and Heru. But here much remains dark to us, because our legend has lost sight of Zio altogether. Like Wuotan, he also seems to rush down from the sky in the form of tempest.

Two others, though never appearing in the week, must yet be reckoned among the great gods. Froho, a god of hunting, of generation, fertility and summer, had long planted his name in the heart of our language, where he still maintains his ground in the derivatives frôn and frönen; his sacred golden-bristled boar survived in helmet-crests, in pastry, and at the festive meal. Year by year in kingly state Froho journeyed through the lands (p. 213. 760). He is the gracious loving deity, in contrast with the two last-mentioned, and with Wuotan in one aspect; for, as Wish, Wuotan also seems kindly and creative like Froho.

As to Phol, scarcely known to us till now, I have hazarded so many conjectures that I will not add to their number here. If, as appears most likely, he is synonymous with Paltar (Balder), he must pass for a god of light, but also of fire, and again of tempest; under another view he haunted wells and springs. He approximates the higher elemental powers, and could the more easily be perverted into a diabolic being. Equally lost to Germany is the name of the Norse Loki, who represents fire in another

aspect, and was still better qualified to stand for the devil. The stories of his artfulness, his cunning tricks, have reproduced themselves repeatedly in all branches of our race.

I now turn to the Goddesses. A mother of gods, Nerthus, is named to us by Tacitus; her name is the exact counterpart to that of a Norse god, who confirms her existence, as Freyr would confirm that of Freyja, had she come down to us only as the High German Frouwa, and from the Gothic fráuja (m.) we have the same right to infer a fem. fráujô. Say that her name of Nerthus has long ago died out, if it ever extended to all branches of our race; a whole group of beings almost identical with her lives on in fadeless legend: Holde, Berhte, Fricke, Harke, Gaue, Stempe, Trempe. At the first glance none of these names seem to go very high up; yet, Berhte at all events is introduced in poems of the 14-15th century, and the matter begins to wear another look the moment we can set her beside the Carolingian Berhta, beside the Eddic Biört (p. 1149), beside the deeply rooted tradition of the 'white lady.' Of dame Holda the legend was never written down till the 17th century; if Holda was in the Venus-mountain, which goes as far back as the 14th, she at once gains in importance; then further, in the 12th century we can point to Pharaïldis (p. 284); and if, to crown all, Huldana in the stone inscription is correct (p. 266), we can have but little doubt of a Gothic worship of Hulpô (p. 990). Now, as Berhta and Holda are adjective names, I was fain to claim for Nerthus also an adj. basis nairthus, with the sense of mild, gracious, fair. Frigg too (p. 301-2) I interpret by the adj. free, fair, gracious. If Gaue, Gauden, is a corruption of the masc. Wôden, it might still have an accessory notion of good. Frouwa is obviously the fem. to Froho, and still asserts her full power in our present frau. Almost all names of the female deities have still a transparent meaning; as compared with those of the male, there is something innocent and inviolable in them, and for that reason they seem to have been treated tenderly or tolerated. The delicacy and inoffensive matter of the myth have shielded it longer in popular legend.

The goddess Hella has exchanged her personal meaning for a local one, that of hell. Ostara, Eástre, is preserved at least in the name of the high festival; and Hreda, if my conjecture be sound, in the word for a bride's gerada (outfit), as Zio was in the name of the sword. Folla and Sindgund have only come to light through the latest discoveries.

This muster of divinities is strong enough to support the whole remaining framework of mythology; where such pillars stand, any amount of superstructure and decoration may be taken for granted. Considered in and for themselves, almost all the individual deities appear emanations and branches of a single One; the gods as heaven, the goddesses as earth, the one as fathers, the other as mothers, the former creating, governing, guiding, lords of victory and bliss, of air, fire and water, the goddesses nourishing, spinning, tilling, beautiful, bedizened, loving.

As all the sounds of language are reducible to a few, from whose simplicity the rest can be derived—the vowels by broadening, narrowing, and combination into diphthongs, the mute consonants by subdivision of their three groups each into three stages, while particular dialects shift them from one stage to another in regular gradation¹;—so in Mythology I reduce the long array of divine personages to their unity, and let their multiplicity spring out of this unity; and we can hardly go wrong in assuming for deities and heroes a similar coincidence, combination and gradation, according to their characters and particular

¹ Thus, to take an example from the Dentals :

	T	TH	D	T	TH
Greek.	ta	thugatere	duo		
L. Germ.		the	daughters	two	
H. Germ.			die	töchter	zwei

It will be seen that the High Germ. is always a stage in advance of Low Germ., and this a stage in advance of Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, &c. The Germ. *z* is sounded *ts*; and *s*, like *h*, is a breathing.—TRANS.

functions. How Wuotan, Donar, and Zio partly run into one another has been shewn; Logi (lowe, blaze) becomes Loki (lock, bolt), *g* becomes *k*, the sense of fire is exchanged for that of bolts and bars (of hell), as Hamar and Heru came to signify the implements they used. We have seen Wuotan reappear in long-bearded Charles, in red-bearded Frederick. On comparing the Norse hero-legend with the German, we see remarkable instances of this shifting and displacement of names and persons. Gudrun in the Edda occupies the place of our Krîmhilt, while Grîmhildr is her mother's name; in the Vilkinasaga Mimir is the smith and Reginn the dragon, in the Völsungasaga Reginn is the smith and Fâfnir the dragon. If these changes took place at haphazard, there would be nothing in them; but they seem to proceed by regular gradation, without leaps.

Among all branches of the Teutonic race there shew themselves innumerable varieties of dialect, each possessing an equal right; so likewise in the people's religion we must presuppose a good many differences: the difficulty is to reconcile in every case the local bearings of the matter with the temporal. If the more numerous testimonies to Wuotan in Lower Germany would lead us to infer that he was held in higher esteem by Saxons than by Alemanns or Bavarians, we must remember that this (apparent) preference is mainly due to the longer continuance of heathenism in the north; that in the first few centuries after conversion the south too would have borne abundant witness to the god. Upper Germany has now scarcely a single name of a place compounded with Wuotan (p. 158), Wuotan's day has there given place to 'midweek,' and just there the legend of his 'wütende heer' is found more alive than elsewhere! It would be a great thing to ascertain whereabouts—whether among Goths—the designation Faîrguneis prevailed above that of Thunrs. Any conclusion drawn from the proximity of the Lithuanian Perkunas, the Slavic Perun, may seem bold, though it is precisely to these two nations that the Gothic and High German incline more than the Low German, even in language: witness Hruodo and Kirt (p. 248). It seems an easier matter to trace the distinction between Zio

and Eru, and follow it up to Swabia and Bavaria; yet, if my conjecture be right, the Cheruskans must of all races have had the best claim to Eru. Even the name of the plant *Ziointa* (p. 1193) is worth taking into account. *Sahsnôt*, *Seaxneát*, was assuredly an eponymous deity of the Saxons. How do *Paltar* and *Phol* stand to one another, as regards the nations that were devoted to them? *Phol* appears to point, now eastward, now westward. An important mark of distinction is the change of gender in the same name of a god among different tribes. In Gothic the masc. *fráuja* (lord) was still current as a common noun, in O.H. German the fem. *frouwâ*, in O. Saxon only the masc. *frôho*, *frô*, A.S. *freá*, so that Goths and Saxons seem to have preferred the god, High Germans the goddess; in the North both *Freyr* and *Freyja* are honoured alike. But the North knows only the god *Njörðr*, and the Germans living on the opposite side of the Baltic only the goddess *Nerthus*. The relation of *Zio* to *Zisa*, perhaps *Isis* (p. 298), demands further explanation. No doubt the numerous aliases of that female deity, who is not yet forgotten in modern legend, are due to differences of race: *Holda* shews herself in Hesse, Thuringia, and North Franconia, *Berhta* in Vogtland, East Franconia and sundry tracts of Swabia, where likewise a male *Berhtold* encounters us. There is no trace of either goddess in Lower Germany, but a dame *Freke* now turns up in the Mark, and dame *Gaue* haunts *Mecklenburg* between *Elbe* and *Weser*. Yet in ancient times *Holda*, as *Huldana*, must have reached far westward to the Rhine, and, if the *Ver-hilden-straet* (p. 285) was named after her, into the Netherlands, reminding us of the kinship between *Chatti* and *Batavi*; while the Carolingian *Berhta Pedauca* and the *Biört* of the *Edda* would betoken a similar extension of *Berhta's* worship. We must pay regard to the almost universal rush of nations toward the West: even *Isis* and her Suevian ship we managed to trace as far as the *Ardennes*.—But, beside the deities, other portions of mythology must also have their say. *Himins* and *himil*, *himel* and *heven* are discussed on p. 698, the lapse of *Himil* into *Gimill* on p. 823; in Hesse is the borderland between *Wights*

and Elves, the one belonging to Franconian, the other to Saxon soil: the Low Saxon *hüne* is out of use in High Germany, even in O.H. German the *hûni* seem to be only Huns, not giants, and the M.H. German *hiune* had a very limited circulation, being never heard now in Hesse, Swabia or Bavaria, unless we are to look for it in the name of the disease (p. 1163).

Such investigations and similar ones capable of indefinite expansion, some of them not even dreamt of at present, may gradually become important to the internal aspect of our own Mythology: a still more urgent task is, to establish its relation to the Religions of Other Nations; nay, this is really the hinge on which mythological study in general turns. But seldom have their mutual influences or differences been so successfully explored, as to educe therefrom a safe standard for the treatment of any one mythology.

Every nation seems instigated by nature to isolate itself, to keep itself untouched by foreign ingredients. Its language, its epos feel happy in the home circle alone; only so long as it rolls between its own banks does the stream retain its colour *pure*. An undisturbed development of all its own energies and inmost impulses proceeds from this source, and our oldest language, poetry and legend seem to take no other course. But the river has not only to take up the brooks that convey fresh waters to it from hill and mountain, but to disembogue itself at last in the wide ocean: nations border upon nations, and peaceful intercourse or war and conquest blend their destinies in one. From their combinations will come unexpected results, whose gain deserves to be weighed against the loss entailed by the suppression of the domestic element. If the language, literature and faith of our forefathers could at no time resist at all points the pressure of the Foreign, they have one and all undergone the most disruptive revolution by the people's passing over to Christianity.

We had long plagued ourselves to derive all languages from the far-off Hebrew; it was only by closely studying the history

of the European idioms near at hand, that a safe road was at length thrown open, which, leaving on one side for the moment the Semitic province, leads farther on into the heart of Asia. Between the Indian and Zendic languages and the majority of those which spread themselves over Europe there exists an immediate tie, yet of such a kind as makes them all appear as sisters, who at the outset had the same leading features, but afterwards, striking into paths of their own, have everywhere found occasion and reason to diverge from each other. Amongst all languages on earth points of contact are to be found, any discovered rule compels us to admit exceptions, and these exceptions are apt to be misleading; but the rule teaches us to fix upon fundamental distinctions, for which we can only expect a very slow resolution into a higher unity. While there is every appearance of Europe not having contained any aborigines, but received its population gradually from Asia, yet the figures in our chronologies do not reach back to the actual descent of all human speech from one original source; and the strata of our mountains bear witness to a higher prehistoric age, whose immeasurable breadth no inquirer can penetrate. Then, over and above the original kinship necessarily underlying the facts taught by comparative philology, we must also assume in the history of European tongues some external, accidental and manifest interchanges of influence between them, which, powerful and resultful as they may have been, are to be carefully distinguished from that more hidden agency: we have only to call to mind the former influence of Latin and the later of French on almost all the other languages, or the origin of English from a mixture of Teutonic and Romance elements. The difference between the two kinds of likeness shews itself especially in the fact that, while the originally cognate elements of a language remain flexible and intelligible, the borrowed ones, because they are borrowed, shew an indistinctness of form and a crippling of movement. Hence all cognate words are rooted in the essential life of a language, about which the borrowed ones mostly tell us nothing: how lifeless, for example, has our *adj. rund* become!

whereas the French *rond*, from which it comes, can still carry us back to *roond*, *reond*, the Span. *redondo*, It. *rotondo*, and so to *rotundus*, and therefore *rota*. Again, cognate forms are seldom confined to one stem or branch, but run impartially through several: *e.g.* our numerals; our *ist*, Goth. *ist*, Lat. *est*, Gr. *ἔστι*, Skr. *asti*; the Goth. *sa*, *sô*, *þata*, AS. *se*, *seo*, *þæt*, ON. *sa*, *sû*, *þat*, Gr. *ὁ*, *ἦ*, *τό*, Skr. *sa*, *sâ*, *tad*; all of them consonances which did not arise, like that 'rund,' at some definite assignable period, but were there from time immemorial.

These examples are well known, and are here chosen merely to make good for Mythology also a distinction between material that was common from the first and that which was borrowed and came in later. Our scholarship, disloyal to its country, inured to outlandish pomp and polish, loaded with foreign speech and science, miserably stocked with that of home, was prepared to subordinate the myths of our olden time to those of Greece and Rome, as something higher and stronger, and to overlook the independence of German poetry and legend, just as if in grammar also we were free to derive the German *ist* from *est* and *ἔστι*, instead of putting the claims of these three forms perfectly on a par. Giving the go-by to that really wonderful and delightful consonance, whose origin would have had to be pushed far back, they struggled, however much against the grain, to hunt up any possible occasions of recent borrowing, so as to strip their country of all productive power and pith. Not content even with handing over our mythology to foreign countries, they were eager, with as little reason, to shift its contents into the sphere of history, and to disparage essentially unhistoric elements by expounding them as facts.

Why hold our tongues about the mischief and the caprices of this criticism? Mone, an honest and able explorer, whose strenuous industry I respect, will often come half-way to meet the truth, then suddenly spring aside and begin worrying her. By hook or by crook the Reinhart of our apologue must be resolved into a historical one, the Siegfried of our heroic lay into Arminius, Civilis and Siegbert by turns, Tanhäuser into Ulysses.

In all that I had gathered by a careful comparison of original authorities on sorcery and witches, he of course can see neither circumspectness nor moderation, who gravely imagines that witchcraft was once a reality, who from the minutes of a single trial in 1628 jumps at once to the Greek Dionysia, makes the devil Dionysus, and warms up again the stale explanation of hexe (witch) from Hecate. This is allowing the devil a great antiquity in comparison with those heroes; to me Reinhart and Isengrim seem to reach up far higher than the ninth century, and Siegfried even beyond Arminius, therefore a long way before the time when the term devil first came into our language. Several designations of the giants are unmistakably connected with the names of surrounding nations; Mone's view applies them to Indians, Frisians, Persians, according as the words ent and wise suit his purpose; let no one be startled to find that Caucasus comes from our Gouchsberg (cuckoo's hill)!

A later work, whose merits I acknowledge on p. 1070n., comes in not unseasonably here. Soldan agrees in my opinion on the atrocity and folly of the witch-persecutions, but he would dispute the connection of witches with German mythology, and derive all our magic and demonology from the Greeks and Romans again. The resemblance of the mediæval notions to classical antiquity strikes him so forcibly, that he seems to think, either that Germany and all barbarian Europe till their early contact with the Romans were without any magic or belief in ghosts, or that such belief suddenly died out. The Walburgis-night, it seems, was suggested by Roman lares praestites, even the practice of bidding for fiefs by floralia and averruncalia, and the cutting of henbane by the fruges excantare: why may not our es also come from id, our auge from oculus, our zehn from decem? At that rate Wuotan might without more ado be traced back to Jupiter, Holda to Diana, the alp to the genius, all German mythology to Roman, and nothing be left us of our own but the bare soil that drank in the foreign doctrine.

When two nations resemble each other in language, manners, and religion, such agreement is welcome in proof of their age,

and is not to be perverted to conclusions in favour of borrowing or influence which any peculiarity in them may suggest. But the stamp of authority will be given to research, when side by side with the string of consonances there also runs an inevitable string of divergences and transpositions.

In our book of heroes the adventures of Wolfdieterich and Orendel have in their several ways a striking similarity to features in the Odyssey, especially does the angel's mission to shaggy Els and to lady Breide resemble that of Hermes to Calypso, when she is commanded to let Odysseus go. But such wanderings of heroes and encounters with wise women and giants seem to be a common epic property prevailing everywhere, while the very absence here of all the other main motives of the Greek myth excludes the supposition of borrowing. We may surely give their due weight to the many resemblances of Wuotan to Zeus and Apollo, of Zio to Zeus and Ares, we may recognise Nerthus in Demeter, Frigg and Freyja in Hera and Aphrodite, Wieland in Hephæstus and Dædalus, without the whole swarm of Grecian gods needing therefore to be transported to our soil, or all that this produced having to be looked for in Greece. Must 'honum hlô hugr î briosti' have somehow got into the Edda from Homer's ἐγέλασσε δέ οἱ φίλον ἦτορ? The distinction, drawn in Homer as well as the Edda, between the speech of gods and of men may signify something to us, and yet be no harder to explain than the identity of Zio with Zeus, or of Ζεὺς πατήρ with All-father. It is beautiful how Venus and venustus are made intelligible by the ON. vænn and vænstr, and even by the O. Sax. superlative wânumo. What is true of the Greek and Roman mythologies, that with all their similarity they are yet far from identical, has to be asserted with still more emphasis of the relation between the Roman and German, inasmuch as Greek literature left an infinitely deeper dint on the Roman, than Latin literature was ever able to produce on our antiquity. If in ch. XXXV and XXXVII many things are quoted which appear to spring out of Roman superstition, it is fully justified by the poverty of native information compelling me to seek a support for it from abroad:

I do not suppose that the old German fancies about beasts crossing one's path, or about the virtues of herbs, were in themselves any poorer than the Roman.

What I claim for Teutonic nations as compared with the Greeks and Romans, must also hold good of them as regards the Celts, Slavs, Lithuanians and Finns, whose paganism was similar to ours or not so similar. Here however the quantity of coincidences is still more damaging to the theory of plagiarisms, which would else encumber every nook and corner.

In favour of the study of Celtic languages and legends a wholesome reaction has set in, insisting that this downtrodden race, which once occupied wide tracts of Germany, shall receive its due. By no means poor in memorials, it has an auxiliary resource in several living tongues, the Armoric, Welsh, Irish and Highland Scotch. But the paths still lie uncertain and slippery, and what we concede to the Celts ought not in the zeal of discovery to be turned against ourselves; in cases of resemblance what is genuinely German must put in its claim too. Now Heinrich Schreiber's interesting studies of grave-mounds, weapons and fays appear to me at times to stray beyond the true line: surely the horses' heads on roof-gables in Mecklenburg and Holstein are more undoubtedly German than the similar ones in Switzerland are Celtic; and so far as our elfins and white ladies extend, they have their justification, as the fays have on the other side. Some obscure names of animals Leo has, I think, succeeded in interpreting as Celtic; so long as he is obliged to leave the main characters in the fable German, as Reginhart and Isangrim, I have no fear for the genuineness of our epos; and the foreignness of subordinate characters tends to throw farther back the date of the entire poem. Also what he contributes to Nerthus and muspell (Haupt 3, 226) demands attention. Beside the fays, who answer to our swan-maidens, wish-wives and norns, beside Abundia, who resembles Folla (fulness), I attach importance to Taranis=Donar, to Gwydion=Wuotan, to Beal=Phol or Balder, and I am not sure but that Hesus is the same as Cheru, and that Segomon (p. 371) ought not to be overlooked. Needfires and May-offerings

are subjects for consideration. It would greatly advance our knowledge of Wuotan's true nature, if we could ascertain how far the Celtic worship of Mercury differed from the Roman; to all appearance that deity was greater to the Celts and Germans than Hermes-Mercury was to the Greeks and Romans; to Trismegistus and Tervagan I allude on p. 150. All that is left us of the Celtic religion, even in stray fragments, bespeaks a more finished mental culture than is to be found in German or Norse mythology; there comes out in it more of priestly lore. But in respect of genius and epic matter our memorials are incomparably superior.

As the Celts enclose us on the west, so do the Slavs on the east; and Slavic writers, like the Celtic, are rather fond, wherever their ancient faith coincides with ours, of interpreting things from a Slavic point of view, which can just as well be explained from a German. The affinity of the two races can be perceived at once by such old cognate words as the Gothic *sunus* (son), O.H. German *sunu*, Slavic *syn*; Goth. *liubs* (dear), OHG. *liop*, Boh. *liby*, Russ. *liubo*; Goth. *láuþs* (people), OHG. *liut*, Slav. *liud*; Goth. *hláifs* (loaf), OHG. *hleip*, Slav. *khléb*. And the mythic resemblances are no less significant. Radegast must stand for Wuotan, Perun for Faírguneis, Fiörgunn, but Svatovit for Zio; between Radegast the god of bliss (*rad glad*, *radost joy*), and our *Wish*, the harmony is yet stronger. Kroto reminds us of *Kirt*, Molnia of *Miölnir* (pp. 1221. 813). How near the *badniak* of the Servians comes to our Christmas fire! their *cuckoo-pole* to the Langobardic *dove-pole* (p. 1135n.), their *dodola* to the fetching-in of rain (p. 594), the carrying-out of death to the fight of summer and winter, the *vila* to our wise-women! If the elf and dwarf legends appear less polished than they are among Celts and Germans, our giant legend on the other hand has much more in common with the Slavic and Finnic. No doubt Slav mythology altogether is several degrees wilder and grosser than German, yet many things in it will make a different figure when once the legends and fairy tales are more fully and faithfully gathered in, and the gain to German research also will be great.

From similar collections of Lithuanian, Samogitian and Lettish myths revelations no less important are impending, as we may anticipate from the remarkable connexion between the languages.

More results have already been attained in Finland, whose people, comparable in this to the Servians alone, have in their mouths to this day a most wonderful store of songs and tales, though in Servian poetry the heroic legend predominates, and in Finnic the myth. Merely by what Ganander, Porthan and now Lönnrot have published, an immense deal is bridged over between the German, Norse, Slav, Greek and Asiatic mythologies. Rask (in *Afhand.* 1, 96) had already derived some Norse names of giants from Finnic. And further, the distinction we made between legend and fairy-tale does not at all apply as yet to this Finnic poetry: it stands at an older stage, where the marvels of the fairy-tale without any sense of incongruity mingle with the firmer basis of the folk-tale, and even the animal fable can be admitted. Wäinämöinen (*Esth. Wannemunne*) can be compared to Wuotan both in general, and particularly in his character of Wish: the Finnic *waino* and *wainotem* signify desiderium, *wainok* cupidus, *wainotet* desiderare: the Swedish Lapps, with a kindred language, have *waino* (wish, desire), and the Norwegian Lapps *vaimel* cupidus. Thus Wish, Radegast and Wäinämöinen seem to be getting nearer to each other. This last is a god of poetry and singing (p. 907), he is constantly called *Wanha*, the old one, as the thunder-god *Ukko* likewise is called father or old, and his wife *Akka* mother or old. With the Lapps, *Atia* means both grandfather and thunder (see 'old daddy,' p. 168). As Thor's *minni* was drunk, so full bowls were emptied in honour of *Ukko*. Wäinämöinen wakes *Wipune* out of her grave (*Rune 10*), as *Oðinn* does *Völa*. *Ilmarinen*, the smith-god of the Finns, reminds us of *Hephæstus* and *Völundr*, but makes a deeper impression than either; he fashioned a wife for himself out of gold (conf. p. 570 n.). To the Lapps, *Sarakka* means creatress, from *saret* to create, a goddess of fortune.

All Finnish nations use *Yumala* as a general name for the

Supreme Being in the sense of our God or the Slavic Bôgh, to which corresponds the Swed. Lapp. yupmel, Norw. Lapp. ibmel; but the Syriän have also yen (gen. yenlon), the Permians en, the Votiaks inmar, the Tcheremiss yumn. Along the northern edge of Europe and over the Ural into northern Asia extends this widespread group of nations of the Finn kind, their languages and myths shewing everywhere a common character. The Votiaks, like the Slavs and Germans, hold the woodpecker sacred (p. 765); but what I lay special stress upon is the bear-worship of these nations, which has left its traces in Sweden and Norway, and betrays the earliest stage of our Teutonic beast-legend (p. 667). Poetic euphemisms designate the sacred beast, and as soon as he is slain, solemn hymns are struck up as by way of atonement. Runes 28 and 29 in Kalewala describe such a hunt with all its ceremonial. Ostiaks in taking an oath kneel on a bearskin, in heathen sacrifices they covered the victim with a bearskin (p. 1010), and long afterwards they hung bearskins about them in the service of the devil (p. 1018). As the bear was king of all beasts, the terms applied to him of 'old one' and 'grandfather' suggest those of the thunder-god. The constellation of the Great Bear (p. 725) would of itself seem an evident trace of his worship even among the Greeks.

Coming down from northern Asia to the tribes of the Caucasus, we again meet with the most remarkable coincidences. The Tcherkesses (Circassians) keep up a worship of the boar (p. 215), as did the ancient Aestyi and Germani. Both Tcherkesses and Ossets glorify the same Elias (p. 173-4, conf. p. 185) who is such a sacred personage to the Slav races. Even the ancient Alani and Scythians seem to be linked with the heathen Germans by their worship of the sword (p. 204); Attila means grandfather, and is among Huns as well as Germans a name for mountains. The same inspection of shoulder-blades that Jornandes relates of Huns goes on to this day among Kalmuks (p. 1113). A good many Mongolian customs agree with those of Celts and Germans: I will only instance the barleycorn's being the unit of all measurement of land (see my account of it in Berl. Jahrb. for 1842,

pp. 795-6) ; conf. the Finnic ohrasen yiveä = hordei granum, Kal. 17, 625. 27, 138.

A still closer agreement with our antiquities than exists among Finns and Mongols is to be looked for in the more cognate Zendic and Indian mythologies. That of India is finely wrought like the Greek, but I think the Greek has the same advantage over it that I awarded to the German as compared with the Celtic: a certain theosophic propensity betrays itself in the Indians as well as Celts, which in the fulness of Greek and German myth falls more into the background. It seems worthy of notice, that to the Indian gods and goddesses are assigned celestial dwellings with proper names, as in the Edda. Among the gods themselves, Brahma's creative power resembles Wuotan's, Indra is akin to Donar, being the wielder of lightning and the ruler of air and winds, so that as god of the sky he can also be compared to Zio. The unison of our Wish with the notion embodied in manoratha (p. 870) deserves attention. Nerthus answers to Bhavani (p. 255), Halja to Kâli, and Mannus to Manus (p. 578), the last two examples being letter for letter the same; but one thing that must not be overlooked is, that the same myth of man's creation out of eight materials (pp. 564—7) which has already turned up five times, appears in a portion of the Vedas, the Aitareya Aranya, from which an excerpt is given in Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, Lond. 1837, vol. 1, p. 47 seq.; here also eight ingredients are enumerated: fire, air, sun, space, herb, moon, death, and water. Naturally the details vary again, though even the five European accounts are not without a certain Indian colouring. Still more interesting perhaps is an echo that reaches the very heart of our hero-legend. Putraka (in Somadeva i. 19) comes upon two men who are fighting for some magic gifts, a cup, a staff, and a pair of shoes; he cheats them into running a race, steps into the shoes himself, and flies up into the clouds with the cup and staff. With the same adroitness Siegfried among the dwarfs manages the division of their hoard, upon which lies the wishing-rod (p. 457); and our nursery tales are full of such divisions (Altd. bl. 1, 297. KM. ed. 5, no. 193.

2, 502. Bechstein's Märchen p. 75). The same trick decides the quarrel in Asbiörnsen, no. 9, p. 59, and in the Hungarian tale, Gaal p. 166.

Now whence can these details have been imported into the homespun fairy-tale? Every country has them at its fingers' ends. To take another striking instance: the story of the three cousins (p. 415) who had spun till the nose of one grew long, another's eyes red, and another's fingers thick, is told still more vividly in Norway (Asb. and Moe, no. 13), and most vividly in Scotland (Chambers, p. 54-5). Or the changeling's unfailing formula (pp. 469. 927), was that conveyed from Denmark to Scotland, from Ireland to Hesse? Was the legend of the willow that has never heard a cock crow (p. 1243) handed over by the Romans to the Poles; and the myth of the thunder-bolt by the Greek to the Slav, by the Slav to the German? Did a little bird always pick up the legendary seed, and lug it over hill and dale to other lands? I believe Myth to be the common property of many lands, that all its ways are not yet known, but that it is properest to that nation with whose gods it closely coalesces, as a word common to several languages may best be claimed by that one which can explain its root. The legend of Tell relates no real event, yet, without fabrication or lying, as a genuine myth it has shot up anew in the bosom of Switzerland, to embellish a transaction that took hold of the nation's inmost being.

I do not deny for a moment, that beside this mysterious diffusion of myths there has also been borrowing from without, nay, that they could be purposely invented or imported, though it is a harder matter than one would imagine for this last sort to take root among the people. Roman literature has from early times spread itself over other European lands, and in certain cases it may be quite impossible to strike the balance between its influence and that inner growth of legend. And nowhere is extrinsic influence less a matter of doubt than where, by the collision of christian doctrine with heathenism among the

converted nations, it became unavoidable to abjure the old, and in its place to adopt or adapt what the new faith introduced or tolerated.

Oftentimes the Church—and I have specified sundry instances—either was from the outset, or gradually became, tolerant and indulgent. She prudently permitted, or could not prevent, that heathen and christian things should here and there run into one another; the clergy themselves would not always succeed in marking off the bounds of the two religions; their private leanings might let some things pass, which they found firmly rooted in the multitude. In the language, together with a stock of newly imported Greek and Latin terms, there still remained, even for ecclesiastical use, a number of Teutonic words previously employed in heathen services, just as the names of gods stood ineradicable in the days of the week; to such words old customs would still cling, silent and unnoticed, and take a new lease of life. The festivals of a people present a tough material, they are so closely bound up with its habits of life, that they will put up with foreign additions, if only to save a fragment of festivities long loved and tried. In this way Scandinavia, probably the Goths also for a time, and the Anglo-Saxons down to a late period, retained the heathenish Yule, as all Teutonic Christians did the sanctity of Eastertide; and from these two the Yule-boar and Yule-bread, the Easter pancake, Easter sword, Easter fire and Easter dance could not be separated. As faithfully were perpetuated the name and in many cases the observances of Midsummer. New christian feasts, especially of saints, seem purposely as well as accidentally to have been made to fall on heathen holidays. Churches often rose precisely where a heathen god or his sacred tree had been pulled down, and the people trod their old paths to the accustomed site: sometimes the very walls of the heathen temple became those of the church, and cases occur in which idol-images still found a place in a wall of the porch, or were set up outside the door, as at Bamberg cathedral there lie Slavic-heathen figures of animals inscribed with runes. Sacred hills and fountains were re-christened after saints,

to whom their sanctity was transferred; sacred woods were handed over to the newly-founded convent or the king, and even under private ownership did not altogether lose their long-accustomed homage. Law-usages, particularly the ordeals and oath-takings, but also the beating of bounds, consecrations, image-processions, spells and formulas, while retaining their heathen character, were simply clothed in christian forms. In some customs there was little to change: the heathen practice of sprinkling a newborn babe with water (*vatni ausa* p. 592, *dicare* p. 108, line 5) closely resembled christian baptism, the sign of the hammer that of the cross, and the erection of tree-crosses the *irmensûls* and world-trees of paganism. Still more significant must appear that passage where *Völuspâ* and the Bible coincide (p. 811); in the far later *Sôlar-líoð* traces of christian teaching are discernible.

In a conflux of so many elements it could not but happen, even where the mental conceptions and views of a simple populace unable to do without myths had felt the full force of the revolution, that in its turn the Old, not wholly extinct, should half unconsciously get interwoven with the irrepressible New. Jewish and christian doctrine began to lean towards heathen, heathen fancies and superstitions to push forward and, as it were, take refuge in all the places they found unoccupied by the new religion. Here we find christian material in a heathen form, there heathen matter in a christian disguise.

As the goddess *Ostara* was converted into a notion of time, so was *Hellia* into one of place. The beliefs of our forefathers about elves and giants got intensified and expanded into angels and devils, but the legends remained the same. *Wuotan*, *Donar*, *Zio*, *Phol* put on the nature of malignant diabolic beings, and the story of their solemn yearly visitation shaped itself into that of a wild rabble rout, which the people now shunned with horror, as formerly they had thronged to those processions.

Veiled under the biblical names of *Cain*, *Elias*, *Enoch*, *Anti-christ*, *Herodias*, there come into view the same old myths about moon-spots, giants' buildings, a god of thunder and of storm, the

gracious (holde) night-dame and the burning of the world. And what arrests our attention still more is, that to the Virgin Mary we apply a whole host of charming legends about Holda and Frouwa, norns and valkyrs, as the Romans did those about Venus, Juno and the parcae; nay, in the fairy-tale, dame Holle and Mary can usurp the place of gray-hatted Wuotan. What a tender fragrance breathes in those tales of Mary, and what has any other poetry to put by the side of them? To the kindly heathen traits is superadded for us that sense of superior sanctity which encompasses this Lady. Herbs and flowers are named after Mary, her images are carried about, and, quite in accordance with the heathen worship, installed on forest trees. She is a divine mother, she is a spinning-wife, she appears as maid of mercy (*vierge secourable*) to whosoever calls upon her. To the country folk in Italy, Mary stands well in the foreground of their religion; the Madonnas of several churches in Naples are looked upon as so many different divine beings, and even as rivals, and a *Santa Venere* by their side gives no offence. Three Marys together (p. 416, note) resemble the three norns and three fays; Mary carries stones and earth in her apron (p. 537) like Athena or the fay. The worship of Mary altogether, being neither founded on Scripture nor recognised by the first centuries, can only be explained by the fact of those pretty and harmless but heathen fancies having taken such deep root in the people that the Church also gradually combined with them a more daintily devised and statelier devotion (*attentio*) which we find woven into numerous legends and sermons.

But Mary does not stand alone by a long way. Immediately at her side there has grown up in the Catholic and Greek churches an interminable adoration of Saints, to make up for heathen gods of the second or third rank, for heroes and wise-women, and to fill the heart by bridging the gulf between it and pure Deity. Dogma may distinguish between Deity and intercessors; but how many a pious lip, moving in prayer before the sacred image, must be unaware of this distinction, or forget it! And further, among the saints themselves there are various

grades, and the particular troubles under which they can be of service are parcelled out among them like so many offices and lines of business, so that almost every disease and its remedy are called by the name of their saint; this division of tasks has the strongest analogy to the directions given in Norse and Lithuanian mythology for the invocation of the several deities (p. 335). The victorious hero who had slain the dragon made room for Michael or George; and the too pagan Siegberg (p. 198), which may have meant the same as Eresberg (p. 201), was handed over to Michael, as the *mons Martis* in France was turned into a *mons martyrum*, Montmartre. It is remarkable that the Ossets have converted the *dies Martis* into *Georgeday*, and *dies Veneris* into *Mary's day* (Pott 1, 105. 2, 802). The places of *Oðinn* and of *Freyja* in *minni-drinking* are taken by John and by Gertrude, a saint who in other ways also has changed places with the goddess (pp. 61. 305. 673); but we can easily see why the heathen counterpart to a saint's legend is oftener to be found in the Roman than in our German mythology. The Church in her saints and canonizations had not the wit to keep within bounds, and the disproportion comes out most glaringly in the fact that the acts and miracles of the Saviour and his apostles are in some cases outdone by those of the saints. Whoever would push these investigations further, as they deserve to be pushed, will have to take particular notice, what saints are the first to emerge in the popular faith of any country, and which of them in poems and in forms of benediction have gradually slipt into the places of the old gods.

Here let me illustrate the more or less thorough interpenetration and commingling of Christian and heathen legend by two examples, which seem to me peculiarly important.

It must be regarded as one of the original possessions common to our mythologies, that the God, or two gods, or three, descend from heaven to earth, whether to prove men's works and ways (p. 337), or in search of adventures. This does violence to the christian belief in God's omnipresence and omniscience; but it

is a very pleasing fancy, that of the gods in person walking the earth unrecognised, and dropping in at the houses of mortals. Even the *Odyssey* 17, 485-7 alludes to such wanderings, in which is found the loftiest consecration of hospitality: a man will be loth to turn away a stranger, under whose guise a celestial god may be visiting him. A Greek myth with details appears in the story of Orion: three gods, Zeus, Poseidon, Hermes (some say Zeus, Ares, Hermes = Donar, Zio, Wuotan) take lodging with Hyrieus, and after being feasted, give him leave to ask a favour; he wishes for a son, and they create him one much in the same way as Kvâsir was engendered (p. 902, conf. 1025n.). Ovid's *Fasti* 5, 495—535. Hyginus 195 relates the same fable of the Thracian Byrseus. In the beautiful legend of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid's *Met.* 8, 626—721), Jupiter and Mercury are travelling, and reward their kind entertainers by saving them from the impending deluge (p. 580); a fable of Phaedrus makes the divine messenger alone, the god of roads and highways, pass the night with mortals (*Mercurium, hospitio mulieres olim duae illiberali et sordido receperant*). But Demeter also is at times represented as travelling and associating with men, as would be natural for all mothers of gods; Aesop in *Fab.* 54 makes Demeter travel with a swallow and an eel, but when they came to a river the bird flew up, the fish slipt into the water, and what did Demeter do? With the Indians it is principally Brahma and Vishnu that visit the earth. In a Lithuanian legend Perkunos walks the earth at the time when beasts yet spoke; he first met the horse, and asked his way. 'I have no time to shew thee the way, I have to eat.' Hard by was an ox grazing who had heard the traveller's request: 'Come, stranger,' he cried, 'I will shew thee the way to the river.' Then said the god to the horse: 'As thou couldst not for eating find time to do me a turn of kindness, thou shalt for a punishment be never satisfied;' then to the ox: 'Thou good-natured beast shalt conveniently appease thy hunger, and after chew the cud at thine ease, for thou wert ready to serve me.' This myth likewise inculcates kindness to the stranger, and for Perkunos subsequent narrators could without

scruple substitute the Saviour. In the Edda it is always Oðinn, Loki and Hœnir that go on journeys together, the same three Ases that also co-operate in creating (p. 560), for Loðr and Loki are apparently one (p. 241), and in this connexion Loki has nothing base or bad about him. Hœnir is called in Sn. 106 sessi, sinni, mâli Oðins (sodalis, comes, collocutor Odini). These three Ases set out on a journey, and at night seek a lodging; in the stories preserved to us no mention is made of a trial of hospitality. In a later saga Oðinn with Loki and Hœnir rides to the chase (Müller's Sagabibl. 1, 364); and a remarkable lay of the Farøe Isles (Lyngbye pp. 500 seq.) presents the same three, Ouvin, Höner and Lokkji, not indeed as travelling, but as succouring gods, who when called upon immediately appear, and one after the other deliver a boy whom giant Skrujmsli is pursuing, by hiding him, quite in fairy-tale fashion, in an ear of barley, a swan's feather, and a fish's egg. There were doubtless many more stories like this, such as the Norwegian tale in Asbiörn. no. 21, conf. p. 423. As bearing upon their subsequent transference, it must not be overlooked that in Fornm. sög. 9, 56. 175 Oðinn on horseback calls one evening at a blacksmith's, and has his horse shod; his identity with Hermes becomes quite startling in these myths. At other times however it is Thôrr with his heavy hammer (p. 180) that seeks a lodging, like Zeus, and when he stays the night at the peasant's, Loki accompanies Thôrr (Sn. 49); then again Heimdallr, calling himself Rîgr, traverses the world, and founds the families of man. The Finnish legend makes Wäinämöinen, Ilmarinen and Lemminkainen travel (rune 23), quite on a par with Oðinn, Loki, and Hœnir.

If now we look from these heathen myths to those in a christian dress and of a later time, the connexion between them can be no enigma: that of Perkunos changing into the Saviour has already set us the key. Either Christ and Peter journey out together, or one of the two alone; the fable itself turns about in more than one direction. Antique above all sounds the visit of these godlike beings, like that of Oðinn, to the blacksmith, and here the rewarding of hospitality is not left out. In the Norw.

tale no. 21, the Saviour, after he has far surpassed his host in feats of skill, yet places three wishes at his disposal, the very same that were allowed the smith of Jüterbok: compare also Kinderm. no. 147, the Netherl. story of Smeke in Wolf's Wodana p. 54 seq., and H. Sachs iv. 3, 70. But in Kinderm. 82, though the player, like the smith, asks for the tree from which one cannot get down, the main point with him is the dice, and the bestowal of them cannot but remind us of Wuotan the inventor of dice (p. 150. 1007), and again of Mercury. In H. Sachs ii. 4, 114 it is only Peter that bestows the wishing-die on a landsknecht at work in the garden. But the Fabliau *St. Pierre et le jongleur* (Méon 3, 282) relates how the juggler fared after death in hell; though nothing is said of travelling or gift-giving, yet Peter coming down from heaven in a black beard and smug moustaches and with a set of dice, to win from the showman the souls entrusted to his keeping, has altogether the appearance of Wuotan, who is eager, we know, to gather souls into his dwelling; and that tailor who hurled the leg of a chair out of heaven (p. 136) had been admitted by Peter. Then another group of legends betrays a new feature, full of significance to us. The Saviour and Peter are travelling together, Peter has to dress the dinner, and he bites a leg off the roast chicken (Wolf's Wodana, p. 180); in the Latin poem of Heriger, belonging to the tenth century, Peter is called in so many words head-cook of heaven, and a droll fellow secretly eats a piece of lung off the roast, as in Märchen no. 81 brother Lustig, travelling with Peter, steals the heart of the roast lamb, and elsewhere the landsknecht or the Swabian steals the liver. This seems to be all the same myth, for the circumstance that Peter plays by turns the culprit and the god whose attendant is in fault, may itself be of very old date: even the heathen stories may have made Oðinn and Loki change places. Loki is all the more a cook, a roast-stealer, and therefore on a line with Peter, as even the Edda imputes to him the eating of a heart (the suspected passage in Sæm. 118^b I emend thus: 'Loki át hiarta lundi brenda, fann hann hálfsviðinn hugstein konu,' Lokius comedit cor in nemore assum, invenit semiustum

mentis-lapidem mulieris), and in our ancient beast-fable the sly fox (Loki still) carries off the stag's heart half-roasted (Reinh. xlviii. lii).—Nor does this by any means exhaust the stock of such tales of travel. Hans Sachs 1, 492 made up a poem in 1557 (and Burc. Waldis 4, 95 before him in 1537) how Peter journeying with Christ wished in the pride of his heart to rule the world, and could not so much as manage the goat which the Lord had given into his hands for one day; again 1, 493 how they arrived at a parting of the roads, and asked their way of a lazy workman lying in the shade of a peartree, who gave them a gruff answer; then they came upon a maidservant, who was toiling in the sweat of her brow, but, on being asked, immediately laid her sickle down, and saw the Lord into the right road: 'be this maid,' said the Saviour to Peter, 'assigned to none other but that man,' (in Agricola, Spr. 354, the maid is idle and the man industrious). This recalls not only Perkunos with the horse and ox, but the norns or fays passing through the land in the legend quoted on p. 409. Old French poems give the part of short-sighted Peter to the hermit who escorts an angel through the world (Méon, Nouv. rec. 2, 116, and pref. to tome 1); from Mielcke's Lith. sprachl. p. 167 I learn that the same version prevails in Samogitia, and the Gesta Romanor. cap. 80 tell of the angelus et eremita. As the gods lodged with Philemon and Baucis, so does a dwarf travelling in the Grindelwald with some poor but hospitable folk, and protects their little house from the flood (DS. no. 45); in Kinderm. 87 God Almighty lodges with the poor man, and allows him three wishes; to Rügen comes the old beggar-man (= Wuotan), gets a night's lodging from a poor woman, and on leaving in the morning lets her dabble in the wishing business, which turns out ill for the envious neighbour. Thiele (Danmarks folkesagn 2, 306) finds the very same myth in Fünen, and here the traveller is Peter again: the Norwegian tale makes the Lord God and Peter come to dame Gertrude and turn the stingy thing into a bird (p. 673). There is a popular joke about Christ and Peter being on a journey, and the Saviour creating the first Bohemian; and a Netherl. tale

(Wodana p. xxxvii) about their putting up at an ogre's house in a wood, and being concealedd by his compassionate wife, an incident that occurs in many other tales.

Afzelius (*Sagohäfder* 3, 155), while he proves the existence of these legends of Christ and Peter in Sweden also, is certainly wrong in pronouncing them mere fabricated drolleries, not founded on popular belief. They are as firmly grounded as anything can be on primitive traditions, and prove with what fidelity the people's memory has cared for our mythology, while MHG. poets despise these fables which they could have sung so admirably, just as they leave on one side dame Berhte and Holde and in general what is of home growth. Yet a couple of allusions may prove, if proof it needs, that this dressing up of the old myth was in vogue as early as the 13th century: Rumelant (*Amgb.* 12^a) relates of Christ and Peter, how they came to a deep rivulet into which a man had fallen, who was doing nothing to help himself; and a nameless poet (*Mone's Anz.* 5, 192) tells of a wood-cutter whom Peter was trying to hoist into heaven by his mallet, but when on the topmost rung, the mallet's handle came off, and the poor man dropt into hell. The pikeman or blacksmith in the fairy-tale got on better by flinging his knapsack or apron (sledgehammer in *Asbiörnsen* p. 136 is still more archaic) into heaven. Of course these wanderings of the Saviour and one of his disciples have something in common with the journeys of Jesus and his apostles in Judea, the dwarf visitor might be compared to the angels who announced God's mercies and judgments to Abraham and Lot, as Philemon and Baucis have a certain resemblance to Abraham and Sarah; but the harmony with heathen legend is incomparably fuller and stronger. The angels were simply messengers; our mythology, like the Greek and Indian, means here an actual avatâra of Deity itself.

Another example, of smaller compass, but equally instructive as to the mingling of christian with heathen ideas, may be drawn from the old legend of Fruoto. The blissful birth of the Saviour, the new era beginning with him, were employed in drawing pictures of a golden age (p. 695. 793 n.) and the state of happiness

and peace inseparable from it. The Roman Augustus, under whom Christ was born, closed the temple of Janus, and peace is supposed to have reigned all over the earth. Now the Norse tradition makes its mythic Frôði likewise contemporary with Augustus, Frôði whose reign is marked by peace and blessedness, who made captive giantesses grind heaps of gold for him (p. 531. 871), and had bracelets deposited on the public highway without any one laying hands on them. The poets call gold 'miöl Frôða,' Fruoto's meal (Sn. 146), to explain which phrase the poem Gróttasaungr is inserted in the Edda; and in Sæm. 151^a occurs: 'sleit Frôða frið fianda â milli.' Rymbegla says, in his time the fields bore crops without being sown (it is the blessed Sampo-period of the Finns), and metal was found everywhere in the ground; nature joined in extolling the prince, as she does in lamenting his death (p. 591). When Helgi was born, eagles uttered a cry, and holy waters streamed down from the hills of heaven (Sæm. 149^a); in the year of Hâkon's election the birds, we are told, bred twice, and twice the trees bore, about which the Hâk. Hâkonarsaga cap. 24 has some beautiful songs. Hartmann, a monk of St. Gall, sings on the entry of the king: 'Haec ipsa gaudent tempora, floreque verno germinant, adventus omni gaudio quando venit optatior.' So deep a feeling had the olden time for a beloved king. And Beda 2, 16 thus describes king Eádwine's time: 'Tanta eo tempore pax in Britannia fuisse perhibetur, ut, sicut usque hodie in proverbio dicitur, etiamsi mulier una cum recens nato parvulo vellet totam perambulare insulam a mari ad mare, nullo se laedente valeret. Tantum rex idem utilitati suae gentis consuluit, ut plerisque in locis, ubi fontes lucidos juxta publicos viarum transitus construxit, ibi ob refrigerium viantium erectis stipitibus aereos caucos suspendi juberet, neque hos quisquam nisi ad usum necessarium contingere prae magnitudine vel timoris ejus auderet vel amoris vellet.' And of several other kings the tale is told, that they exposed precious jewels on the public road. Mildness and justice were the highest virtues of rulers, and 'mild' signified both mitis and largus, munificus. Frôði was

called the *fêmildi* (bountiful); '*frôði*' itself includes the notion of sagacity. When the genealogies and legends make several kings of that name follow one another, they all evidently mean the same (conf. p. 348). Saxo Gramm. 27 makes his first Frotho sprinkle ground gold on his food, which is unmistakably that '*Frôða miöl*' of Snorri; the second is called '*frækni*,' vegetus; it is not till the reign of the third, who fastens a gold bracelet on the road, that the Saviour is born (p. 95).

But this myth of the mild king of peace must formerly have been known outside of Scandinavia, namely, here in Germany, and in Britain too. For one thing, our chroniclers and poets, when they mention the Saviour's birth, break out, like Snorri and Saxo, in praises of a peaceful Augustan age; thus Godfrey of Viterbo p. 250:

Fit gladius vomer, fiunt de cuspide falces,
Mars siluit, pax emicuit, miles fuit auceps;
nascentis Christi tempore pax rediit.

Wernher's Maria, p. 160:

<p>Dô wart ein chreftiger fride, diu swert versluogen die smide, bediu spieze und sper; dô ne was dehein her daz iender des gedæhte daz ez strite oder væhte, dô ne was niht urluige bî des meres piuge, noch enhein nîtgescelle. Mit grôzer ebenhelle und harte fridlîche stuonden elliu rîche.</p>	<p>Then befel a mighty peace, smiths converted their swords, both pikes and spears; then was there nō army that anywhere tlfought of striving and fighting, then was no war by the sea's margin, nor any sound of hate. In great unison and right peacefully stood all kingdoms.</p>
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And p. 193: Aller fride meiste
mit des keisers volleiste
der wart erhaben und gesworn
dô Christ was geborn.

Compare En. 13205—13, and Albrecht of Halberstadt's Prologus, which also says that Augustus

machte sô getânen fride (perfect peace)
 daz man diu swert begunde smide
 in segense (scythes), und werken hiez
 zuo den sicheln den spiez.

It is true, none of these passages make any reference to Fruoto; but how could the 'milte Fruote von Tenemarke' have got so firm a footing in our heroic lays of Gudrun and the Rabenschlacht, and in the memory of our Court-poets (MS. 2, 221^b, 227^b, Conr. Engelhart, and Helbl. 2, 1303. 7, 366. 13, 111) without some express legend to rest upon? This I had a presentiment of on p. 532 from our proper names Fanigolt, Manigolt (fen-gold, bracelet-gold); conf. Haupt's pref. to Engelh. p. x. And what is more, the Austrian weisthümer (3, 687. 712) require by way of fine a shield full of ground gold; and filling shields with gold meant being liberal. The folk-song in Umland 1, 76-7 makes the mill grind gold and love. How else to explain gold-grinding and gold-meal I cannot divine.

I could multiply such examples; I could also, if the task were not reserved for others or another occasion, shew in detail that the same mythic basis, which must be assumed for our own heroic lays, was not foreign either to the Carolingian poetry, the product mainly of a German tribe, or even to the British. Arthur belongs to the 'wild host' and the 'heaven's wain,' Morgana coincides with norns and elfins. A great deal nearer still stands Charles with his heroes: he is the Long-beard that sleeps in the mountain and rides on the Karl-wain, his Karlstone is the same as the Woden-stone (p. 155), Roland stands on the pillar, Froberge reminded us of Frô (p. 216), and Galans, who plies the forge for these Frankish heroes, is Wayland, Wielant, Völundr. Berthe with the foot, progenitress of Charles, is our Berhta (p. 429); and, attached to her, stand Flore and Blanchefleur with their elvish names (p. 1063). Charles's loved one was an elfin (p. 435), Auberon is Elberich and elf-king; and

Maugis, Malagis=Madalgis, borders on the elvish. Charles's hall resembles that of Asgard (p. 1133n.).

If these investigations have not been a sheer waste of time (and to me it seemed worth the trouble to look into the affairs of our antiquity from all sides), I may now at length attempt an answer to questions, or some of them at least, as to what is the true fundamental character of Teutonic mythology.

Judged by the standard of those mythologies that completed their career from beginning to end, notably the Greek (with which nevertheless it has so many important features in common), it will bear no comparison, if only for the reason that it was interrupted early, before it had produced all that it could have produced. As to our language and poetry, they were sensibly disturbed and hindered too, but they lived on, and could acquire a new impetus; the heathen faith was cut down to the root, and its poor remains could only save themselves by stealth under a new guise. Crude, unkempt it cannot but appear, yet the crude has its simplicity, and the rough its sincerity.

In our heathen mythology certain ideas stand out strong and clear, of which the human heart especially has need, by which it is sustained and cheered. To it the highest god is a father (p. 22), a good father, gofar (p. 167), gaffer, grandfather, who grants salvation and victory to the living, and to the dead an entrance to his dwelling. Death is a going home, a return to the father (p. 839). By the side of the god stands the highest goddess as a mother (p. 22), gammer, grandmother, wise and white ancestress. The god is exalted, the goddess beaming with beauty; both go their rounds and appear in the land, he instructing in war and weapons, she in spinning, weaving, sowing of seed; from him comes the poem, from her the tale. The same paternal authority is deeply stamped on our ancient law, the father taking the newborn son on his lap and acknowledging him; but what we read in some only of our ancient codes, may have been the rule everywhere, namely, that the composition paid to women was originally a higher, a double

one. The German reverence for woman was already known to Tacitus (p. 397), and history vouches for it in the Mid. Ages: in the heroic lays a greater stress is laid on Mother Uote than on the father of the heroes, as Brunhild towers even above Siegfried (see Suppl.). By the side of the beautiful description of mother's love in the Vita Mahthildis (Pertz 6, 298) we can put this touch by Rudlieb 1, 52: 'Ast per cancellos post hunc pascebat ocellos Mater,' as her son was departing. Whenever in dry old Otfried I come to the lines iv. 32: wir sîn gibot ouh wirkên, inti bî unsa muater thenkên (we his bidding also do, and of our mother think), it moves me to melancholy, I don't know whether he meant the church, or her that bore him, I think of my own dear mother (Dorothea Grimm, b. 20 Nov. 1755, d. 27 May 1808). Another thing also we learn from the oldest history of our people, that modesty and virtue had never fled from the land; beside Tacitus, we may rely on Salvian (5th cent.) as the most unimpeachable of witnesses. Refined grace might be wanting, nay, it has often retired before us, and been washed out of remembrance; to the Greeks Apollo, Pallas, Aphrodite stood nearer, their life was brighter like their sky. Yet Frô and Frouwa appear altogether as kind and loving deities, in Wuotan I have produced the god of song, and as Wish he may have been a god of longing and love. However many blossoms of our old mythology and poetry may lie undisclosed and withered, one thing will not escape the eye of a judge, that our poesy still has virgin forms and unlaboured adornment at her command, which, like certain plants, have disappeared from hotter climes.

When the plastic and poetic arts have sprung out of a people's faith, they adorn and protect it by imperishable works; yet another fact must not be overlooked, that both poets and artists insensibly deviate from the sanctity of the old type, and adopt an independent treatment of sacred subjects, which, ingenious as it may be, mars the continuity of tradition. The tragedians will alter for their own ends what epic had handed down entire; the sculptors, striving after naked forms of beauty,

will, in favour of it, sacrifice if need be the significant symbol; as they can neither bring in all the features of the myth, nor yet find the whole of them sufficient, they must omit some things and add others. Sculpture and the drama aim at making the gods more conceivable to the mind, more human; and every religion that is left free to unfold itself will constantly fall back upon man and the deepest thoughts he is capable of, to draw from them a new interpretation of the revealed. As in statues the rigid attitude unbent itself and the stiff folds dropt away, so devotion too in her converse with deity will not be needlessly shackled. In the same way language, even in the hands of poets, declines from the sensuous perfection of poetry to the rational independence of prose.

The grossness that I spoke of would have disappeared from the heathen faith had it lasted longer, though much of the ruggedness would have remained, as there is in our language something rough-hewn and unpolished, which does not unfit it for all purposes, and qualifies it for some. There goes with the German character a thoughtful earnestness, that leads it away from vanity and brings it on the track of the sublime. This was noticed even by Tacitus, whose words, though discussed in the book (p. 70-1, 104-5), will bear repeating: 'Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare, ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.' This is no empty phrase, this 'arbitrantur' and 'appellant' must have come of inquiries, which a Roman, if he wished to understand anything of the Germani, had first of all to set a-going. That is how it actually was in Germany at that time, such answer had German men given, when asked about the temples and images of their gods. Temples are first built to hold statues: so long as these were not, neither were those. Anything mentioned in later centuries, or occurring by way of exception among particular tribes, seems to have been corruption and confusion, to which there was no want of prompting. All the Scandinavian temples and idols

fall into this later time, or they have their reason in the difference of race.

That notable piece of insight shows us the whole germ of Protestantism. It was no accident, but a necessity, that the Reformation arose first in our country, and we should long ago have given it our undivided allegiance, had not a stir been made against it from abroad. It is remarkable how the same soil of Old-German faith in Scandinavia and Britain proved receptive of Protestant opinion; and how favourable to it a great part of France was, where German blood still held its ground. As in language and myth, so in the religious leanings of a people there is something indestructible.

Gods, *i.e.* a multiplication of the one supreme incomprehensible Deity, could only be conceived of by Germans as by others under a human form (p. 316), and celestial abodes like earthly houses are ascribed to them. But here comes a difference, in this reluctance to exhibit the immeasurable (that *magnitudo coelestium*) in visible images, and confine it between earthly walls. To make a real portrait of Deity is clean impossible, therefore such images are already prohibited in the Old Test. decalogue; Ulphilas renders *εἰδωλον* by *galiug* or *galiuga-guð* (lie-god), meaning that any representation of a god was a lie; and the first christian centuries abhorred image-worship, though it gradually found its way into the church again. The statues of Greek gods, we know, proceeded originally from a sacred type, which only by degrees became more secular; the paintings of the Mid. Ages, and even Raphael's great soul-stirring compositions, for want of such a type, were obliged to invent their figures, the legend from which artists chiefly drew their subjects being already song or story; accordingly these pictures stand lower than the works of Greek art, and the spirit of Protestantism insists on their being bundled out of the churches. But if our heathen gods were imagined sitting on mountains and in sacred groves, then our medieval churches soaring skyward as lofty trees, whose sublime effect is unapproached by any Greek pediments and pillars, may fairly be referable to that Old

German way of thinking. Irmansúl and Yggdrasill were sacred trees, rearing their heads into the breezes: the tree is the steed (drasill, the snorter) on which Wuotan, the bodeful thrill of nature, stormfully careers: Yggr signifies shudder, thrill of terror (p. 120, and Suppl.). By the Old German forest-worship I also explain the small number of the priests, who only begin to multiply in temples entrusted to their charge.

Of all forms of belief, the Monotheistic is at once the most agreeable to reason and the most honouring to Deity. It also seems to be the original form, out of whose lap to a childlike antiquity Polytheism easily unfolded itself, by the loftiest attributes of the one God being conceived first as a trilogy, then as a dodecalogy. This arrangement comes out in all the mythologies, and especially clear, I think, in ours: almost all the gods appear unequal in rank and power, now superior, now subordinate, so that, mutually dependent, they must all at last be taken as emanations of a highest and only One. What is offensive in polytheism is thereby diminished (p. 176). For even in the heathen breast a consciousness of such subordination could hardly be quite extinct, and the slumbering faith in a highest god might wake up any moment.

To point out these groups of deities from our half dried-up sources was beyond my power, but the threes and twelves of the Edda are indicated, p. 335. The Greeks however differ in having only one twelve, consisting of six gods and six goddesses, while of the âses and âsynjas there are twelve each, making together twice as many deities as the Greek. Twelve chairs are set for the gods sitting in council (p. 858). Sometimes the highest god has twelve inferiors added to him, which raises the total by one: Loki is called the thirteenth among the gods, and Gnâ among the goddesses. Snorri 211^b names thirteen âses, and even more âsynjas. These triads and twelves of the gods are reflected again in the heroes and wise-women: Mannus begot three sons, heads of races (p. 345. 395), Heimdall founded three orders, the Ynglinga saga 2, 7 calls Oðin's fellow-gods his twelve princes (höfðingjar); Westmar has twelve sons (Saxo

Gram. p. 68); there were thirteen valkyrs (p. 421), and three norns. In Welf's retinue are twelve heroes (p. 395); king Charles's twelve might indeed be traced to the twelve apostles, and the poem itself points to that, but the same thing is found in numberless myths and legends. The might of the godlike king flashes forth yet again in his heroes.

To my thinking, Polytheism almost everywhere arose in innocent unconsciousness: there is about it something soft and agreeable to the feelings; but it will, when the intellect is roused, revert to the Monotheism from which it started. No one taunts the Catholic doctrine with teaching many gods, yet one can see in what respect Catholics stand in the same relation to heathens as Protestants do to Catholics. Heathenism bowed before the power of pure Christianity; in course of time heathenish movements broke out in the church afresh, and from these the Reformation strove to purify it. The polytheistic principle, still working on, had fastened on two points mainly, the worship of saints, of which I have spoken, and that of relics (conf. GDS. p. 149). A stifling smell of the grave pervades the medieval churches and chapels from an adoring of dead bones, whose genuineness and miraculous power seem rarely well attested, and sometimes quite impossible. The weightiest affairs of life, oath-takings, illnesses, required a touching of these sanctities, and all historical documents bear witness to their widely extended use, a use justified by nothing in the Bible, and alien to primitive Christianity (conf. p. 1179). But in idololatry and saint-worship the dominion of the priesthood found its main stay.

Of Dualism proper I have acquitted our heathenism (pp. 895-6. 984). Unlike Polytheism, it seems to me to take its rise, not in gradual corruption, but in conscious, perhaps moral, reflexion, and at a later time. Polytheism is tolerant and friendly; he to whom all he looks at is either heaven or hell, God or devil, will both extravagantly love and heartily hate. But here again let me repeat, that to the heathen Germans the good outweighed the bad, and courage faintheartedness: at death they laughed.

Between deifying much and deifying all, it is hard to draw the

line, for even the most arrant Pantheism will admit some exceptions. The limit observed by the Greek and even the Norse religion appears in those sets of twelve; Personification indeed, on which I have inserted a chapter, seems to dip into the domain of Pantheism; yet when elements and implements are thought of as divine, they scarcely mean more than our old acquaintances, the gods, presented in a new form: the air melts into Wuotan, the hammer into Donar, the sword into Eor, and Sælde (fortune) into Wuotan again. The human mind strives to conceive the unfathomable depth of Deity in new and ever new ways. Some would give our heathenism Fetishism for a foundation (p. 104); the truth is, hammer, spear, flint and phallus were but symbols of the divine force, of which there were other types, both material and moral, equally valid. From thing to person, or from person to thing, was in this matter but a step. As the gods change into heroes and are born again, so they sink even into animals; but this precipitate of them would require certain explanations, which I mean to complete once for all in a new treatment of the Beast-fable. The faster the brood of deities multiplies, the sooner is faith likely to topple over into denial and abuse of the old gods; striking evidences of such atheistic sentiment Scandinavia itself supplies, both in undisguised mockery, and in reposing confidence in one's own strength and virtue (p. 6). The former is expressed in O. Norse by *goðgâ* (irrisio deorum), O.H. Germ. *kotselta* (blasphemia). And this revolt of heathens against heathenism increased as Christianity came nearer: thus the *Nialssaga* cap. 105 says of Hialti, that he was charged with scoffing at the gods, '*varð sekr â þîngi um goðgâ*'; conf. *Laxd.* p. 180. *Kristnisaga* c. 9.

An element (*στοιχείον, ὑπόστασις*) is firm ground, basis, for which the Goth still has a good Teutonic name 'stabs' (= staff, whence the Romance *stoffa, étoffe*, and so our stuff again), or 'stôma' (whence our *ungestüm, OHG. ungestuomi, unquiet*). It meets the eye of man in all its glory, while deity remains unseen: how tempted he must feel to give it divine honours! But his senses and his mind link every exhibition of nature's forces with

subjective impressions bodily and mental, the promptings of language teach him to connect. How came Zio to unite in himself the ideas of sky and war? The Gothic *veihan* meant *pugnare*, *vaíhjô pugna*, *veihs sacer*, *veiha sacerdos* (p. 68), the OHG. *wîg pugna* and *Mars* (p. 203); the hallowed, the holy was at the same time the bright, the beaming. To the Gothic *hveits* corresponds the Skr. *svêtas* (*albus*), to this the Slav. *svety*, *sviatyi* (*sanctus*), and *svèt*, *swiat*, *svetlo* signify *mundus*, *coelum*, *lux*. But again *Svetovit*, *Swantowit*, is *Ares* and *bellum*, and the parallelism of *Wuotan*, *Donar*, *Zio* to *Radigast*, *Perun*, *Svetovit* stands unquestionable: the god of victory shines in the battle. To the Indians *Sûryas* denotes the sun, light, day, and he resembles *Zio*; when *Sûryas* is taking hold of a victim, it bites his hand off, and a golden one has to be put on: is not this *Tÿr*, whose hand the wolf bit off (p. 207)? and who knows but the like was told of the Slavic *Svetovit*? It was beautiful to derive the eye from the sun, blood from water, the salt flow of tears from the bitter sea, and the more profound seem therefore the myths of *Sif's* hair, of *Freyja's* tears; earth and heaven reflect each other. But as even the ancient cosmogonies are inversions of each other (pp. 568. 570, man made of world, world made of man), we have no right to refer the heathen gods exclusively either to astrology and the calendar, or to elemental forces, or to moral considerations, but rather to a perpetual and unceasing interaction of them all. A pagan religion never dropt out of the clouds, it was carried on through countless ages by the tradition of nations, but in the end it must rest on a mysterious revelation which accords with the marvellous language and the creation and propagation of mankind. Our native heathenism seems not to have been oppressed by gloomy fancies about the misery of a fallen existence (like the Indian doctrine of emanation), it favoured a cheerful fatalism (p. 860-1), and believed in a paradise, a renovated world, deified heroes; its gods resemble more those of Greece, its superstition more that of Rome: '*tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est.*'

The question has been gravely asked, whether the heathen

gods really existed ; and I feel disgust at answering it. Those who believe in a veritable devil and a hell, who would burn a witch with a will, may feel inclined to affirm it, thinking to support the miracles of the church by the evidence of this other miracle, that in the false gods she had crushed actual fiends and fallen angels.

Having observed that her Language, Laws and Antiquities were greatly underrated, I was wishful to exalt my native land. To me one labour became the other : what was evidence there was also a confirmation here, what furnished a foundation here served there as a prop. Perhaps my books will have more influence in a quiet happy time which will come back some day ; yet they ought to belong to the Present too, which I cannot think of without our Past reflecting its radiance upon it, and on which the Future will avenge any depreciation of the olden time. My gleanings I bequeath to him who, standing on my shoulders, shall hereafter get into full swing the harvesting of this great field.

JACOB GRIMM.

BERLIN, 28th April, 1844.

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CHAPTER XXX.

POETRY.

Mære however means not only fama, but fabula; and here some other and more interesting personifications present themselves.

We perceive that the existence, organization and copiousness of poetry, as of language itself, reach back to a remote antiquity, that the resources and beauties of both gradually decay, and have to be recruited in other ways. Ancient poetry was a sacred calling, which bore a direct reference to the gods, and had to do with soothsaying and magic.

Before our modern names *dichter* (Ducange sub v. dictator) and *poet* were imported from abroad, we had no lack of native ones more beautiful. At first the inditing and uttering of poetry seem to have gone together, the *sänger* (OHG. sangari, MHG. senger and singer) was likewise the poet, there was no question as to who had made the song. Ulphilas calls the ἄδων *liupareis* (OHG. liodari?); and perhaps would distinguish him from the *saggvareis* (praecentor). Again, ἀοιδός comes from ἀείδω, as οἶδα from εἶδω, the digamma, ascertainable from video and Goth. váit, being dropt; we must therefore assume an older ἀφείδω and ἀφοιδός,¹ the singer and the godlike seer (μάντις, Lat. vates) are one. With this I connect the Goth. inveita (adoro, p. 29); from the sense of celebrating in festive song, might proceed that of worshipping. In the Slavic tongues slava is gloria, slaviti venerari, slavik [O. Slav. slaviy, Russ. solovév] the glorifying jubilant bird, as ἀηδών is from ἀείδω, and our nahtigala from galan, canere. If ἀοιδός means a seeing knowing singer, poet, soothsayer, why may not a Goth. inváits, supposing there was such a word, have expressed the same?

When the creative inventive faculty, as in ποιητής, i.e., faber

¹ That εἶδω I see, and ἀείδω I sing, both change εἰ into οἰ proves no connexion between them, the change being common to many verbs (λείπω λοιπός, κείμαι κοίτη); vātes, at once seer and singer, is an important link.—TRANS.

(and our *smid* equally stood for the framer of the lied or lay, ON. *lioða-smiðr*), was to be specially marked, this was done by the OHG. *scuof*, OS. AS. *scōp* (p. 407-8 n.), which reminds at once of the supreme Shaper of all things and of the shaping norn. The ON. has no *skôpr*¹ that I know of, but instead of it a neuter *skáld*, which I only grope after dubiously in OHG. (pp. 94. 649), and whose origin remains dark; ² *skáldskapr*, AS. *scōpcraft* = *poësis*. The Romance poetry of the Mid. Ages derived the name of its craft from the Prov. *trobar*, It. *trovare*, Fr. *trouver*,³ to find, invent, and *trobaire*, *trovatore*, *trouvere* is inventor, as *scuof* is creator. A word peculiar to AS. is *gid*, *gidd* (cantus, oratio); Beow. 2124. 3446. 4205-12. 4304. 4888, or *giedd*, Cod. exon. 380. 25 [yeddynges, Chauc.]; *giddian* (canere, fari), Cædm. 127, 6. Cod. exon. 236, 8. Beow. 1253; *gidda* (poeta, orator) : 'gidda snotor,' El. 419. 'giedda snotor,' Cod. exon. 45, 2. 293, 20. Leo has traced it in the Ir. *hat cit*, *git* (carmen dictum).⁴

A far-famed word is the Celtic *bard*, Ir. *bard*, pl. *baird*, Wel. *bardh*, occurring already in Festus: '*bardus* Gallice, cantor qui virorum fortium laudes canit.' Lucan's *Phars.*, 1, 447: '*plurima securi fudistis carmina bardis*;' the lark was called *bardaea* or *bardala* (Ducange sub v.), songstress like *ἀηδών*, *nahtigala* and *slavik*. No old authority gives a hint that such bards were known to the language or customs of Germany (see Suppl.).

¹ Biörn gives a neut. *skop* (ironia, jocus), *skoplegr* (ridiculus, almost *σκωπτικός*), which might make one sceptical of the long vowel in AS. *scōp*, but this is used of a lofty earnest poet in Beow. 179. 987. 2126, though sometimes of a comicus, scenicus. The OHG. *salmscōf* = *psalmista*, and the spelling *scōf* *scōffes* (beside *scaffan scuofi*) in Isidore does not disprove the long vowel, as the same document puts *blomo*, *blostar* for *bluomo*, *bluostar*. An OHG. *uo* in *scuof* would remove all doubt, but this I cannot lay my hand on. The gloss '*scōf*, *nubilur vel poësis*' seems to connect two unrelated words which disagree in quantity, *scōp* *tugurium* (our *schoppen*) and *scōph* *poësis*.

² ON. *skálda*, Swed. *skälla*, Dan. *skolde*, Dut. *schouden* = *glabrare*; with this agrees the Fr. *eschauder*, *échauder*, M. Lat. *excaldare* (Ducange sub v.) to scald the hair off. So that *skáld* would be *depilis*, *glaber* (Engl. *scald*), *bald-head*, whether it meant aged minstrel, or that poets shaved their heads? Even *scaldeih* may have signified an oak stript of foliage.

³ As there is no Latin root, we may suggest our own *treffen*, ON. *drepa* [*drub*], lit. to strike, hit, but also (in *antreffen*) to hit upon, find. The Gothic may have been *drupan*, as *treten* was *trudan*, which would account for the Romance *o*.

⁴ Malb. gl. p. 49, conf. Ir. *ceat* = *canere*, *carmine celebrare*. The question is, whether, in spite of this Celtic affinity, the word is not to be found in other Teut. dialects. We might consider ON. *geð* (*mens, animus*), OHG. *ket*, *kett*, *keti*, *ketti* (Graff 4, 144), the doubling of the lingual being as in AS. *bed*, *bedd*, OHG. *petti* (Goth. *badi*), or AS. *biddan*, OHG. *pittan* (Goth. *bidjan*). The meaning would be a minding, remembering; *geðspeki* in *Sæm*. 33^b is the wisdom of yore, inseparable from poetry. '*Gyd*, *gyddian*' seems a faulty spelling: *giedd* shews the vowel broken.

Song, music and dance make glad (τέρπουσι) the heart of man, lend grace to the banquet (ἀναθήματα δαιτός, Od. 1, 152. 21, 430), lulling and charming our griefs (βροτῶν θελκτήρια, Od. 1, 337). God himself, when ailing, comes down from heaven, to get cheered by the minstrel's lay (p. 331). Hence poetry is called the *joyous art*, and song *joy* and *bliss*. We know the *gai saber* of the trobadors; and *joculator*, joglar, jongleur, is derived from *jocus*, *joc*, *jeu*, play and pleasantry. Even the Anglo-Saxons named song and music *gleo* (glee, gaudium), *wynn* (our *wunne*, *wonne*), or *dreám* (jubilum): 'scôp hwílum sang hâdor on Heorote, þa wæs hæleða dreám,' Beow. 987; 'gidd and gleo' are coupled 4025; the song is called 'healgamen' (aulae gaudium), the harp 'gamenwudu, gleobeám,' playing and singing 'gamenwudu grêtan,' to hail, to wake the frolic wood, Beow. 2123. 4210; 'gleobeám grêtan,' Cod. exon. 42, 9. 'hearpan grêtan' and 'hearpan wynne grêtan' 296, 11. Beow. 4029. Then, beside *grêtan*, there is used *wrecan* (ciere, excitare): 'gid wrecan,' to rouse the lay, Beow. 2123. 4304. 4888. 'gid âwrecan' 3445. 4212. 'wordgid wrecan' 6338. 'geomorgidd wrecan,' Andr. 1548. The *gleoman*, *gligman*, is a minstrel, *gleocræft* the gay science of music and song. In Wigalois p. 312 six fiddlers scrape all sorrow out of the heart; if one could always have them by! And Fornald. sög. 1, 315, says: "leika hörpu ok segja sögur svâ at gaman þaetti at." I will quote a remarkable parallel from Finnish poetry. It is true, the lay is called *runo*, the poet *runolainen*, and *runoan* to indite or sing, the song is *laulu*, the singer *laulaja*, and *laulan* I sing; but in the epic lays I find *ilo* (gaudium) used for the song, and *teen iloa* (gaudium cieo) for singing¹ (see Suppl.).

A thing of such high importance cannot have originated with man himself, it must be regarded as the gift of heaven. Invention and utterance are put in the heart by the gods, the minstrel is god-inspired: *θέσπις ἀοιδή*, Od. 1, 328. 8, 498. *ἀοιδὴ θεσπεσίη*, Il. 2, 600. *θέσπις ἀοιδὸς ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἀείδων*, Od. 17, 385. Gods of the highest rank are wardens and patrons of the art divine, Zeus and Apollo among the Greeks, with us Wuotan

¹ 'Tehessä isän iloa,' Kalew. 22, 236. 29, 227, the father (the god Wäinämöinen) was making (waking) joy=he sang; 'io käwi ilo ilolle' 22, 215, joy came to joy=the song resounded, struck up.

and Bragr, Wäinämöinen with the Finns. Saga was Wuotan's daughter (p. 310), as the Muse was Zeus's; Freyja loved the minnesong: 'henni líkaði vel mansöngr,' Sn. 29.

On the origin of poetry the Younger Edda (Sn. 82—87) gives at full length a myth, which the Elder had alluded to in Hávamál, (Sæm. 12. 23-4). Once upon a time the Aesir and Vanir made a covenant of peace, and in token of it each party steeped up to a vessel, and let fall into it their spittle,¹ as atonements and treaties were often hallowed by mingling of bloods (RA. 193-4); here the holy spittle is equivalent to blood, and even turns into blood, as the sequel shews. The token of peace (griðamark) was too precious to be wasted, so the gods shaped out of it a man named *Kvâsir*, of all beings the wisest and shrewdest.² This *Kvâsir* travelled far in the world, and taught men wisdom (frœði, OHG. fruoitî). But when he came to the dwelling of two dwarfs, Fialar and Galar (OHG. Filheri, Kalheri?), they slew him, and let his blood run into two vats and a cauldron, which last was named *Oðhrœrir*, and the vats *Sôn* and *Boðn*. Then the dwarfs mixed the blood with honey, and of this was made a costly mead,³ whereof whosoever tasted received the gift of poesy and wisdom: he became a *skáld* or a *frœða-maðr* (sage). We came upon a trace of this barrel of blood and honey among the dwarfs, p. 468.

Fialar and Galar tried to conceal the murder, giving out that *Kvâsir* had been choked by the fulness of his wisdom; but it was soon reported that they were in possession of his blood. In a quarrel they had with giant *Suttûngr*, they were forced to give up to him the precious mead, as composition for having killed his father. *Suttûngr* preserved it carefully in *Hnitbiörg*, and made his daughter the fair *Gunnlöð* keeper of it.

The gods had to summon up all their strength to regain possession of the holy blood. *Oðinn* himself came from heaven to earth, and seeing nine labourers mowing hay, he asked them if their scythes wanted sharpening. They said they did, and he

¹ *Hrâki*, better perh. *hraki*, is strictly matter ejected from the rachen (throat), OHG. *hracho*, as the AS. *hraca* is both guttur and tussis, sputum; conf. OHG. *hrachisôn* screare, Fr. *cracher*, Serv. *rakati*, Russ. *khârkat'*.

² Creating out of spittle and blood reminds one of the snow and blood in fairy-tales, where the wife wishes for children; of the snow-child in the *Modus Liebinc*; of the giants made out of frost and ice (pp. 440. 465); Aphrodite's being generated out of sea-foam is a part of the same thing.

³ The technical term 'inn dýri miððr' recurs in Sæm. 23^b. 28^a.

pulled a whetstone¹ out of his belt, and gave them an edge; they cut so much better now, that the mowers began bargaining for the stone, but Oðinn threw it up in the air, and while each was trying to catch it, they all cut one another's throats with their scythes.² At night Oðinn found a lodging with another giant, Suttûng's brother Baugi, who sorely complained that he had that day lost his nine men, and had not a workman left. Oðinn, who called himself Bölverkr, was ready to undertake nine men's work, stipulating only for a drink of Suttûng's mead.³ Baugi said the mead belonged to his brother, but he would do his best to obtain the drink from him. Bölverkr accomplished the nine men's work in summer, and when winter came demanded his wages. They both went off to Suttûng, but he would not part with a drop of mead. Bölverkr was for trying stratagem, to which Baugi agreed. Then Bölverkr produced a gimlet named Rati,⁴ and desired Baugi to bore the mountain through with it, which apparently he did; but when Bölverkr blew into the hole and the dust flew back in his face, he concluded that his ally was no honester than he should be. He made him bore again, and this time when he blew, the dust flew inwards. He now changed himself into a worm, and crept in at the hole; Baugi plunged the drill in after him, but missed him. In the mountain Bölverkr passed three nights with Gunnlöð, and she vowed to let him have three draughts of the mead: at the first draught he drained Oðhrærir, at the second Boðn, at the third Sôn, and so he had all the mead. Then he took the shape of an eagle, flew his fleetest, and Suttûngr as a second eagle gave chase. The Aesir saw Oðinn come flying, and in the courtyard of Asgarð they set out vats, into which Oðinn, hard pressed by Suttûng, spat out the mead, and thus it turned into spittle again, as it had been at first.⁵ The mead is given by Oðinn to the âses, and to men

¹ Hein, AS. hân, Engl. hone, Swed. hen, Sskr. s'âna.

² Like Dr. Faust fooling the seven toppers into cutting each other's noses off.

³ Here Oðinn plays the part of Strong Hans (Kinderm. 90), or of Siegfried with the smith.

⁴ Mentioned also in Sæm. 23^b; evidently from 'rata' permeare, terebrare, Goth. vratôn, so that it would be *Vrata* in Gothic.

⁵ It is added: 'en honum var þa svá nær komit at Suttûngr mundi nâ honum, at hann sendi apr (behind) suman miöðinn, ok var þess ecki gætt: hafði þat hvær er vildi, ok köllum ver þat skáldfíla lut (malorum poetarum partem)'; or, as another MS. has it: 'en sumum roepti hann apr, hafa þat skáldfífl, ok heitir arnar

that can skill of poesy. This explains the fluctuating names of the poetic art: it is called *Kvásis blóð* (Kv. sanguis); *dverga drecka, fylli* (nanorum potus, satietas); *Oðhræris, Boðnar, Sónar laug* (O., B., S. aqua); *Hnitbiarga laug* (Hn. aqua); *Suttúngs miöðr* (S. mulsum); *Oðins fengr, fundr, dryckr* (O. praeda, inventio, potus); *Oðins giöf* (O. donum); *dryckr Asaþna* (Asarum potus).

Some of these names are well worth explaining minutely. *Boðn* is rendered oblatio, *Són* reconciliatio: neither of them, at all events when first used by the dwarfs, can have had any such meaning yet. We can easily connect *boðn* with AS. *byden*, OHG. *putin* (Graff 3, 87); *són* certainly agrees with the OHG. *suona* (emendatio), not with Goth. *sáun* (lytrum). *Sæm.* 118^b. 234^a has 'Sónar dreyri' in the sense of 'sónar dreyri,' atonement-blood (conf. *sónar göltr*, p. 51). More meaning and weight attaches to the cauldron's name, which occurs also in *Sæm.* 23^b. 28^a. 88^a, the last time spelt correctly. To explain the word, I must mention first, that a Goth. adj. *vôþs*, *dulcis*, answers to OHG. *wuodi*, OS. *wôthi*, AS. *wêðe*, which is used alike of sweet smell and sweet sound; 'swêg þæs wêðan sanges,' sonus dulcis cantilenæ. And further, that an AS. noun *wôð* (masc.) is *carmen*, *facundia*: 'wôða wynsumast,' *carmen jucundissimum*, *Cod. exon.* 358, 9. 'wôða wlitegast,' *carmen pulcherrimum*, *El.* 748. 'wôðwera,' *prophetia virorum*, *Cædm.* 254, 23. 'wôðbora' (*carmen ferens*), both as *poëta*, *Cod. exon.* 295, 19. 489, 17 and as *orator*, *propheta* 19, 18. 346, 21. 'witgena wôðsong,' *cantus prophetarum* 4, 1. 'wôðcræft,' *poësis* 234, 30. 360, 7 *synon.* with the *scôpcræft* and *gleocræft* above. 'wynlicu wôðgiefu,' *jocundum poëseos donum* 414, 10 alluding at once to the gay art and to Wôden's gift. Now, whether the sense of 'sweet, gentle,' *lay-*

leir (habent id mali poetæ, et dicitur aquilæ lutum),' because Oðinn flew in eagle's shape. In *Mart. Capella*, before *Athanasia* will hand the *immortalitatis poculum* to *Philologia*, 'leniter dextera cordis ejus pulsum pectusque pertractat, ac nescio qua intima plenitudine distentum magno cum turgore respiciens, Nisi hæc, inquit, quibus plenum pectus geris, coactissima egestionem vomueris forasque diffuderis, immortalitatis sedem nullatenus obtinebis. At illa omni nisu magnaue vi quicquid intra pectus senserat evomebat. Tunc vero illa nausea ac vomitio laborata in omnigenum copias convertitur litterarum. . . . Sed cum talia virgo undanter evomeret, puellæ quam plures, quarum artes aliæ, aliæ dictæ sunt disciplinae, subinde quæ virgo ex ore diffuderat colligebant, in suum unaquæque illarum necessarium usum facultatemque corripens.' What seemed too gross as yet for immortality becomes here, when thrown up by the bride of heaven, the foundation of human science. Conf. *Aelian's Var. hist.* 13, 22.

in the noun wôð itself, or was first developed in the derived adj. (which seems nearer the truth, as wôð in some passages of Cod. exon. 118, 4. 125, 31. 156, 8 means only a loud sound, clamor, without any reference to song); it is plain that to it corresponds the ON. ôðr (also masc.), which denotes as well poëma as ingenium, facundia. In the former sense its agreement with the Lat. oda, Gr. ὠδή (contr. from αοιδή), is purely accidental, as the difference of gender sufficiently shews. It is remarkable that at the creation of Askr and Embla, Sæm. 3^b, Hœnir is said to have imparted to them the lacking ôð, which on p. 561 I translated 'reason': perhaps 'speech, gift of speech' would be more correct? ¹ Be that as it may, *Oðhrœrir* seems clearly to be 'poësin ciens, dulcem artem excitans,' which is in striking harmony with the AS. 'gid wreca' and Finn. 'teen iloa' above; hrœra, OHG. hruoran, MHG. rüeren, means tangere, ciere, and the cauldron would have been in OHG. Wuodhruori, AS. Wôðhrêre. Freyja's husband *Oðr* (Sæm. 5^b. Sn. 37), whom she sought through the world and bewept with golden tears, may have been a personification of poetic art; ² was he the same as *Kvásir*, who traversed the world, and was murdered by the dwarfs?

Thus *Oðhrœrir* contained the sweet drink of divine poesy, which imparted immortality; and from the exertions made by the gods, particularly *Oðinn*, to regain possession of it when it had fallen into the hands of dwarfs and giants, follows its identity with amrita, ambrosia and nectar (p. 317-9); the ichor in the veins of gods is like the limpid spittle of the Ases and Vanes.

The pure bee, which has survived from Paradise,³ brings the honey of song to the lips of the *sleepers*, p. 696 (see Suppl.).

I cannot resist the temptation to add some more legends, of how the *inspiration* of song came to great poets *overnight* in their sleep: the story of Pindar is told again of Homer and Aeschylus under another form.

Helen is said to have appeared to Homer: λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ

¹ Here, as elsewhere, the ON. dialect becomes unsafe for comparison, because it confounds middle and final d with ð.

² The difficulty noticed in the preceding note forbids my inquiring whether this *Oðr* be related to *Oðinn*; the AS. Wôden and wôð (rabies) stand apart from wôð (poësis), conf. supra p. 131-2.

³ Anc. laws of Wales I, 739: bees draw their origin from Paradise, which they left through man's transgression, but God gave them his blessing; therefore mass cannot be sung without wax. Leoprechting's Lechrain, p. 80.

τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν ὡς ἐπιστᾶσα (Ἑλένη) τῆς νυκτὸς Ὀμήρῳ προσέταξε ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν, βουλομένη τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον ζηλωτότερον ἢ τὸν βίον τῶν ἄλλων καταστήσαι. Καὶ μέρος μὲν τι διὰ τὴν Ὀμήρου τέχνην, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ ταύτην οὕτως ἐπαφρόδιτον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὀνομαστὴν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ποίησιν [Some of the Homeridæ say, that Helena appeared to Homer by night, and bade him sing of those who warred against Troy, she wishing to make their deaths more enviable than other men's lives. And that partly by Homer's art, but chiefly by her, his poetry was made so lovely and world-renowned]. Isocr. Ἑλ. ἐγκώμιον in Oratt. Att. ed. Bekker 2, 245.

Bacchus revealed himself to Aeschylus : ἔφη δὲ Αἰσχύλος μειράκιον ὦν καθεύδειν ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλάσσων σταφυλᾶς καὶ οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστᾶντα κελεύσαι τραγωδίαν ποιεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα (πεῖθεσθαι γὰρ ἐθέλειν) ῥᾶστα ἤδη πειρώμενος ποιεῖν. οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν [Aesch. said, that when a boy he fell asleep in the field while watching grapes, and Dionysus appeared to him and bade him write tragedy. In the morning, wishing to obey, he composed quite easily as soon as he tried]. Pausan. i. 21, 2 ; ῥᾶστα, as ῥεῖα is said of the gods (p. 320).

As Aeschylus was watching the vineyard, Teutonic herdsmen were pasturing sheep or oxen when the gift of Wuotan came to them.

Hallbiörn had long wished to sing the praise of a dead minstrel Thorleif, but could not, until Thorleif appeared in the hush of night, unloosed his tongue, and, just as he was vanishing, displayed his shoulder (p. 326). Fornm. sög. 3, 102.

The heathen myth was still applicable to christian poets. A poor shepherd in his sleep hears a voice urging him without delay to put the Scriptures into Saxon verse ; previously unskilled in song, he understood it from that moment, and fulfilled his commission, Opusc. Hincmari remensis (Par. 1615), p. 643. The like is told in fuller detail of the famous AS. poet Cædmon, Beda's Hist. eccl. 4, 24 (Frau Aventure p. 28-9). All these poets, on awaking in the morning, succeed in a task untried before (see Suppl.).

Not only does the poetic faculty itself proceed from the gods ; they invent the very *instruments* by which song is accompanied.

Apollo, who in Homer plays the phorminx, is said by Calli-

machus to have strung the lyre with seven chords; yet the invention of the lyre is ascribed to Hermes, who gave it to Apollo. This is important for us, as in Wuotan there is much of Hermes and of Apollo, with a preponderance of the former. Ingenuity is characteristic of Mercury, and I can scarcely doubt that in our antiquity, as Wuotan was the inventor of writing and rhythm, so he was of some instrument to accompany singing.

A confirmation of this is the five-stringed harp (*kantelo*) of the Finns, an invention of their highest god Wäinämöinen, who everywhere represents our Wuotan. First he made *kantelo of the bones of a pike*, and when it fell into the sea, he made it again of birchwood, its pegs of oak bough, and its strings of a mighty stallion's tail. In the same way Hermes took the tortoise (*chelys*) out of its shell, and mounted this with strings (Hymn to Merc. 24 seq.). Swedish and Scotch folksongs relate, that when a maiden was drowned, a musician made a harp of her *breastbone*, the pegs of her *fingers*, the strings of her golden *hair*, and the (first) stroke of the harp killed her murderess, Sv. folk v. 1, 81. Scott's Minstr. 3, 81. In one kinderm. no. 28 a *bone* of the slain brother is made into a shepherd's whistle, and every time it is blown, it publishes the crime; and a Swiss legend tells the same of a flute (Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 36). The power of music and song was explained by giving the instruments a supernatural origin, and doubtless a remoter antiquity did not leave gods out of the reckoning.

When Wäinämöinen touches his harp, the whole of nature listens, the four-footed beasts of the wood run up to him, the birds come flying, the fish in the waters swim toward him; tears of bliss burst from the god's eyes, and fall on his breast, from his breast to his knees, from his knees to his feet, wetting five mantles and eight coats, Kalew. rune 22-9. Such tears are shed by Freyja (*gråtfögr*, p. 325), her that well liked song, and was wedded to Oðr; in fairytales lucky maidens have the power to laugh roses and weep pearls.

The *strömkarl* also breaks into weeping when he sings to the harp (p. 493). But as all nature, animate and inanimate, betrays her sympathy with human lamentations, so at the sound of the bewitching *ableich* (*elf-lay*, p. 470), we are told, the rushing river stayed its roar, the fish in the wave clicked with their

tongues, the birds of the forest twittered. Next to the gods, it is elves and watersprites that seem the most initiated into the mysteries of music, and *Hnikarr* the teacher of song stands for Oðinn himself (p. 489).

But from gods the gift of poesy passed to particular heroes, and similar effects are ascribed to their minstrelsy. Two heroes of Teutonic legend are eminent as minstrels: *Horant* (Herrant, AS. Heorrenda, ON. Hiarrandi, conf. Gramm. 1, 352. Z. f. d. a. 2, 4), of whom it is said in Gudr. 388-9 that by his songs he chained all men whole and sick, and that

diu tier in dem walde ir weide liezen stên,
die wûrme di dâ solten in dem grase gên,
die vische die dâ solten in dem wâge vliezen,
die liezen ir geverte ;

beasts let be their grazing, creeping things and fishes forsook their wonted ways. The saga *Herrauðs ok Bosa* (Fornald. sög. 3, 323) couples the *Hiarranda-hlioð* with the enchanting *gýgjar slagr* (giantess's harp-stroke). Then the hero *Volkêr* (Folhheri) plays the fiddle to the Nibelungs 1772 :

under die türe des hûses saz er ûf den stein,
küener (bolder) videlære wart noch nie dehein :
dô klungen sîne seiten (strings), daz al daz hûs erdôz (rang),
sîn ellen zuo der fuoge (art) diu wârñ beidiu grôz.
süezer unde senfter gîgen er began :
dô entswebete er an den betten vil manegen sorgenden man ;

he lulled to sleep in their beds full many an anxious man. In Greek mythology Orpheus and Amphion bear mastery in song. When *Amphion* sang, the stones obeyed his lyre, and fitted themselves into a wall. Rocks and trees followed after *Orpheus*, wild beasts grew tame to him, even the *Argo* he lured from dry land into the wave, and dragons he lulled to sleep (entswebete). As *Hermôðr*, like him, made the descent to Hades [to fetch Balder back], and as it is for this same Balder that all beings mourn, we may fairly suppose that *Hermôðr* too had worked upon them by music and song, though nothing of the kind is recorded in the Edda (see Suppl.).

Now if poetry was a joint possession of men and gods, if by

gods it had been invented and imparted, it necessarily follows that antiquity would regard it as a function and business of the *priest*, and that the notions of priest, prophet and poet would meet and touch. And here I attach some weight to our finding the A.S. word *bregowine* (pp. 93. 235), which seems to indicate a follower and friend of the poet-god Bragi, as we at the present day call the minstrel a friend or favourite of the Muses. In lands and times that looked kindly on the tuneful art, we may even suppose that minstrels, especially those of courts, had like priests a peculiar garb; particularly instructive on this point is the information furnished by the Welsh Laws as to the position and privileges of bards at the king's court, and the Norse sagas are unanimous on the estimation in which skalds were held. Poets of the Mid. Ages enjoyed a like distinction at princely courts, both Teutonic and Romance; and a close investigation of this interesting subject might bring out much in our modern customs, that has its source in the very oldest time¹ (see Suppl.).

I call attention to utterances of MHG. poets, which represent the art of song as something not acquired, but inborn, i.e. inspired by God (a sentiment as old as Homer, Od. 22, 347: *αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἶμας παντοίας ἐνέφυσε*). Heinr. von Morunge 1, 53^a says: 'wan ich durch sanc (for song) bin ze der werlte geborn,' it is a burden laid on him, his mission. Walther 26, 4, referring to God: 'sît ich von dir beide wort hân unde wîse.' The Wartb. kr. jen. 102: 'gab iu Got sinne und sanges site.' Even the later Meistersänger speak to the same purpose: 'es trieb der Heilig Geist zwölf männer froh, die fiengen an zu dichten.' Why should not heathen poets in like manner have traced back their gifts to Wuotan's mead?

The *singing-matches* also seem to have sprung out of the simplest nature of poetry itself. As the wise men of old questioned one another on their knowledge, as heroes proved on each

¹ Niebuhr in Pref. to Merobaudes says: 'quem morem coronandorum poetarum cum poësi ipsa, cui semper aliquis honos mansit, etiam rudibus, quae secutae sunt, saeculis perdurasse arbitror.' But why go back to the Romans for what seems to have been the usage of our own antiquity, when kings, judges, priests, heroes and minstrels wore garland and fillet, and even the people's poets used to elect a king of their own? 'Au pui où on corone les biaux discour,' Renars 1677.

other the prowess of their arms, so shepherds and poets sang for the prize of poetry. Oðinn wishes to sound the wisdom (orðspeki) of the sage giant, Vǫngbǫrr that of the sage dwarf, the blind guest¹ that of king Heiðrekr; then lays are sung and riddles propounded, Vafþrúðnir expressly stipulating ‘höfði veðja við scolom hóllo í, gestr, um geðspeki,’ Sæm. 33^b; they are to wager heads, as in the contests between cunning smiths or chess-players. Lives are staked also in the Wartburg war of minstrels: ‘nu wirt gesungen âne vride . . . stempfel muoz ob uns nu beiden stân alhie mit sînem swerte breit, er rihte ab unser eime in roubes site, dem man valles jehe!’ we’ll sing and give no quarter . . . over us two shall stempfel stand with his broad sword, and despatch as an outlaw him that gets the fall. This transaction is of legend, not history, but it shews in what a serious light the poetic art was viewed.

And here let me mention the widely circulated myth of the poet who sees his property imperilled, because another’s memory has mastered his songs. What passed between Virgil and Bathyllus is related, with alterations, of Arnaldo Daniello and a jongleur (Diez’s *Leben der troub.* p. 352), but so it is of the Indian Kalidasa, whose poem four Brahmans had learnt by heart. The same Kalidasa and Valmiki were held to be incarnations of Brahmâ himself; what could more firmly establish a poet’s reputation than to pass for an avatâra of the sublime divinity?

The gods share their power and influence with goddesses, the heroes and priests with wise women. Of the âsynjor, *Saga* is named next after Frigg in Sn. 36, and together with Sól in 212; her residence is *Sökqvabeckr*, sinking beck, a large and roomy place; *Sagones* (*Saga’s* ness) in Sæm. 154^b seems also to take its name from her. In Sæm. 41^a *Sökqvabeckr* is described as a place where cool waters rush: there *Oðinn* and *Saga* day by day drink gladly out of golden cups. This is the drink of immortality, and at the same time of poesy. *Saga* may be taken as wife or as daughter of Oðinn; in either case she is identical with him as god of poetry. With the Greeks the *Musa* was a daughter of Zeus, but we often hear of three or nine Muses, who resemble our wise women, norns and schöpferins (shapers of destiny), and dwell

¹ Oðinn himself; whose blindness fits in with that of the ancient poets. The loss of eyes strengthens the memory, it lends the capacity and impulse to sing.

beside springs or wells.¹ The cool flood well befits the swan-wives, daughters of Wish. *Saga* can be no other than our sage (saw, tale), the 'mære' of p. 897 personified and deified.

Our 13th cent. poets personify 'âventiure,' making a *frau Aventiure*, like the norn, foot it overland to the minstrel's hut, knock and demand admission.² To this day, when people take turns in telling stories, they say 'the *märlein* goes round from house to house.' Suchenwirth no. xxv describes an apparition of dame *Aventiure* on a blooming ea in the forest; she has travelled through the land to kings and princes as *frau Ehre's* messenger, and now presents her report; putting a gold ring on her finger, she disappears. I have one thing more to mention, that M.Nethl. poets make a person of 'aventure' in the sense of our MHG. *frau Sælde*: 'die *Aventure* wacht,' Maerl. 2, 14. 'dat rat (rota) van *Aventuren*,' Rein. 6183, just like 'diu *Sælde* wacht' and 'Sælden rat' (p. 863-8). I am not aware that in this they followed the pattern of any Romance poetry (see Suppl.).

That 'passing round' or alternate telling of myth and *märchen* was already a Greek and Roman custom, as we may see by Ovid's *Met.* lib. iv, where the *Minyads* during their spinning and weaving beguile the time by telling tales, 39:

'Utile opus manuum vario sermone levemus,
perque vices aliquid, quod tempora longa videri
non sinat, in medium vacuas referamus ad aures.'
dicta probant, primamque jubent narrare sorores.

167: Desierat, mediumque fuit breve tempus, et orsa est
dicere Leuconoë, vocem tenuere sorores.

274: Poscitur Alcithoë, postquam siluere sorores.

But it was the festival of Bacchus, the priest had bidden them keep it, 'immunes operum dominas famulasque suorum,' and the god avenged himself by turning their web into a tissue of vines and ivy, and the *Minyads* into owls and bats. (The song of women at the loom is also mentioned by Agathias, p. 29.) *Holda* and *Berhta* are often angry at spinning which desecrates their

¹ O. Boh. glosses in Hanka 55^b: 'wodna = musa' (Jungm. 5, 147). Is this water-wife, spring-wife?

² Refs. given in my little work quoted above, p. 310. To these add, from Ulr. von Türheim's *Wh.* 192^c, a dialogue of the poet with *frau Aventiure*.

holy day (pp. 270-4), though otherwise they favour and reward it. The norns making visitations have spindles, and they sing at their spinning: the wise women and divine mothers of our antiquity may be regarded as teachers of song, story and spindle.

CHAPTER XXXI.

SPECTRES.

A preceding chapter has treated of Souls in their state of separation from the body and passage to another dwelling-place: these are the souls that have found their rest, that have been taken up into hades or heaven. Thenceforward they sustain only a more general connexion with earth and the living; their memory is hallowed by festivals, and in early times probably by sacrifices.¹

Distinct from these are such spirits as have not become partakers, or not completely, of blessedness and peace, but hover betwixt heaven and earth, and in some cases even return to their old home. These souls that appear, that come back, that haunt, we call spectres (ghosts).

The Roman expression for peaceful happy spirits of the dead was *manes*, for uncanny disquieting apparitions *lemures* or *larvae*; though the terms fluctuate, for 'manes' can denote spectral beings too, and 'lemures' can have a general meaning (Creuzer's *Symb.* 2, 850—866). *Larva* betrays its affinity to *lar* (p. 500), and the good kindly *lares* were often held to be manes or souls of departed ancestors. So in our German superstition we find instances of souls becoming homesprites or kobolds,² and still oftener is there a connexion between unquiet spirits and spectres³ (see Suppl.).

¹ Between the christian *All-souls' day* (Nov. 2), on which the people visit churchyards and hang garlands on graves, and the three Roman holidays when the under world opened (*mundus patet*) and the 'manes' ascended (Creuzer 2, 865. O. Müller's *Etrusk.* 2, 97), there is a manifest connexion. On the night of Nov. 2 the Esthonians set food for the *dead*, and rejoice when they find any of it gone in the morning. In the Fellin district near Dorpat the *departed souls* are received in the bath-room, and bathed one after the other, Hupel's *Nachr.* p. 144, conf. Possart's *Estland* p. 172-3; exactly as *food is set* before angels and homesprites (p. 448).

² I confine myself here to one Hessian folktale. *Kurt*, a farmer at Hachborn, would not quit the farm even after his death, but lent a hand in the fieldwork as a *good spirit*. In the barn he helped the labourer to throw sheaves from the loft: when the man threw one, *Kurt* would throw another. But once, when a strange servant got up into the loft, he would not help; at the cry 'You throw, Kurt!' he seized the man and flung him on the thrashing-floor, breaking his legs.

³ Isengrim changes into Agemund (p. 511).

For the quiet spirits and their condition, our language has a beautiful adj., OHG. *hiuri laetus, mitis*, AS. *heoru*, Beow. 2744, ON. *hýr*, MHG. *gehiure*, our *geheuer* when we say 'es ist geheuer,' all is quiet, happy, peaceful. The contrary is expressed by OHG. and OS. *unhiuri dirus, saevus*, AS. *unheoru*, Beow. 1967 (unhiore 4822. unhýre 4236. Cædm. 138, 5), ON. *ôhýr*, MHG. *ungehiure*, our *ungeheuer*: 'es ist ungeheuer,' there's something wrong. But both words go further, God is called *hiuri*, the *devil* *unhiuri*; *ungeheuer* is *monstrum, portentum* in general. The Gothic form would be *hiuris*, which seems nearly allied to *háuri* (*pruna, ember*), ON. *hyr ignis*, and is therefore the shining, the bright; if an OHG. gloss in Graff 4, 1014 be correct, even the non-negative *hiuri* may signify *dirus, viz. fiery* in a bad sense, such as we shall find presently in connexion with *ignes fatui*. Much the same in meaning with *hiuri* and *unhiuri* are *holdo* and *unholdo* (pp. 266. 456), though these are applied more to spirits and daemons than to human souls; yet Notker renders 'manes' by *unholdon*, so that *holdo* and *unholdo* also appear synonymous here.

The OHG. *kispanst* fem. (our *gespenst* n., *spectre*) meant properly *suggestio* (from *spanan, suggerere*); but as the forms of confession dealt much with devilish suggestion and enticement,¹ men came to use it habitually of ghostly delusion and illusion. Boner 94, 54 has 'diu *gespenst*' (why not *gespanst*?) for phantom, apparition. The neuter is found in the Mære vom schretel und wazzerber 92 quite in the above connexion: 'des tiuvels vâlant und sîn *gespenste*'; even earlier, Herbort 3500 couples *gespenste* and *getwâs*. Keisersperg (Omeiss 39) has *des teufels gespenst* (*praestigium*): not till recent centuries did the term become really common, and some spelt it *gespengst*.²

We also say *spuk*; it is a LG. word, which first occurs in the Chron. saxon. (Eccard p. 1391) in the form *spôkne*; Detmar 1, 136 has *spuk*, and 2, 206 *vorspok* *praesagium*. Nowadays *spôk*, Nethl. *spook, spookzel*, Swed. *spöke*, Dan. *spökenis* A.D. 1618, *spögelse* *spectrum, spög* *jocus*; we should therefore expect a MHG. *spuoch*, Mod. *spuch*, but it is nowhere to be found.

¹ 'Von des teufels gespenste,' instigation, Oberlin's Bihtebuoch 36. Frisch 2, 302^a; but he thinks it conn. with Lat. *spectrum*.

Gespûc indeed stands in Berthold, Cod. pal. 35, fol. 27^b (see Suppl.).

More precise is the ON. *aptrgânga* fem., Laxd. saga p. 224, as if anima rediens, Dan. *gienfârd*, *gienganger*, Fr. *revenant*, Saxo Gram. 91 says *redivivus*; conf. our phrase 'es geht um,' something haunts (lit. goes about); 'at hann *gengi* eigi dauðr,' that he walk not when dead, Fornald. sög. 2, 346. To haunt is in L. Sax. *dwetern*, on the Harz *walten* (Harry's Volkss. 2, 46).

The regular word in ON. is *draugr*, Fornm. sög. 3, 200: Oðinn is styled '*drauga* dróttinn,' Yngl. saga cap. 7, and a gravemound *draugahûs*, Sæm. 169^a. The word is lost in Sweden and Denmark, but lives in the Norweg. *drou*, *droug* (Hallager 20^c). It seems to be of one root with OHG. *gitroc*, MHG. *getroc*, delusive apparition, phantom, used of elvish and fiendish beings (p. 464); but our verb triegen, OHG. triokan trôc (fallere) has no corresponding driuga in the Northern languages.¹ The Edda uses the analogous *svik* (fallacia, fraus) likewise in the sense of a ghostly jugglery, Sæm. 166^b. 167^a. And that is also the meaning of the terms *giscîn* and *scînleih* quoted p. 482; they can refer to spectres as well as to wood-sprites (see Suppl.).

The glosses yield a number of old words for the Lat. larva. To begin with the earliest, the Florent. 982^b gives *talamasga*, and the later M.Nethl. coll. (Diut. 2, 220) *talmasge*, Kilian too has *talmasche* larva, *talmaschen* larvam induere; it is the O.Fr. *talmache*, *tamasche* in Roquefort, who explains it as masque, faux visage, and 'talmache de vaisseau' is a figure fixed on a ship.² Other glosses have *flathe*, and *scraz*, *scrat* (p. 478). *Mummel* is both larva and kobold (p. 506). Anything uncanny and alarming, monstrum, prodigium, portentum, praestigium, acquires the meaning of spectre too. Again, *getwâs* (p. 464), Herbort 842. 12856. 'ein bôse *getwâs*, Vom gelouben 530; the M.Nethl. *ghedwaes*, Hor. belg. 6, 249 agrees with the Lith. *dwase*, spectre [v. the L.S. verb *dwetern* above]. In Martina 10 we read 'daz

¹ AS. dreogan dreáh, though answering letter for letter, never means fallere, but agere, patrare, tolerare, to dree; agreeing with ON. driugr, frequens.

² Ducange sub. v. *talamasca*, *πέρμα*, delusio imaginaria; the author. cited are Hincmar in capit. ad presb. dioec. cap. 14; Regino 1, 213; Burchardus wormat. 2, 161, who says: 'larvas daemonum, quas vulgo *talamascas* dicunt, ante se ferri consentiat.' Extr. from Concil. namnetense cap. 10; conf. Schmeller 2, 640.

geschrudel ;' and in Stald. 2, 27. 59. 64 das *nachthuri*, das *ghüdi*. The ON. *vofa* is spectrum, from *vofa* ingruere, imminere; the *draugr* is also called a *dólgr*, *foe*, Fornald. sög. 2, 368. Fornm. sög. 3, 200, and from this perhaps comes the Upland *dödöljor*, manes defunctorum (Ihre's Dial. lex. 32^b), if not from *dylja* (celare), Sw. *dölja* (see Suppl.).

Now it is remarkable that even the ON. *draugar* are described as *begirt with fire*: 'hauga eldar brenna,' Fornald. sög. 1, 434. 'lupu upp hauga eldarnir' 1, 518. *Loka dawn* (p. 242) is the Icel. name of a fiery exhalation. To this day it is the popular belief all over Germany, that souls which have not attained heavenly peace roam at night like bewildered birds, *in fiery shape*,¹ on field and meadow, conf. *wiesenhüpfer* p. 829. The traveller, who takes them for village lights, they lure out of his way, now approaching, now retiring: they perch on his back like kobolds (Superst. I, 611), and flap their wings together over him (Deut. sag. no. 276); they lead into bogs, on deceptive devious tracks, *hírrlig-spor* (St. 2, 45), exactly like the *butz*, p. 507. The pedestrian tries to keep one foot at least in the carriage-rut, and then he gets on safely, for *ignes fatui* have power on foot-paths only. According to Villemarqué's *Barzasbreiz* 1, 100 the spirit is a child with a firebrand in his hand, which he whirls round like a flaming wheel; now he appears as a sick horse, and when the herdsman would lead him into the stable, hurls the brand at his head; now as a bleating goat gone astray, that after sundown shews itself on the pond, and tempts the traveller into the water, then scampers off to tease him. In Etnér's *Unwürd.* doctor p. 747, 'fire-men and frisking goats' are coupled together. —The phenomenon has a vast variety of names. Our commonest one is *irlicht* (err-light) and, from its resemblance to a burning wisp of straw, *irwisch* and on the Rhine *heerwisch*; in Austria *feuriger mann* and *fuchtelmann* (Höfer 1, 251) from *fuchteln* to burnish or jerk to and fro, viz. the fiery blade.² In

¹ In Lausitz the *ignis lambens* that plays about the tops of forest trees is called *feuermann*, Laus. monatsschr. 1797. p. 749.

² These fiery exhalations also settle on the *masts of ships*, *Marienleg*. 87, 96, or the *spears of warriors*. The former kind the ancients named after the *Dioscuri*, Pliny 2, 37, the moderns call it 'feu de St. Elme.' For the flaming spears I have old authorities: 'signa (also, pila) militum arserunt,' Tac. Ann. 12, 64. 15, 7. 'duae puerorum lanceae, emissis flammis, lumen euntibus praebuerunt, ibantque fulgurantes hastae,' Greg. tur. mirac. Mart. 1, 10. And a modern instance in Zeiller's

Pictorius p. 524 *zeusler* from *zeuseln*, *züseln* to toy with fire; otherwise *zünsler*, *zündler*, and in Fischart's Garg. 231 *zunsel-gespenst*, conf. Höfer sub v. *zinserl*. In Low Germ. *gloiniger* (glowing) *man*; *tückebold*, *tukkebode*, not from *tücke* malice, but from *tuk* a quick movement (Reinh. p. 109) or *zucken* to dart to and fro, conf. HG. *ziebold* butterfly; in Westph. *smalgenfür*, which I can hardly make out. More generally known are *dwerlicht* (whirling flame); *elflicht*; *dwellicht* (from *dwelen*, *dwalen* to stray); Nethl. *dwaallicht*; *droglicht* (deceptive again), *drogfackel*, and in Nassau *druckfackel*, Kehrein's Nas. 31-2. Dan. *lygtemand* (lantern-man), *blaasmand* (Molbech's Dial. 39) and *vätte-lys* (light of wights, sprites); Swed. *lys-eld*, *lyktgubbe*; Engl., with that fondness for christening which we noticed under home-sprites (p. 504), *Will with a wisp*, *Jack in a lanthorn*. Lat. *ignis fatuus* (Ann. corbei. an. 1034); Fr. *feu follet* (follis, p. 508), *fi follet* (Pluquet's Contes p. 13), *farfadet*, *sauterai*, also, acc. to Mém. des ant. 4, 406, a *quela* incomprehensible to me. Slovèn. *vezha* (butterfly, witch), *shkopnik*, -niak (straw-man, from *shkopa*, MHG. *schoup*), *smotava* (from *smota*, error), *slep ogeni* (blind fire); *světylko* (light, dim.), *bludička* (from *blud*, error); Pol. *blędnica*; Laus. *bludne swieczke*; Russ. *bludiášshchiiy ogóni*. I do not know any very old names even in Teutonic languages, unless it be *irreganc* and *girregar* in a Königsberg MS. (Grundr. 345); but *Irreganc* in Ls. 2, 314 is the name of a wandering scholar, and *irrefogel* in Haupt's Zeitschr. 1, 438 means the same, conf. Schm. 3, 588; the Titurel 576 has 'ein *irregengel* vor allem valsche.' The two words *vätte-lys* and *elf-licht*, shewing a close connexion with wights and elves, are perhaps the oldest we have. *Sindri* (scintilla), a dwarf's name in the Edda, Sæm. 7^b, suggests the Slav homesprite *Iskrzycki* (*iskra* spark, p. 513). A story is told of an *irwisch* getting caught, and a great many more coming soon after to claim him back: this represents them as an elvish people, who stick to one another.¹

Miscell. (Nürnb. 1661) p. 143-4. Deut. sag. no. 279. None of these refer to souls, they are rather happy omens of victory, as will be shewn in ch. XXXV. *Shooting stars* indeed pass for souls (p. 722), even with the Greenlanders (Majer's Myth. lex. 2, 240) and Mongols (Bergmann 3, 42).

¹ Ad. Kuhn (Pref. to Märk. sagen p. ix) is for regarding all kobolds as orig. fire-divinities, and the domestic hearth-fire as the foundation of their worship. Both kobolds and will o' wisps are called *follet* (p. 508-14), and kobolds, like fiery dragons (p. 691), bring money or corn; but the adder too is of kobold nature (p. 691), and the *dominae* bring gifts (p. 287), and so do devils.

Will o' wisps had once, no doubt, a wider meaning, which has now been narrowed down mainly to two classes of unblessed spirits, the souls of *unchristened babes*,¹ and those of men who in their lifetime *dealt wrongly by the cornfield*, who respected not the sacredness of landmarks.² Unrighteous land-surveyors (Swed. *skiäll-vrängare*) may be seen hovering up and down the furrows with a long fiery pole, as if re-measuring the wrongly measured; whoso has ploughed of his neighbour's land, whoso has moved the mark-stone, on him falls the curse of wandering as a will o' wisp. Hence about ploughing debatable strips, one hears the people say: 'ik mag nüt spüken gan,' conf. Deut. sag. nos. 284-5. Thiele 1, 58 (see Suppl.).

Another class of spectres will prove more fruitful for our investigation: they, like the *ignes fatui*, include *unchristened babes*, but instead of straggling singly on the earth as fires, they sweep through forest and air in *whole companies*³ with a horrible din. This is the widely spread legend of the *furious host*, the *furious hunt*, which is of high antiquity, and interweaves itself, now with gods, and now with heroes. Look where you will, it betrays its connexion with heathenism.

The Christians had not so quickly nor so completely renounced their faith in the gods of their fathers, that those imposing figures could all at once drop out of their memory. Obstinately clung to by some, they were merely assigned a new position more in the background. The former god lost his sociable character, his near familiar features, and assumed the aspect of a dark and dreadful power, that still had a certain amount of influence left. His hold lost upon men and their ministry, he wandered and hovered in the air, a spectre and a devil.

I have already affirmed on p. 132 a connexion between this *wütende heer* and *Wuotan*, the god being linked with it in name

¹ Braunsch. anz. 1760 no. 86, 35. Praetorii Weltbeschr. 1, 262-9. Laus. monatss. 1797 p. 747. So far back as the Anegeuge 180^a. 190^b: 'wâ mit diu armen chindeln *daz* *fiver* haben geschoufet, diu dâ *ungetoufet* ân ir schulde scheident von hinne;' but here the fire of purgatory is meant.

² Ungerechte *siebner*, Möser's Patr. phant. 3, 309. '*fürig marcher*,' will o' wisps, in Hebel's poem. Mone's Anz. 1835, 408. 1838, 223. Westendorp p. 511.

³ Yet there are some *brausende geister* (blustering spirits) that go singly too, as 'jungfer Eli' in the Davert, Deut. sag. no. 121. Their name of 'braus. g.' is vouched for by Plitt's Nachr. von Wetter p. 42.

as in reality. An unprinted poem of Rüdiger von Munir contains among other conjuring formulas 'bî *Wuotunges her*.' Wuotunc and Wuotan are two names of one meaning. Wuotan, the god of war and victory, rides at the head of this aerial phenomenon; when the Mecklenburg peasant of this day hears the noise of it, he says 'de *Wode tüt* (zieht),' Adelung sub v. wüthen; so in Pomerania and Holstein, '*Wode jaget*,' W. hunts (p. 156). Wuotan appears riding, driving, hunting, as in Norse sagas, with valkyrs and einheriar in his train; the procession resembles an army. Full assurance of this hunting *Wode's* identity with the heathen god is obtained from parallel phrases and folktales in Scandinavia. The phenomenon of howling wind is referred to Oðin's waggon, as that of thunder is to Thôr's. On hearing a noise at night, as of horses and carts, they say in Sweden '*Oden far förbi*.'¹ In Schonen an uproar produced perhaps by seafowl on November and December evenings is called *Odens jagt*.² In Bavaria they say *nacht-gejaid* or *nacht-gelait* (processio nocturna), Schm. 2, 264. 514; in German Bohemia *nacht-goid* = spectre, Rank's Böhmerwald pp. 46. 78. 83. 91. In Thuringia, Hesse, Franconia, Swabia, the traditional term is '*das wütende heer*,' and it must be one of long standing: the 12th cent. poet of the Urstende (Hahn 105, 35) uses '*daz wuetunde her*' of the Jews who fell upon the Saviour; in Rol. 204, 16 Pharaoh's army whelmed by the sea is '*sîn wötigez her*,' in Stricker 73^b '*daz wüetunde her*'; Reinfr. v. Brnswg. 4^b '*daz wüetende her*'; Mich. Beheim 176, 5 speaks of a 'crying and whooping (wufen) as if it were *das wutend her*'; the poem of Henry the Lion (Massm. denkm. p. 132) says, 'then came he among *daz wöden her*, where evil spirits their dwelling have.' Geiler v. Keisersperg preached on the *wütede* or *wütische heer*.³ H. Sachs has a whole poem on the *wütende heer*, Agricola and Eiering relate a Mansfeld legend. It is worth noticing, that acc.

¹ Loccenii Antiq. sveog. cap. 3. Geijer Sv. häfd. 1, 268.

² Nilsson's Skandinavisk fauna 2, 106.

³ Omeiss 36 seq.; his description deserves a place here: 'And they that so run, run mostly at the fron-fasts, and chiefly at the *fron-fast before Christmas*, that is the holiest tide. And every one runneth as he is in his raiment, the peasant as a peasant, the knight as a knight, so run they in a string, and one beareth the krös before him, another *his head in his hand*, and one runneth before, that crieth, Flee out of the way, that God give thee thy life! Thus speak the meaner sort thereon. I know nought thereof.'

to Keisersperg all who die a *violent death* 'ere that God hath set it for them,' and acc. to Superst. I, 660 all children *dying unbaptized*, come into the furious host to Holda (p. 269), Berhta and Abundia (p. 288), just as they turn into will o' wisps (p. 918): as the christian god has not made them his, they fall due to the old heathen one. This appears to me to have been at least the original course of ideas (see Suppl.).

While in this connexion the meaner sort long cherished the thought of *Wuotan*, or conveniently stowed him away in a cognate verb; it was quite in the regular course of things that the more cultivated should from an early time put the *devil* in his place. 'Si bliesen unde gullen, vreisliche si hullen, sô daz diu helle wagete, *alse der tuvel dâ jagete*,' says Veldeck in En. 3239. Caesarius heisterb. 12, 20 tells of a vain woman, who had herself buried in fine new shoes, and whose soul was therefore hunted by the *infernalis venator*: 'ex remoto vox quasi venatoris terribiliter buccinantis, necnon et latratus canum venaticorum praecedentium audiuntur.'¹ 'der tiuwel hât ûz gesant *sîn geswarne und sîn her*,' Rol. 204, 6. 'der tiuvel und *sîn her*,' Renn. 2249. 2870. The people in Bavaria say that on Ash-wednesday the *devil* chases the little wood-wife, Superst. I, 914^b. With the devil is associated the figure of an enormous *giant*, who can stand for him as well as for Wuotan; and this opinion prevails in Switzerland. There the wild hunt is named *dürsten-gejeg* (see durs, þurs, p. 521): on summer nights you hear the *dürst* hunting on the Jura, cheering on the hounds with his *hoho*; heedless persons, that do not get out of his way, are ridden over.² Schm. I, 458 quotes an old gloss which renders by *duris duris* the Lat. Dis Ditis, and plainly means a subterranean infernal deity.

In Lower Saxony and Westphalia this Wild Hunter is identified with a particular person, a certain semi-historic master of a hunt. The accounts of him vary. Westphalian traditions call him

¹ Joach. Camerarii Horae subsec. œent. 2. cap. 100 p. 390: Ceterum negari non potest, *diabolum* varia ludibria cum alias tum praesertim in venatione leporum saepenumero exercere, cum nonnunquam appareant *tripedes claudicantes et igneis oculis*, illisque praeter morem dependentibus villis, atque venatores insequentes abducere student vel ad praecipitia vel ad paludosa aliaque periculosa loca. Imo visa sunt *phantasmata* et in terra et in nubibus *integras venationes* cum canibus, retibus, clamoribus raucis tamen, aliisque instrumentis venaticis instituere, praefertim formas hominum longe ante defunctorum.

² Ildef. v. Arx, Buchsgau p. 230. Stald. I, 208.

Hackelbärend, Hackelbernd, Hackelberg, Hackelblock. This *Hackelbärend* was a huntsman who went a hunting even on Sundays, for which desecration he was after death (like the man in the moon, p. 717) banished into the air, and there with his *hound* he must hunt night and day, and never rest. Some say, he only hunts in the twelve nights from Christmas to Twelfth-day; others, whenever the *storm-wind howls*, and therefore he is called by some the *jöl-jäger* (from yawling, or Yule?).¹ Once, in a ride, *Hackelberg* left *one of his hounds behind* in Fehrmann's barn at Isenstädt (bpric. Minden). There the dog lay a whole year, and all attempts to dislodge him were in vain. But the next year, when *Hackelberg* was round again with his wild hunt, the hound *suddenly jumped up*, and ran yelping and barking after the troop.² Two young fellows from Bergkirchen were walking through the wood one evening to visit their sweethearts, when they heard a wild barking of dogs in the air above them, and a voice calling out between '*hoto, hoto!*' It was *Hackelblock* the wild hunter, with his hunt. One of the men had the hardihood to mock his '*hoto, hoto.*' *Hackelblock* with his hounds came up, and set the whole pack upon the infatuated man; from that hour not a trace has been found of the poor fellow.² This in Westphalia. The Low Saxon legend says, *Hans von Hackelberg* was chief master of the hounds to the Duke of Brunswick, and a mighty woodman, said to have died in 1521 (some say, born that year, died 1581), Landau's Jagd 190. His tombstone is three leagues from Goslar, in the garden of an inn called the *Klepperkrug*. He had a *bad dream* one night; he fancied he was fighting a terrific *boar* and got beaten at last. He actually met the beast soon after, and brought it down after a hard fight; in the joy of his victory he kicked at the boar, crying '*now slash if you can!*' But he had kicked with such force, that *the sharp tusk went through his boot*, and injured his foot.³ He thought little of the wound at first, but the foot swelled so that the boot had to be cut off his

¹ Weddigen's Westfäl. mag. vol. 3, no. 18.

² Redeker's Westfäl. sagen, nos. 48 and 47.

³ 'Sigurðr iarl drap Melbrigða Tönn, ok bátt höfuð hans við slagólar ser oc slaut kykva vöðva sínom á tönnina, er skaði or höfðino, kom þar í blástr í fótinn, oc feck hann af því bana,' Har. saga ens hárf. cap. 22. Gundarich the son of Thassilo dies of a wound in his calf inflicted by a boar, MB. 13, 504-5. Conf. Orion's fate, end of this chapter.

leg, and a speedy death ensued. Some say he lies buried at Wülperode near Hornburg.¹ This *Hackelnberg* 'fatsches' in storm and rain, with carriage, horses and hounds, through the Thüringerwald, the Harz, and above all the *Hackel* (a forest between Halberstadt, Gröningen and Derenburg, conf. Praet. weltb. 1, 88). On his deathbed he would not hear a word about heaven, and to the minister's exhortations he replied: 'the Lord may keep his heaven, so he leave me my hunting;' whereupon the parson spoke: 'hunt then till the Day of Judgment!' which saying is fulfilled unto this day.² A faint *baying* or *yelping of hounds* gives warning of his approach, before him flies a night-owl named by the people *Tutosel* (tut-ursel, tooting Ursula). Travellers, when he comes their way, *fall silently on their faces*, and let him pass by; they hear a barking of dogs and the huntsman's 'huhu!' *Tutosel* is said to have been a nun, who after her death joined Hackelnberg and mingled her *tuhu* with his *huhu*.³ The people of Altmark place a wild hunter named *Hakkeberg* in the Drömling, and make him ride down by night with horses and hounds from the Harz into the Drömling (Temme, p. 37). Ad. Kuhn no. 17 calls him *Hackenber*g and *Hackelberg*: he too is said to have hunted on Sundays, and forced all the peasants in his parish to turn out with him; but one day a pair of horsemen suddenly galloped up to him, each calling to him to come along. One looked wild and fierce, and fire spirted out of his horse's nose and mouth; the left-hand rider seemed more quiet and mild, but Hackelberg turned to the wild one, who galloped off with him, and in his company he must hunt until the Last Day. Kuhn has written down some more stories of the *wild hunter* without proper names, nos. 63. 175. There are others again, which tell how *Hackelberg* dwelt in the Sölling, near Uslar, that he had lived in the fear of God, but his heart was so much in the chase, that on his deathbed he prayed God, that *for his share of heaven* he might be let *hunt* in the Sölling *till the Judgment-day*. His wish became his doom, and oft in that forest one hears by night both bark of hound and horrible blast of horn.

¹ Otmar's Volkssagen 249. 250.

² Like Dümeke's desire to drive his waggon for ever (p. 726).

³ Otmar 241. Deut. sag. no. 311. Conf. Goth. þiutan (ululare), þut-háirn (tuba).

His grave is in the Sölling too, the arrangement of the stones is minutely described; two black hounds rest beside him.¹ And lastly, Kuhn's no. 205 and Temme's Altmark p. 106 inform us of a heath-rider *Bären*, whose burial-place is shewn on the heath near Grinnitz in the Uckermark; this *Bären's* dream of the stumpf-schwanz (bobtail, i.e. boar) points unmistakably to *Hackelbärend*.

The irreconcilable diversity of domiciles is enough to shew, in the teeth of tombstones, that these accounts all deal with a mythical being: a name that crops up in such various localities must be more than historical. I am disposed to pronounce the Westph. form *Hackelberend* the most ancient and genuine. An OHG. hahhul [Goth. hakuls], ON. hökull m. and hekla f., AS. hacle f., means garment, cloak, cowl, armour;² hence *hakolberand* is OS. for a man in armour, conf. OS. wāpanberand (armiger), AS. æsberend, gārberend, helmb., sweordb. (Gramm. 2, 589). And now remember Oðin's dress (p. 146): the god appears in a broad-brimmed hat, a blue and spotted cloak (*hekla blâ, flekkôtt*); *hakolberand* is unmistakably an OS. epithet of the heathen god *Wódan*, which was gradually corrupted into *Hackelberg*, *Hackenber*, *Hackelblock*. The name of the *Hackel*-wood may be an abbrev. of *Hakelbernd's* wood. The 'saltus *Hakel*' in Halberstadt country is mentioned first in the (doubtful) Chron. corbeiense ad an. 936 (Falke p. 708); a long way off, hard by Hóxter in the Auga gau, there was a *Haculesthorp* (Wigand's Corv. güterb. p. 94. Saracho 197. Trad. corb. 385) and afterwards a *Hackelbreite*; then in L. Hesse, a *Hackelsberg* near Volkmarsen, and a *Hackelberg* by Merzhausen (bailiw. Witzhausen). But if a *hakel*=wood can be proved, the only trace of a higher being must be looked for in *berand*, and that may be found some day; in ch. XXXIII. I shall exhibit *Hakol* in the ON. *Hekla* as mountain, hence wooded heights, woodland. In any case we here obtain not only another weighty testimony to Woden-worship, but a fresh confirmation of the meaning I attach to the 'wütende heer'; and we see clearly how the folktale of *Hackelberg* came to be preserved in Westphalia and L. Saxony

¹ Kirchhof's Wendunmut no. 283, p. 342. Deut. sag. no. 171. The Braunschw. anz. 1747, p. 1940 says the wild hunter *Hackelberg* lies in the Steinfeld, under a stone on which a mule and a hound are carved.

² OHG. missa-hahul (casula), St. Gall gl. 203; misse-hachil, Gl. herrad. 185^b is mass-weed, chasuble, Graff 4, 797.

(where heathenism lasted longer) rather than in South Germany (yet see *Habsberg, Hängelberg*, Mone's Anz. 4, 309. *Hachilstat*, Graff 4, 797).

That the wild hunter is to be referred to Wôdan, is made perfectly clear by some Mecklenburg legends.

Often of a dark night the airy hounds will bark on open heaths, in thickets, at cross-roads. The countryman well knows their leader *Wod*, and pities the wayfarer that has not reached his home yet; for *Wod* is often spiteful, seldom merciful. It is only those who keep in the middle of the road that the rough hunter will do nothing to, that is why he calls out to travellers: 'midden in den weg!'

A peasant was coming home tipsy one night from town, and his road led him through a wood; there he hears the wild hunt, the uproar of the hounds, and the shout of the huntsman up in the air: '*midden in den weg!*' cries the voice, but he takes no notice. Suddenly out of the clouds there plunges down, right before him, a *tall man on a white horse*. 'Are you strong?' says he, 'here, catch hold of this chain, we'll see which can pull the hardest.' The peasant courageously grasped the heavy chain, and up flew the wild hunter into the air. The man twisted the end round an oak that was near, and the hunter tugged in vain. 'Haven't you tied your end to the oak?' asked *Wod*, coming down. 'No,' replied the peasant, 'look, I am holding it in my hands.' 'Then you'll be mine up in the clouds,' cried the hunter as he swung himself aloft. The man in a hurry knotted the chain round the oak again, and *Wod* could not manage it. 'You must have passed it round the tree,' said *Wod*, plunging down. 'No,' answered the peasant, who had deftly disengaged it, 'here I have got it in my hands.' 'Were you heavier than lead, you must up into the clouds with me.' He rushed up as quick as lightning, but the peasant managed as before. The dogs yelled, the waggons rumbled, and the horses neighed overhead; the tree crackled to the roots, and seemed to twist round. The man's heart began to sink, but no, the oak stood its ground. 'Well pulled!' said the hunter, '*many's the man I've made mine*, you are the first that ever held out against me, you shall have your reward.' On went the hunt, full cry: hallo, holla, wol, wol! The peasant was slinking away, when from unseen heights a stag fell groaning at

his feet, and there was *Wod*, who leaps off his *white horse* and cuts up the game. 'Thou shalt have some blood and a hind-quarter to boot.' 'My lord,' quoth the peasant, 'thy servant has neither pot nor pail.' 'Pull off thy boot,' cries *Wod*. The man did so. 'Now walk, with blood and flesh, to wife and child.' At first terror lightened the load, but presently it grew heavier and heavier, and he had hardly strength to carry it. With his back bent double, and bathed in sweat, he at length reached his cottage, and behold, the boot was filled with gold, and the hind-quarter was a leathern pouch full of silver.¹ Here it is no human hunt-master that shows himself, but the veritable god on his white steed: many a man has he taken up into his cloudy heaven before. The filling of the boot with gold sounds antique.

There was once a rich lady of rank, named *frau Gauden*; so passionately she loved the chase, that she let fall the sinful word, 'could she but always hunt, she cared not to win heaven.' Four-and-twenty daughters had *dame Gauden*, who all nursed the same desire. One day, as mother and daughters, in wild delight, hunted over woods and fields, and once more that wicked word escaped their lips, that 'hunting was better than heaven,' lo, suddenly before their mother's eyes the daughters' dresses turn into tufts of fur, their arms into legs, and four-and-twenty *bitches* bark around the mother's hunting-car, four doing duty as horses, the rest encircling the carriage; and away goes the wild train up into the clouds, there betwixt heaven and earth to hunt unceasingly, as they had wished, from day to day, from year to year. They have long wearied of the wild pursuit, and lament their impious wish, but they must bear the fruits of their guilt till the hour of redemption come. Come it will, but who knows when? During the *twölven* (for at other times we sons of men cannot perceive her) *frau Gauden* directs her hunt toward human habitations; best of all she loves on the night of Christmas eve or New Year's eve to drive through the village streets, and wherever she finds a *street-door open*, she sends a *dog* in. Next morning a *little dog* wags his tail at the inmates, he does them no other harm but that he disturbs their night's rest by his whining. He is not to be pacified, nor driven away. Kill him, and he turns

¹ Lisch, Mecklenb. jahrbuch 5, 78—80.

into a stone by day, which, if thrown away, comes back to the house by main force, and is a dog again at night. So he whimpers and whines the whole year round, brings sickness and death upon man and beast, and danger of fire to the house; not till the *twölfen* come round again does peace return to the house. Hence all are careful in the twelves, to keep the great house-door well locked up after nightfall; whoever neglects it, has himself to blame if *frau Gauden* looks him up. That is what happened to the grandparents of the good people now at Bresegardt. They were silly enough to kill the dog into the bargain; from that hour there was no 'säg und täg' (segen bless, ge-deihen thrive), and at length the house came down in flames. Better luck befalls them that have done *dame Gauden* a service. It happens at times, that in the darkness of night she misses her way, and gets to a cross-road. *Cross-roads* are to the good lady a stone of stumbling: every time she strays into such, *some part of her carriage breaks*, which she cannot herself rectify. In this dilemma she was once, when she came, *dressed as a stately dame*, to the bedside of a labourer at Boeck, awaked him, and implored him to help her in her need. The man was prevailed on, followed her to the cross-roads, and found one of her carriage wheels was off. He put the matter to rights, and by way of thanks for his trouble she bade him gather up in his pockets sundry deposits left by her canine attendants during their stay at the cross-roads, whether as the effect of great dread or of good digestion. The man was indignant at the proposal, but was partly soothed by the assurance that the present would not prove so worthless as he seemed to think; and incredulous, yet curious, he took some with him. And lo, at daybreak, to his no small amazement, his earnings glittered like mere gold, and in fact it was gold. He was sorry now that he had not brought it all away, for in the daytime not a trace of it was to be seen at the cross-roads. In similar ways *frau Gauden* repaid a man at Conow for putting a new pole to her carriage, and a woman at Göhren for letting into the pole the wooden pivot that supports the swing-bar: the chips that fell from pole and pivot turned into sheer glittering gold. In particular, *frau Gauden* loves young children, and gives them all kinds of good things, so that when children play at *fru Gauden*, they sing:

fru Gauden hett mi'n lämmken geven,
darmitt sall ik in freuden leven.

Nevertheless in course of time she left the country; and this is how it came about. Careless folk at Semmerin had left their street-door wide open one St. Silvester night; so on New-year's morning they found a *black doggie* lying on the hearth, who dinned their ears the following night with an intolerable whining. They were at their wit's end how to get rid of the unbidden guest. A shrewd woman put them up to a thing: let them brew all the house-beer through an 'eierdopp.' They tried the plan; an egg-shell was put in the tap-hole of the brewing-vat, and no sooner had the 'wörp' (fermenting beer) run through it, than *dame Gauden's doggie* got up and spoke in a distinctly audible voice: 'ÿk bün so old as Böhmen gold, äwerst dat heff ik min leder nicht truht, wenn man 't bier dorch 'n eierdopp bruht,' after saying which he disappeared, and no one has seen *frau Gauden* or her dogs ever since¹ (see Suppl.).

This story is of a piece with many other ancient ones. In the first place, *frau Gauden* resembles *frau Holda* and *Berhta*, who likewise travel in the 'twelves,' who in the same way get their vehicles repaired and requite the service with gold, and who finally quit the country (pp. 268, 274-6). Then her name is that of *frau Gaue*, *frau Gode*, *frau Wode* (p. 252-3) who seems to have sprung out of a male divinity *fro Woden* (p. 156), a matter which is placed beyond doubt by her identity with *Wodan* the wild hunter. The very dog that stays in the house a year, *Hakelberg's* (p. 921) as well as *frau Gauden's*, is in perfect keeping. The astonishment he expresses at seemingly perverse actions of men, and which induces him, like other ghostly elvish beings, to speak and begone, is exactly as in the stories given at p. 469.

At the same time the transformation of the wild hunter into goddesses appears to be not purely arbitrary and accidental, but accounted for by yet other narratives.

E. M. Arndt² tells the tale of the *wild hunter* (unnamed) in the following shape: In Saxony there lived in early times a rich and mighty prince, who loved hunting above all things, and sharply

¹ Lisch, Meckl. jb. 8, 202—5. In the Prignitz they tell the same story of *frau Gode*, Ad. Kuhn no. 217.

² Märchen und jugenderinnerungen 1, 401—4.

punished in his subjects any breach of the forest laws. Once when a boy barked a willow to make himself a whistle, he had his body cut open and his bowels trained round the tree (RA. 519-20. 690); a peasant having shot at a stag, he had him fast riveted to the stag. At last he broke his own neck hunting, by dashing up against a beech-tree; and now in his grave he has no rest, but must hunt every night. He rides a *white horse* whose *nostrils shoot out sparks*, wears armour, cracks his whip, and is followed by a countless swarm of hounds: his cry is '*wod wod, hoho, hallo!*'¹ He keeps to forests and lonely heaths, avoiding the common highway; if he happens to come to a cross-road, down he goes horse and all, and only picks himself up when past it; he hunts and pursues all manner of weird rabble, thieves, robbers, murderers and witches.

A Low Saxon legend of the Tilsgraben or devil's hole between Dahlum and Bokenem (Harrys 1, 6) says, the *wild knight Tils* was so fond of the chase that he took no heed of holidays, and one Easter Sunday he had the presumption to say 'he would bring a beast down that day if it cost him his castle.' At evening the cock crew out that the castle would sink before night; and soon after it sank in the lake with all that was in it. A diver once on reaching the bottom of the lake, saw the *ritter Tils* sitting at a stone table, old and hoary, with his *white beard grown through the table*.

In the Harz the *wild chase* thunders past the Eichelberg with its 'hoho' and clamour of hounds. Once when a carpenter had the courage to add to it his own 'hoho,' a black mass came tumbling down the chimney on the fire, scattering sparks and brands about the people's ears: a huge horse's thigh lay on the hearth, and the said carpenter was dead. The *wild hunter* rides a *black headless horse*, a hunting-whip in one hand and a bugle in the other; his face is set in his neck, and between the blasts he cries 'hoho hoho;' before and behind go plenty of women, huntsmen and dogs. At times, they say, he shews himself kind, and comforts the lost wanderer with meat and drink (Harrys 2, 6).

In Central Germany this ghostly apparition is simply called the *wild huntsman*, or has some other and more modern name

¹ '*Hoho, weit gut!*' AW. 3, 144-5. Both *wod* and *weit* seem to me to refer to Wödan, Wuotan, as exclamations are apt to contain the names of gods.

attached to him. By Wallrod near Schlüchtern in Hanau country are seen tall basaltic crags standing up like ruins: there in former times was the *wild man's* house, and you may still see his *grey gigantic figure* make its rounds through the forest, over heath and field, with crashing and uproar (conf. 432. 482). A Thuringian story contains (and in a clearer form) that Bavarian chase after the *holzweiblein*. The *wild hunter* pursues the *moss-folk*, the *little wood-wives*¹; he remains unseen, but you hear him bluster in the air, so that it 'crickles and crackles.' A peasant of Arntschgerente near Saalfeld had the impudence, when he heard shouting and the bark of dogs in the wood, to put in his tongue and mimic the huntsmen's cry: the next morning he found the quarter of a *little moss-wife* hung up outside his stable door, as if to pay him for his share in the hunt.² 'Dixerunt majores nostri, tempore melioris et probioris aevi, *concupinas sacerdotum in aëre a daemonibus*, non aliter quam *feras sylvestres a canibus venaticis, agitari atque tandem discerptas inveniri: quod si hominum quispiam haec [hanc ?] audiens venationem suo clamore adjuverit, illi partem vel membrum concubinae dissectum ad januam domus mane a daemonibus suspensum,*' *Bebelii Facetiae* (Tub. 1555) p. 11^a. Here the wood-wives are replaced by priests' wives, but the same may already have been done in the 13th cent. folktale. Our German tradition says nothing about the reason why the airy hunter pursues the wood-wife;³ among the people of Upper Germany the *wild women* themselves play a leading part in the 'twelve nights,' and in Lent they are part and parcel of this

¹ These *moosteute* and *holzweibel* belong to the class of wood-sprites (p. 483), forming a link between them and dwarfs; it is Voigtland legend that knows most about them. They look like three-year old children, keep on friendly terms with men, and make them presents. They often help at haymaking, feed cattle, and sit down to table with men. At flax-harvest the countryman leaves *three handfuls of flax lying in the field for the holzweibel* (conf. pp. 448. 509); and in felling trees, during the brief time that the noise of the falling tree lasts, *he marks three crosses on the trunk* with his axe: in the *triangle* formed by these crosses the *holzweibel* sit and have respite from the *wild hunter*, who at all times is shy of the cross (conf. Deut. sag. no. 47). But Voigtland tradition makes the wild hunter himself have the figure of a *small man hideously overgrown with moss*, who roamed about in a narrow glen a league long (Jul. Schmidt 140). In the Riesengebirg the *night-spirit* is said to chase before him the *riittelweibchen*, who can only find protection under a tree at the felling of which the words 'Gott walt's!' (not 'walt's Gott!') were uttered, Deut. sag. no. 270.

² Deut. sag. no. 48. Jul. Schmidt p. 143; conf. no. 301, where the dwarf hangs a chamouis before the huntsman's door.

³ See below, the story from Boccaccio and that of Grönjette.

heathenish spectredom. Even among the Vicentine and Veronese Germans, the keenest sportsman will not venture on the track of game at the seasons just mentioned, for fear of the *wild man* and the *wood-wife*. No herdsman will drive cattle out, the flocks and herds are watered in the stable, children fetching the water in earthen vessels from the nearest spring. For the *wood-wife* the women spin a portion of hair (flax) on their distaffs, and throw it in the fire as a peace-offering to her (Hormayr's Tyrol 1, 141). The legend of the *wild hunt* extends to the Ardennes, and Wolf in his Niederl. sagen nos. 516-7 (conf. p. 706) justly lays stress on the fact that the object hunted is usually the *boar*, that a wood-cutter who had taken part in the hunt was a whole fortnight salting *boar's flesh*; which reminds us of the *boar* of the einheriar (pp. 318, 386), the *caro aprina*, and the roast boar in the legend of Walther (Waltharius p. 105); and Hackelberg's dream (p. 921) is about the boar (see Suppl.).

The people dread having to do with these powerful spirits, and whoever breaks through this backwardness pays for it heavily. The Westphalian peasant (p. 921) fared worse than he of Saalfeld; so did a tailor in the Münsterland. When the wild hunt swept over his house, he mocked the hunter by repeating his *huhu, klif-klaf* after him; then a horse's foot came through the window, and knocked him off his table, while a terrible voice rang out of the air: 'willstu mit mir jagen, sollst du mit mir knagen (gnaw)!' DS. no. 309. A girl at Delligsen by Alfeld (Hildesheim country) tells the tale: Mine mutter vertelle, dat de *helljäger* dorch de luft ejaget herre (had been hunting) un jimmer eraupen 'ha ha! tejif, tejaf, tejaf!' De knechte (labourers) tau Hohne ut'n ganzen dörpe keimen eins avens to hope, un brochten alle de hunne (dogs) ut'n dörpe mit, umme dat se den *helljäger* wat brüen wollen. Da kumte ok dorch de luft en ejaget, un wie hei ropt 'ha ha!' sau raupt de knechte ok 'ha ha!' un wie de hunne in'r luft jilpert, sau jilpert un bleft de hunne ut'n dörpe ok alle; do smitt de *helljäger* ön wath runner (somewhat down to them) un schriet: 'wil ji mit jagen, so könn ji ok mit gnagen!' Ans se den annern (next) morgen tau scien dauet (went to see), wat ön de *helljäger* henne smetten herre, da ist'n olen perschinken (an old gammon of boar).' An Austrian folktale in Ziska's Märchen p. 37 tells of another fellow who, when the

wilde gjoad swept past, had the audacity to beg for a piece of game to roast; the same in a Nethl. story, Wolf no. 259. On the other hand, a W. Preussen tale in Tettau and Temme no. 260 says, on the Bullerberg in the forest of Skrzyinka, Stargard circuit, the wild hunter carries on his operations on Bartholomew's night, and once he flung a man's thigh out of the air into the head forester's carriage, with the words: 'Something for you out of our hunt!'

A Meissen folk-tale calls the spectre *Hans Jagenteufel* and pictures him as a man booted and spurred, in a long *grey coat*, with a bugle over his back, but *no head*, riding through the wood on a *grey horse*, DS. no. 309. They also tell of a wild hunter named *Mansberg*, of what district I do not know. Swabian stories about *Elbendrötsch's*¹ hunting, about the *Muotes heer*², I should like to know more fully; the castle of *junker Marten*, a wild hunter of Baden, stood at the village of Singen by the Pfinz, and his tombstone is shewn in a chapel on the way to Königsbach; the people in the Bahnwald see him at night with his dogs (Mone's Anz. 3, 363). Johann Hübner the *one-eyed*, rides *at midnight* on a black horse, DS. no. 128. Other tales of S. Germany give no names, but simply place at the head of the wild host a *white man on a white horse* (Mone's Anz. 7, 370. 8, 306); an old *lord of a castle* rides a *white horse*, which may be seen grazing the meadows, *ibid.* 3, 259, just as Oden pastured his steed (p. 155n.). Even Michel Beheim (born 1416) made a meister-song on Eberhart, count of Wirtenberg, who hears in the forest a 'sudden din and uproar vast,' then beholds a spectre, who tells him the manner of his damnation. When alive he was a lord, that never had his fill of hunting, and at last made his request unto the Lord *to let him hunt till the Judgment-day*; the prayer was granted, and these 500 years all but 50, he has hunted a stag that he never can overtake; his face is wrinkled as a sponge.³ This is only another form of the L. Saxon legend of Hackelberg (see Suppl.)

¹ Gräter's Iduna 1813, p. 88: 1814, p. 102. Conf. 'elbentrötsch' p. 461.

² Wagner's Madame Justitia p. 22. Schmid's Wörtl. 391 'stürmet wie's *Muthesheer*' 'seia verschrocka wie wenn (scared as if)'s *Muathesheer* anen vorbeizoga wär,' Neffen's Vetter aus Schwaben (Stutg. 1837), pp. 154, 253. Is it a corrup. of '*Wuotes hör*,' Schm. 4, 202, like potz, kotz (p. 15)? or is it *muot* (ira) = wuot? Conf. *Frömuot*, p. 891.

³ Von der Hagen's (etc.) Sammlung (etc.) 1, 43-4.

But in the same Swabia, in the 16th cent. (and why not earlier?) they placed a spectre named *Berchtold* at the head of the *wütende heer*, they imagined him *clothed in white*, seated on a *white horse*, leading *white hounds* in the leash, and with a horn hanging from his neck.¹ This *Berchtold* we have met before (p. 279): he was the masculine form of white-robed *Berhta*, who is also named *Prechtölterli* (Grät. Iduna 1814, p. 102).

Here we get a new point of view. Not only Wuotan and other gods, but heathen goddesses too, may head the furious host: the wild hunter passes into the wood-wife, Wôdan into *frau Gaude*. Of *Perchtha* touching stories are known in the Orla-gau. The little ones over whom she rules are human children who have died *before baptism*, and are thereby become her property (pp. 918. 920). By these *weeping babes* she is surrounded (as dame Gaude by her daughters), and gets ferried over in the boat with them (p. 275-6). A young woman had lost her only child; she wept continually and could not be comforted. She ran out to the grave every night, and wailed so that the stones might have pitied her. The night before Twelfth-day she saw *Perchtha* sweep past not far off; behind all the other children she noticed a little one with its shirt soaked quite through, carrying a *jug of water* in its hand, and so weary that it could not keep up with the rest; it stood still in trouble before a fence, over which *Perchtha* strode and the children scrambled. At that moment the mother recognised her own child, came running up and lifted it over the fence. While she had it in her arms the child spoke: 'Oh how warm a mother's hands are! but do not cry so much, else you cry my jug too full and heavy, see, I have already spilt it all over my shirt.' From that night the mother ceased to weep: so says the Wilhelmsdorf account (Börner p. 142-3). At Bodelwitz they tell it somewhat differently: the child said, 'Oh how warm is a mother's arm,' and followed up the request 'Mother, do not cry so' with the words 'You know every tear you weep I have to gather in my jug.' And the mother had one more good hearty cry (ib. 152). Fairy

¹ Historie Peter Leuen des andern Kalenbergers, von Achilles Jason Widman (aus schwäbisch Hall), Nürnberg, 1560. Reprinted in Hagen's *Narrenbuch*, p. 353. Peter Leu here plays a trick on peasants, p. 394, by disguising himself as *Berchtold*.

tales have the story of a little shroud drenched with tears (Kinderm. 109. Reusch no. 32. Thom. Cantipr. p. 501, conf. Wolf's Wodana p. 153), and the Danish folktale of Aage and Else makes flowing tears fill the coffin with blood; but here we have the significant feature added of the children journeying in *Perhta's train*. The jug may be connected with the lachrymatories found in tombs¹ (see Suppl.).

With *Berakta* we have also to consider Holda, Diana and Herodias. *Berakta* and *Holda* shew themselves, like *frau Gaude* (p. 925), in the 'twelves' about New-year's day. Joh. Herolt, a Dominican, who at the beginning of the 15th cent. wrote his *Sermones discipuli de tempore et de sanctis*, says in *Sermo 11* (in die Nativ.): *Sunt quidam, qui in his xii. noctibus subsequentibus multas vanitates exercent, qui deam, quam quidam Dianam vocant, in vulgari 'die frawen unhold,' dicunt cum suo exercitu ambulare.* The same nocturnal perambulation is spoken of in the passages about *Diana*,² *Herodias* and *Abundia* p. 283 seq. It is exactly the Vicentine *wood-wife*, who acts along with the wild man, and to whom the people still offer up gifts. And as *Berhta*-worship in the Salzburg country became a popular merrymaking (p. 279), so a *Posterli-hunt*, performed by the country-folk themselves on the Thursday before Christmas, is become an established custom in the *Entlibuch*. The *Posterli*³ is imagined to be a spectre in the shape of an *old woman* or *she-goat* (conf. p. 916). In the evening the young fellows of the village assemble, and with loud shouts and clashing of tins, blowing of alp-horns, ringing of cow-bells and goat-bells, and cracking of whips, tramp over hill and dale to another village, where the young men receive them with the like uproar. One of the party represents the

¹ *Infantum animae flentes in limine primo,
quos dulcis vitae exsortes et ab ubere raptos
abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.* Virg. Aen. 6, 427.

In the *Introd.* to the *Pentameron* the revival of a dead man depends on a cruse hung upon his tomb being wept full.

² With *Diana* agrees the Pol. *Dziewanna*, *Dziewina* (Linde 1, 599^b), *Dziewica*; *Liebusch* has the foll. story about a *Dziwitza* in Up. Lausitz: she was a beautiful young *knenye* or princess, who roamed in the woods, armed with the *zylba* (a javelin); the finest of hounds accompanied, scaring both game and men who were in the thick forest at midday. The people still joke any one that spends the hour of noon alone in the fir-woods: 'are you not afraid *Dziwitza* will come to you?' But she also hunts of a moonlight night.

³ Is it synon. with *frau Faste* (p. 782n.), and taken from the Slavic 'post' = fast, *jejunium*?

Posterli, or they draw it in a sledge in the shape of a puppet, and leave it standing in a corner of the other village; then the noise is hushed, and all turn homewards (Stald. 1, 208). At some places in Switzerland the *Sträggele* goes about on the Ember-night, Wednesday before Christmas, afflicting the girls that have not finished their day's spinning (ib. 2, 405). Thus *Posterli* and *Sträggele* resemble to a hair both *Berhta* and *Holda*.¹ At *Neubrunn* (Würzburg country) the furious host always passed through three houses, each of which had three doors directly behind one another, street-door, kitchen-door, and back-door; and so wherever it finds three doors in a line, the furious host will drive through them. If you are in the street or yard when it passes, and pop your head between the spokes of a cart-wheel, it will sweep past, else it will wring your neck. Old people at *Massfeld* tell you, it used to come down the *Zinkenstill* by the cross-road near *Reumes* bridge, and go over the hills to *Dreissigacker*. Many will swear by all that is sacred, that they have seen it (*Bechstein's Fränk. sag.* no. 137). In *Thuringia* the furious host travels in the train of *frau Holla* (DS. no. 7). At *Eisleben* and all over the *Mansfeld* country it always came past on the Thursday in *Shrove-tide*; the people assembled, and looked out for its coming, just as if a mighty monarch were making his entry. In front of the troop came an old man with a white staff, *the trusty Eckhart*, warning the people to move out of the way, and some even to go home, lest harm befall them. Behind him, some came riding, some walking, and among them persons who had lately died. One rode a *two-legged horse*,² one was tied down on a wheel which moved of itself, others ran *without any heads*, or carried their *legs across their shoulders*. A drunken peasant, who would not make room for the host, was caught up and set upon a high rock, where he waited for days before he could be helped down again.³ Here *frau Holda* at the head of her spirit-host produces quite the impression of a heathen goddess making her royal pro-

¹ Conf. the nightly excursions of the Scottish *elf-queen* (*Scott's Minstr.* 2, 149, 161), and of the *fays* (*Keightley* 1, 166).

² *Hel* rides a three-legged one, p. 844.

³ *Agricola's Spr.* 667. *Eyering* 1, 781—6. Headless figures, beasts two-legged, three-legged, redhot, are in many ghost stories; a *headless* wild hunter runs riot in the *Wetterau* (*Dieffenbach's Wett.* p. 280), in *Pomerania* a *headless* horseman (*Temme* no. 140).

gress: the people flock to meet and greet her, as they did to Freyr (p. 213) or Nerthus (p. 251). *Eckhart with his white staff* discharges the office of a *herald*, a *chamberlain*, clearing the road before her. Her living retinue is now converted into spectres (see Suppl.).

Eckhart the trusty, a notable figure in the group of Old-Teutonic heroes (Heldensage 144. 190, reeve of the Harlungs, perhaps more exactly *Eckewart*, Kriemhild's *kämmerer*, Nib. 1338, 3) gets mixt up with the myths of gods. The appendix or preface to the Heldenbuch makes him sit outside the *Venus-mount* to warn people, as here he warns them of the furious host; so much the plainer becomes his vocation here, as well as the meaning of the *Venusberg*. *Eckhart* goes before the furious host with *Holda*, he is also doomed to abide till the Judgment-day at the mount of *Venus*: the identity of *Holda* and *Venus* is placed beyond question. That mountain (some say the *Hoselberg* or *Horselberg* near Eisenach) is *dame Holle's* court, and not till the 15-16th cent. does she seem to have been made into *dame Venus*;¹ in subterranean caves she dwells in state and splendour like the kings of dwarfs; some few among men still find their way in, and there live with her in bliss. The tale of the noble *Tanhäuser*, who went down to view her wonders,² is one of the most fascinating fictions

¹ Conf. p. 456. *Venusberg* in the Nethl. chapbook *Margareta van Limburg* c. 56. 82-4, also in the *Mörlin*. *Keisersperg* (Omeiss 36) makes witches fare to *frau Venusberg*. There must have been a good many of these *Venusbergs*, particularly in Swabia: one near Waldsee, another by Ufhausen near Freiburg, in which the *Schneuburger* takes up his lodging, like *Tanhäuser*, H. Schreiber's *Tabg.* 1839, p. 348. Doubtless the original M. Nethl. poem of Marg. van Limburg (A.D. 1357) also had *Venusberg*, as the later chapbook and *Johan von Soest's* paraphrase have (*Mone's Anz.* 4, 168), so that its earliest occurrence is rather to be placed in the 14th cent. A Dresden MS. of the 15th cent. (*Hagen's Grundr.* 336) contains a still unprinted poem on the *Venusberg*, prob. composed in the 14th cent. *Joh. v. Soest* wrote in 1470, *Herm. von Sachsenheim* 1453, and before them *Joh. Nider* (d. 1440) in his *Formicarius* names the *Venusberg*. *Joh. Herolt* speaks, as we saw, of *Diana* and *frau Unhold*; and next of kin is the mount that houses *Felicia* and *Juno* (p. 961). There may have been similar stories in Italy, for *Paracelsus* (*Strasb.* 1616) 2, 291^r informs us: 'And by the same pygmaei was the *Venusberg* in *Italia* occupied, for *Venus* herself was a nymph, and the *Venusberg* hath been likened unto her realm; but she also is past away, and her realm hath departed with her and ceased. For who now heareth tell of them, as in the old time when *Danhäuser* and others were therein? And the same is no fabled song of him, but a true history.' Again, in the *Chirurg. schriften* (*Strasb.* 1618) p. 332^b - 'Some that be very great thereat, do secretly practise nigromancia, as campisirer (strollers) that come straight out of the *Venusberg*, who have dipped their art in the *Veltliner*, and have said matins with brother *Eckart*, and eaten a black-pudding with *Danhäuser*.' *Afzelius* 2, 141 tells of a bridegroom who was 40 years among the elves. All the legends place *Venus* and *Holda* in elf-mountains.

² Deut. sag. no. 170. As the pope by the dried up stick cuts off *Tanhäuser*

of the Mid. Age : in it the hankering after old heathenism, and the harshness of the christian clergy, are movingly portrayed. *Eckhart*, perhaps a heathen priest, is courtier and conductor of the goddess when she rides out at a stated season of the year. I might even make him with his *κηρύκειον* the psychopompos of the mounted host of the dead (conf. the waggon of souls creaking in the air, p. 833) ; only he conducts, not the departing, but rather the returning dead.

As we can also prove *Dietrich von Bern's* participation in the wild hunt (and *Eckhart* was one of his hero-band), he may stand as our second native hero in this group. Now the Lausitz people name the wild hunter *Berndietrich*, *Dietrich Bernhard*, or *Diterbenada* ; the older Wends have many a time heard him hunt, and can tell of unsavoury joints that he gives away for roasting.¹ *Berndietrich* too is the wild hunter's name in the Orlagau (Börner pp. 213-6. 236), where his dogs rouse and chase the wood-wives. Nay in the Harz, at the Bode-kessel (-crater) over the Ros-trappe (horse's footmark), stands the wild hunter turned into stone : 'we call him Bernhart' was a boy's account, and the father of the *Brunhild* that leapt across the Bodethal on her steed is called by the people 'he of *Bären*' (von Bern) ; this is the more significant, as *Gibicho* also (p. 137) is placed in the same mountains (Z. f. d. a. 1, 575). But from *Fichte*, himself a Lausitz man, we derive the information that *knecht Ruprecht* (p. 504) is there called *Dietrich von Bern* (Deut. heldensage p. 40). The two interpretations admit of being harmonized. *Knecht Ruprecht* makes his appearance beside *frau Berhta*, as her servant and companion (p. 514-5), sometimes her substitute, and like

from all hope, so in Swed. tradition the priest says to the musical 'neck : 'sooner will this cane I hold in my hand grow green and blossom, than thou obtain salvation ;' the neck sorrowfully throws his harp away, and weeps. The priest rides on, and presently his staff begins to put forth leaf and flower, he turns back to tell the marvel to the neck, who then plays joyful tunes the whole night long, Afz. 2, 156. But this myth of *Tanhäuser* accords with many others, esp. Celtic ones. *Tanhäuser* passes many a year with *Holda* in the mountain, so does *Tamlane* with the queen of fays, *Thomas* of *Ercildon* with the fairy queen (Scott's *Minstr.* 2, 193. 3, 181-3), *Ogier* 200 years with *fata Morgana* in *Avalon* : she had pressed a garland on his head, which made him forget everything, But the legend is Teutonic for all that, it is told in Sweden of the elf-king's daughter (p. 466 and Afz. 2, 141), and in the kinderm. of *frau Fortuna*, *Altd.* bl. 1, 297. And so does *Odyseus* stay with *Calypso* and with *Circe* ; but who would think of deriving the story of *Tanhäuser* from that of *Ulysses* or *Orpheus*, as *Mone* does (*Anz.* 5, 168) ?

¹ Joh. Hortschansky's *Sitten u. gebr. der Wenden*, part 3 (Dessau and Görl. 1782) 3, 258. *Laus. monatsschr.* 1797 p. 749. *Liebusch's Skythika* p. 287.

her a terror to children. Add to this, that both *Ruprecht* and *Berhta* appear at Christmas; and, what is most decisive of all, *Wode* in Mecklenburg, like *Berhta* in Swabia, runs through the flax on the distaff, and *Wode*, like *Ruprecht* and *Nielas*, apportions good or evil to infants.¹ So that *Dietrich von Bern*, like trusty *Eckhart*, is entitled to appear in *Wuotan's*, *Holda's*, *Berhta's* train, or to fill their place. Then, in another connexion, *Dietrich* the fire-breathing, painted superhuman, is in poems of the Mid. Age fetched away, on a spectral fire-spiriting steed, to hell or to the wilderness, there to fight with reptiles *till the Judgment-day* (D. heldensage 38—40). This agrees with our Altmark story of *Hackelberg* (p. 922); and in the compound *Hackel-berend*, the second half seems plainly to have led to *Berend Bernhart* and *Dietrich-bern*, as indeed the dreams of *Hackelberg* and *Berend* were identical (p. 923). Lastly, perhaps the Nethl. *Derk met den beer* (p. 213-4) ought to be taken into account here, not that I would derive his epithet from a misapprehension of *Dietrich von Bern* (see Suppl.).

We have come to know the wild host in two principal lights: as a nocturnal hunt of male, and as a stately progress of female, deities; both, especially the last, occurring at stated seasons. The precise meaning of the word 'host' calls for a third explanation: it marches as an army, it portends the outbreak of war.

Wuotan (the old father of hosts, p. 817), *Hackelbernd*, *Berhtolt*, bestriding their white war-horse, armed and spurred, appear still as supreme directors of the war for which they, so to speak, give licence to mankind. There is more than one legend of enchanted mountains, in whose interior becomes audible, from time to time, drumming, piping and the clash of arms: an ancient host of spirits and gods is shut up inside, and is arming to sally out. I do not know a finer, a more perfect legend in this respect than that of the *Odenberg* in Lower Hesse, which stands too in the immediate neighbourhood of a *Gudensberg* (i.e. *Wôdansberg*), but distinct from it, so that 'Odenberg' cannot be explained by the ON. form *Oðinn*; it may come from *ôd* (felicitas), perhaps from *ôdi* (desertus). This long while the people have connected *Odenberg* not with the heathen deity, but

¹ Franke's *Alt und neu Meckl.* 1, 57. In Silesia children are stilled with the night-hunter, Deut. sag. no 270.

with Charles the great hero-king, and even with Charles V.¹ This emperor, owing to his treatment of Landgrave Philip, has left a lasting impression in Hesse: *Karle Quintes* with his soldiers is lodged in the Odenberg; and as the Swabian mother threatens her infant with the iron Berhta (p. 277), 'Be still, or the Prechtölderli will come,' and the Bavarian with 'Hush, there's Prechte coming to cut your belly open,' the Hessian of this district stills it by the exhortation 'Du, der *Quinte* kommt!' But in earlier times they meant *Charles the Great*, as is sufficiently proved by the legend of the thirsting army, known to the annalists (pp. 117. 153), and itself a deposit of still older heathen myths. Charles had moved his army into the mountains of the Gudensberg country, some say victorious, others in flight, from the east (Westphalia). His warriors pined with thirst, the king sat on a *snow-white steed*; then the horse stamped with his foot on the ground, and broke away a piece of rock; out of the opening gushed a bubbling spring (pp. 226. 584), and the whole army was watered. *Glisborn* is the name of the spring, to whose clear cold waves the country-folk impute a higher cleansing power than to common water, and women from surrounding villages come to wash their linen there. The stone with the hoof-mark may still be seen, let into the wall of Gudensberg churchyard. After that, king Charles *fought a great battle* at the foot of the Odenberg: the streaming *blood tore deep furrows* in the ground (they have often been filled up, but the rain always washes them open), the red waves rolled (*wulchen*) together, and poured down all the way to Bessa. Charles won the victory: in the evening the rock opened, took him and his exhausted soldiery in, and *closed its walls*. Here in the Odenberg the king rests from his valiant deeds; but he has promised to come out every seven (or every 100) years, and when that time is past, *you hear a rattling of arms in the air, neighing of horses and tramp of hoofs*; the procession passes by the Glisborn, where the steeds are watered, then goes on its way till, having finished its round, it returns at last into the mountain again. Once people were going past the Odenberg, and heard the roll of drums, but

¹ At Broterode they shew a fann (flag) of *Karles quintes*, and connect with it the bloody assize held at the place, really the MHG. 'Karles reht' or 'lôt,' Bechstein's Thür. sag. 2, 95.

saw nothing. A wise man bade them look, one after another, *through the ring* formed by his arm held *a-kimbo* : immediately they saw a multitude of soldiers, engaged in military exercises, go in and out of the mountain.¹ This looking through the arm gives assurance of the genuine primitive legend. Saxo Gram. p. 37 relates, that Biarco was unable to see *Othin*, who, mounted on *white steed* and covered with *white shield*, was aiding the hostile army of Swedes. Quoth Biarco to Ruta :

At nunc ille ubi sit qui vulgo dicitur *Othin*
armipotens, uno semper contentus ocello?
 dic mihi, Ruta, precor, usquam si conspicias illum ?

Ruta : Adde oculum propius, et *nostras prospice chelas*,
 ante sacraturas victrici lumina signo,
 si vis praesentem tuto cognoscere *Martem*.²

Biarco : Si potero horrendum *Friggæ* spectare *maritum*,
 quantumcunque *albo clypeo* sit tectus et *album*
 flectat equum, Lethra nequaquam sospes abibit.
 fas est belligeram bello prosternere divam.

Looking through the *rounded arm* (chela, *χηλή*) enables one to see spirits (Altd. blätter 1, 290), so does looking over the *right shoulder* (p. 459n., Superst. I, 996) or between a *horse's ears*. And this the Hessian folktale has preserved. Plainly as Wuotan is indicated on the whole, the story seems at times to shift itself to Donar, for we are also told of a *red rider* on a *red horse* and with heron's plume of red wool, who on certain days of the year gallops round the wooded fringe of the Odenberg : it is the ghost of *Carolus quintus*. The description would better fit Frederic Barbarossa who sits entranced in the Kifhäuser, and red-haired Donar (see Suppl.).

Similar to this Odenberg host are the excursions of the *Rothenthaler* in Aargau,³ of the *Rodensteiner* to *Schnellerts*,⁴ of the grey man over the *Rockenstul* near Geisa in the Fulda country (Bechst.

¹ For this and other stories faithfully taken down from the lips of the peasantry, I am indebted to a kind communication from Herr Pfister, artill. officer of Electoral Hesse.

² As there can be no doubt about *Othin*, it is singular that Saxo should call him *Mars*. It serves to establish the original nearness of Wuotan to Zio (p. 197).

³ Wyss's Reise ins Berner Oberland 2, 420.

⁴ Deut. sag. no. 169. Schnellerts = house of Schnellert, Snelhart. A monstrous spirit named *Snelluart* in Marg. van Limb. 7^b.

Fränk. sag. 1, 68), and of others in other parts, see Mone's Anz. 3, 259. 8, 306; as the host passed over Wolfartsweiler, one of them shouted down: 'If thou suffer harm, bind thee with red yarn!' 8, 307. We read in Heimreich's Nordfries. chron. 2, 93 that outside Tondern in 1637 armies were seen mustering in the air and *fighting, in clear weather*.¹ An Irish folktale gives an account of the ancient chieftain *O'Donoghue*, who yearly on the first of May, mounted on a *milkwhite steed*, rises from the waters of a lake, to revisit his realm. On an August night, an *earl of Kildare* shews himself armed, on a splendid war-horse, and reviews the shades of his warriors (Elfenm. 192-3. 233). Strikingly similar to the 'duris, dürst' on pp. 521. 920 is a Finnic *Turisas*, god of war and at the same time a giant (turras, turrisas, tursas), who, when a war is imminent, has his drum beaten high up in the clouds. To the Lettons *johdi* or *murgi* means ghosts, souls of the dead; when the *northern lights flicker*, they say 'johdi kaujahs,' ghosts are fighting, or 'karru lauschu dwehseles kaujahs,' *the souls of fallen warriors fight*.² They connect the ghostly tumult with a shining phenomenon, as we do with a sounding one; it reminds one also of the war stirred up by our landsknechts in heaven itself, and still more of the ON. name for war and battle, '*Hiaðninga veðr eða èl*,' Hedaningorum tempestas vel procella, Sn. 163. In a lengthened fight the heroes had fallen, when Hildur the valkyrja came to the battle-field at night, *waked them all up*, and let them fight it over again, and so every day *till the end of the world they shall do battle by day* and lie dead at night. This, I think, is the very earliest example of an army warring in the clouds, which was a way of explaining the natural phenomenon, as we see by the words 'veðr, èl.' Of a battle between Swedes and Croats the Thuringians have a story, that on its anniversary, at 11 o'clock at night, all the buried soldiers *start up* and *begin to fight afresh* till the clock strikes one, then they sink into the ground and lie quite still again for a year, Bechst. 4, 231 (see Suppl.).

¹ Guicciardini's Hist. d'Italia (1583) p. 22: 'Risuonava per tutto la fama, essere nel territorio d' Arezzo passati visibilmente molti di per l'aria infiniti huomini armati, sopra grossissimi cavalli e con terribile strepito di suoni di trombe e di tamburi.' Conf. the Dan. legend of *Klintekönig's* or *Ellekönig's* trooping out, Thiele, 1, 98. 3, 55. Even children marching with pike and flag portend war, Superst. I, 106.

² Stender's Lett. gram. (1783) p. 262-6. Bergmann p. 145.

But the Romance nations have no less their own traditions of this aërial host, which on some points agree exactly with the German.

In France such an air-picture of contending spirits goes by the name of *Hellequin*, *Hielekin* (Bosquet 70—77), and in Spain of *exercito antiquo*.¹ Guilielm. Alvernus (d. 1248) p. 1037: ‘de equitibus vero nocturnis, qui vulgari gallicano *Hellequin*, et vulgari hispanico *exercitus antiquus* vocantur, nondum tibi satisfeci, quia nondum declarare intendo qui sint; nec tamen certum est eos malignos spiritus esse, loquar igitur tibi de his in sequentibus.’ P. 1065: ‘de substantiis apparentibus in similitudine *equitantium* et *bellatorum*, et in similitudine *exercituum innumera-bilium*, interdum autem et *paucorum equitum*.’ P. 1067: ‘narratur quoque, quod quidam videns hujusmodi *exercitum* (at a parting of roads) terrore percussus a via publica *declinavit in agrum contiguum*, ubi quasi in refugio, *transeunte juxta illum toto illo exercitu*, illaesus permansit et nihil mali passus est ab illis. propter quod opinio inolevit apud multos, *agros gaudere protectione Creatoris* propter utilitatem hominum, et hac de causa non esse accessum malignis spiritibus ad eos, neque potestatem nocendi propter hanc causam hominibus existentibus in eis. Gens autem idolatrarum tutelam istam et defensionem, si eam vel crederet vel audiret, *numinibus arborum* illam attribueret. opinor autem, quod *Cererem deam*, quae agris praeest, hujusmodi hominem protexisse crederent, *exercitumque illum intra fines regnumque Cereris nemini posse nocere*.’ P. 1073: ‘nec te removeat aut conturbet ullatenus vulgari illa Hispanorum nominatio, qua malignos spiritus, qui *in armis ludere ac pugnare videri consueverunt*, *exercitum antiquum* nominant, magis enim anilis et delirantium vetularum nominatio est quam veritatis.’ Radulfus de Presles ad libr. 15 cap. 23 De civ. Dei: ‘la mesgnée de *Hellequin*, de dame Habonde (p. 286), et des esperis quils appellent fees.’ Ducange sub v. In the Jeu d’Adan, the *maisnie Hielekin* is heard approaching with tinkling bells, the three fays (p. 411) accompanying, and a *sires Hellequins* is named. Reiffenberg’s Renseign. p. 94. Vincent. bellov. lib. 30 cap. 118, and after him Keisersp. (Omeiss 37-8) mention a certain *Natalis, Alle quinti*,

¹ I.e. the vast throng of the dead (p. 847): ‘he geit in ’t olde heer’=he dies, Narragonia 84^b. ‘dem alten haufen zuschicken,’ Keisersp. serm. on Brant. p. m. 43.

Karoli quinti, who when dead appeared again, and, being questioned on the furious host, reported that it had ceased ever since *Carolus quintus* performed his penance. To the furious host is here given the name *Caroli quinti*, some say *Allequinti*, obviously the same thing as *Hellequin* and our Hessian *Karlequinte* in the Odenberg, p. 938. Nevertheless it seems a false interpretation of the older *Hellequin*, whose mesnie is mentioned several times in poems of the 13th cent.¹ as well as by Guil. Alvernus, and who cannot therefore be the French king Charles V. of the latter half of the 14th cent. That in France too they connect Charles the Great with the furious host, appears from a Burgundian poem of the 17th cent., in which *Charlemagne* bestrides his horse at the head of the airy apparition, and *Roland* carries the standard (Journ. des savans 1832, p. 496). But what if *Hellequin* were after all the German *helle* (underworld) or its diminutive *hellekin*, personified and made masculine?² At Tours they say *chasse briquet* (bridget is hound), and *le carosse du roi Hugon*,³ who rides round the city walls at night, and beats or carries off all that encounter him. Here also king Hugo Capet's carriage represents that of a heathen god; in Poitou they call it *chasse-gallerie*. In the forest of Fontainebleau *le grand veneur* is supposed to hunt.

In Gervase of Tilbury's time the British woods already rang with *king Arthur's* mighty hunt (Ot. imp. 2, 12): 'narrantibus nemorum custodibus, quos forestarios vulgus nominat, se alternis diebus circa horam meridianam et in primo noctium conticinio sub plenilunio luna lucente saepissime videre *militum copiam venantium et canum et cornuum strepitum*, qui sciscitantibus se de societate et familia Arturi esse affirmant.' The Complaynt of Scotland p. 97-8 says: 'Arthour knyght he raid on nyght with gyldin spur and candillycht.' The *elf-queen* and the *fays* have already been spoken of (p. 934n.). Shakspeare (M. Wives of W. iv, 4. v, 5) tells how '*Herne the hunter* doth all the winter time at still midnight walk round about an oak.'⁴

¹ E.g. in Richard sans peur, in the Roman de Fauvel; conf. Jubinal's Contes 1, 284. Michel's Théâtre fr. pp. 73-76.

² Kausler's Chron. v. Flandern 8049: 'ten *Hallekine*,' at little hell (name of a place).

³ Mém. des antiq. 8, 458. Noei bourguignons p. 237. Thuanus lib. 24 p. 1104.

⁴ Herne too, if a myth, had got localized: 'sometime a keeper here in Windsor forest.'—TRANS.

Boccaccio (Decam. 5, 8) has the story of a ghost who, having been done to death by his false mistress, chases her naked through the wood *every Friday*, and has her torn to pieces by his hounds: every time she is slain, she rises again, and the gruesome hunt begins anew. Manni says the tale is taken out of Helinand; it may afford some solution of the wild hunter's pursuit of the wood-wife (p. 929), even if we are bound, as is fair, to trace the novelist's plot in the first instance to the simple basis of a folktale. In the poem on Etzel's court, the *Wunderer* shews himself almost exactly such a wild man and hunter; he chases *frau Sælde* with his dogs, and threatens to devour her, as the hunter does the fleeing wood-wife, or the infernalis venator a departed soul (see Suppl.). Far more important is a story in the Eckenlied: *Fasolt* hunts with hounds a *wild maiden* in the forest, just as the wild hunter does the *holzweiblein*, Lassberg's ed. 161—201, Hagen's 213—54, conf. 333. This becomes of moment to our understanding of *Fasolt*, who was a storm-giant (pp. 530. 636), and here turns up like Wuotan in the wild host.

Between the Norse legends and ours the links are not so far to seek. The Danes have made a wild hunter of their famous and beloved king *Waldemar*. The Zealand fable represents him, like Charles the Great (p. 435n.), as irresistibly drawn, by a magic ring, to a maiden, and after her death to a woodland district. He dwells in the forest of Gurre, and there hunts night and day;¹ like Hackelberg, he uttered the presumptuous wish: 'God may *keep his heaven*, so long as I can *hunt* in Gurre *for evermore!*' So now he rides from Burre to Gurre every night; as soon as the ear can catch his 'hoho' and the crack of his whip, the people slink aside under the trees. Foremost in the train run coal-black hounds, with fiery red-hot tongues hanging out of their throats; then appears *Wolmar* on a *white horse*, sometimes carrying *his head under his left arm* (conf. Superst. I, 605). If he meets any men, especially old men, he gives them hounds to hold. He follows one particular route, doors and locks fly open before him, and his track is named *Wolmar's street*, *Volde-mars-vej* (Antiqvariske annaler 1, 15); here one cannot help thinking of Irmingstræt and Eriksgata (p. 356—361). Those

¹ In hunting he practises cruelties on the peasantry; he also chases a mermaid, Thiele 1, 46. 52.

who have held his hounds he presents with seeming trifles, which afterwards turn into gold: he will give a ducat for a horse-shoe (Thiele 1, 89—95). These stories are alike suggestive of Charles the Great, of Hackelberg, and of frau Holla or Perhta; conf. Müllenhoff's Schlesw. holst. sag. nos. 485-6.

In the I. of Möen is a wood named Grönewald: there every night the *Grönjette* hunts on horseback, his head tucked under his left arm, a spear in his right, and a pack of hounds about him. In harvest time the husbandmen leave him a bundle of oats for his horse, that he may not trample their crops that night; by this one circumstance we recognise Wuotan (p. 155), and perhaps Frey (p. 212).¹ He is here a *jette*, as in Switzerland he is a *durst* (p. 940). The 'grön,' I would explain, not by the green colour of his hunting dress, but by the ON. grön (barba), Grönjette = ON. graniötunn, bearded giant; and *Grani* (barbatus) is a name of Oðinn (p. 858). Grönjette, like Wolmar, makes the peasants hold his dogs; he also hunts the *merwoman* (conf. wood-wife). One man saw him return with the dead merwoman laid across his horse: 'seven years have I chased her, now in Falster I have slain her.' He made the man a present of the band with which he had held the hounds, and the longer he kept it, the richer he grew (Thiele 1, 95—97).

In Fünen the hunter is *Palnejäger*, i.e. the ON. *Pálnatóki* (Fornm. sög. 11, 49—99. Thiele 1, 110): a far-famed hero (p. 381).

In some parts of Denmark, instead of naming *Wolmar*, they say 'den flyvende jäger,' flying huntsman, or 'den flyvende Markolfus;' in Kallundborg district the hunt is transferred to a later king: *Christian the Second* rides on a white horse and with black hounds (Thiele 1, 187).

In Schleswig hunts king *Abel*: 'in eo loco ubi sepultus est . . . venatoris cornu infantis vocem et sonum exaudiri, multi fide digni referunt, et affirmant usque adeo similem, ut venatorem ibi venari quis diceret, idque saepe a vigilibus qui Gottorpii nocte

¹ Still closer comes the statement in Thiele p. 192: in olden days it was the custom in the I. of Möen, when they were harvesting, and had tied the last sheaf of oats, to throw it on the field with the words: 'this for the *jöde* of Upsala, this let him have for his horse on Yule-eve!' and if they did not do it, their cattle died. The 'jötunn of Upsala' is a christian euphemism for *Wodan* or *Oðinn*, whose divine image is set up at Upsala. The phraseology might originate at a period when Denmark was converted and Sweden remained heathen.

vigilare solent audiri: sed et *Abelem* multis nostra aetate apparuisse et visum esse constans omnium est rumor, *ore et corpore atrum, equo pusillo vectum*, comitatum canibus tribus venaticis, qui et saepe specie ignea et ardere visi sunt,' Cypraei Ann. episc. slesvic. p. 267; conf. Thiele 2, 63. 142. Dahlmann's Dän. gesch. 1, 408. Müllenhoff nos. 487-8.

With Swedish traditions of the wild hunter I am imperfectly acquainted, but they may safely be inferred from what is told of the *strömkarls-lag* (p. 492), that its eleventh variation is reserved for the use of the *night spirit and his host*; and we found a point of agreement between the 'neck' and our elf-natured *Tanhäuser* (p. 936n.). Sweden retains too the primitive fashion of referring the natural phenomenon to the god (p. 919). Tales are told of two ardent sportsmen, Nielus Hög and Jennus Maar (Arwidsson 2, 71).

One Norwegian story offers rich material. Souls that have not done so much good as to win heaven, nor yet harm enough to merit hell, drunkards, scoffers, tricksters, are doomed to *ride about* until the end of the world. At the head of the cavalcade comes *Gurorysse* or *Reisarova*¹ with her long tail, by which you may know her from the rest; she is followed by a great multitude of either sex. Rider and steed have a stately appearance in front; from behind you see nothing but Guro's *long tail*. The horses are coal-black, have glowing eyes, and are governed with fiery rods and iron reins: the noise of the troop is heard from afar. They *ride over water* as over land, their hoofs scarce skimming the surface. When they throw a *saddle on a roof*, some person will presently die in that house; where they expect drunken revelry, rioting and murder, they come and sit over the door;² they keep still so long as no crime is committed, but when it is, they *laugh out loud*,³ and rattle their iron rods. They make their journeys at Yule-tide, when there is much carousing. If you hear them come, you must get out of the way, or throw yourself *flat on the ground*⁴ and feign sleep, for there have been cases of

¹ 'Guro rysserova = Gudrun horse-tail.'—SUPPL.

² 'Quia Mors secus introitum delectationis posita est.' Regula Benedicti, cap. 7.

³ Conf. '*manes ridere videns*' in the Waltharius 1040.

⁴ As on p. 922: a precaution prescribed in all the folktales (Bechstein's Thür. sag. 4, 234 and Fränk. sag. 1, 57). It is practised in Italy when hot winds blow.

living men being dragged along with the moving mass. An upright man, who takes that precaution, has nought to fear, save that each of the company spits upon him; when they are gone, he must spit out again, or he will take harm. In some parts, this ghostly array is called *aaskereia*, *aaskerej*, *aaskereida*, in others *hoskelreia*; the former corrupted from *âsgard-reida*, *-reid*, the Asgard march, whether as a passage of souls to heaven, or as a journey of gods, of valkyrs, visiting earth; or may it not be more simply explained by *âska* (lightning) and *reid* (thunder)? in which case it would be confined more to a manifestation of Thor. Sometimes you do not see the procession, but only hear it rush through the air. Whoever does not make the sign of the cross on his stable-doors the three nights of Yule, will in the morning find his *horses blown and dripping with sweat* (p. 661), because they have been taken and ridden (Faye 70—72).

Guro is apparently the same as *gurri*, ON. *gîfr* (giantess, p. 526); but *gurri* is also *huldra* (Faye 10), who is described as a beautiful woman with a hideous *tail* (ib. 25. 39). *Huldra* may be likened to our *Holda* all the more, because she takes unchristened infants with her. *Guro*, as a leader of the furious host, answers perfectly to the description given of all the others¹ (see Suppl.).

If we now review the entire range of German and Scandinavian stories about the Furious Host, the following facts come to the front. The myth exhibits gods and goddesses of the heathen time. Of gods: *Wuotan*, and perhaps *Fro*, if I may take 'Berholt' to mean him. We can see *Wuotan* still in his epithets of the *cloaked*, the *bearded*, which were afterwards misunderstood and converted into proper names. Saxo Gram. p. 37 says of *Othin*: '*albo clypeo tectus, album* (s. l. pro 'altum') *flectens equum.*' *Sleipnir* was a *light gray* horse (Sn. 47), what was called *apple-gray* (pommelé, AS. æppelfealo). Then we see both the name and the meaning [m. or f.] fluctuate between *frô Wôdan* and *frôwa Gôde*. A goddess commanding the host, in lieu of the god, is *Holda*, his wife in fact. I am more and more firmly convinced, that 'Holda' can be nothing but an epithet of the mild

¹ Can the 'Gurre wood' in the Waldemar legend have arisen, like 'Hakel wood,' out of the personal name? Conf. Halja and hell. In Schmidt's *Fastelabend-samml.* p. 76 we find the combination 'der Woor, die Goor, der wilde jüger.'

'gracious' *Fricka*; conf. Sommer's Thür. sag. 165-6. And *Berhta*, the shining, is identical with her too; or, if the name applies more to *Frouwa*, she is still next-door to her, as the Norse Freyja was to Frigg. It is worth noting, that here Norweg. legend also names a 'Huldra,' not Frigg nor Freyja. The dogs that surround the god's airy chariot may have been Wuotan's wolves setting up their howl. A Scand. story not well authenticated¹ makes *Oðinn* be wounded by a boar, like Hakebernd, and this wounding seems altogether legendary (p. 921-2); when the boar sucked the blood out of the sleeping god, some drops fell on the earth, which turned into flowers the following spring.

These divinities present themselves in a twofold aspect. Either as visible to human eyes, visiting the land at some holy tide, bringing welfare and blessing, accepting gifts and offerings of the people that stream to meet them. Or floating unseen through the air, perceptible in cloudy shapes, in the roar and howl of the winds (p. 632), carrying on *war*, *hunting* or the game of *ninepins*, the chief employments of ancient heroes: an array which, less tied down to a definite time, explains more the natural phenomenon (conf. Haupt's Zeitschr. 6, 1291. 131). I suppose the two exhibitions to be equally old, and in the myth of the wild host they constantly play into one another. The fancies about the Milky Way have shewn us how ways and waggons of the gods run in the sky as well as on the earth.

With the coming of Christianity the fable could not but undergo a change. For the solemn march of gods, there now appeared a pack of horrid spectres, dashed with dark and devilish ingredients. Very likely the heathen themselves had believed that spirits of departed heroes took part in the divine procession; the christians put into the host the unchristened dead, the drunkard, the suicide (conf. p. 822), who come before us in frightful forms of mutilation. The 'holde' goddess turns into an 'unholde,' still beautiful in front, but with a tail behind.² So much of her ancient charms as could not be stript off was held to be seductive and sinful: and thus was forged the legend of the Venus-mount. Their ancient offerings too the

¹ Wassenberg p. 72. Creuzer's Symb. 2, 98. I fear Rudbeck had the boldness to adapt the legend of Adonis (p. 949n.) to Oden.

² Conf. 'frau Welt,' dame World, in Conrad's poem p. 196 seq.

people did not altogether drop, but limited them to the sheaf of oats for the celestial steed, as even Death (another hunter, p. 845-6) has his bushel of oats found him (p. 844).

When *born again as heroes*, the gods retained their genuine old character undimmed. Thus we see *Dietrich, Elkhart, Arthur, Charles, Waldemar, Palnatoke*, nay, king *Christian*, significantly incorporated in the roving company, without the slightest detriment to their dignity or repute among the people. At the same time its due weight must be allowed to another view, which degrades the gods into *devils*, the goddesses into hags and witches: here the devil might easily spring out of the *giant* of old.

The last lodgment found by the fable is when it settles on individual hunters and lovers of hunting of modern times, such as *Hackelberg*, the heath-rider *Bären*, squire *Marten*, *Mansberg* the baron, &c. These look almost like historic personages, but narrowly examined they will in every case melt into mythic ones. The people's conscientious care to point out *Hakelbernd's* tomb seems to indicate a heathen worship, to which even monuments of stone were consecrated.

The similar course taken by the history of the myth in Scandinavia and in Germany is a fresh guarantee that the same heathen faith prevailed there and here. Saxony, Westphalia, Mecklenburg, Hesse have still several features in common with the North; South Germany has retained fewer. So there come out points of agreement with Celtic legend; none with Slavic, that I can discover, unless the nocturnal rides of *Svantovit* (p. 662) are to be taken into account.

I have yet to mention an agreement with Greek fable, which seems to prove the high antiquity of that notion of a *giant* and *hunter*. To the Greeks, *Orion* was a gigantic (*πελώριος*) huntsman, who *in the underworld* continues to chase the quarry on the *Asphodel-mead* (Od. 11, 572), and forms a brilliant constellation. Homer speaks of *Orion's* hound (Il. 22, 29) seen in the sky below him; in flight before him are the *Pleiads* (a bevy of wild doves, Od. 12, 62), and the *Great Bear* herself appears to watch him (*δοκεύει*, Od. 5, 274).¹ Did our ancestors connect

¹ O. Müller on *Orion* (Rhein. mus. f. philol. 2, 12).

the same group of stars with their myth of the wild hunt? I have left it doubtful on p. 727. We might, for one thing, see such a connexion in Orion's AS. name of *boar-throng* (eoforþryng); and secondly add, that the three stars of his belt are called the *distaff of Fricka*, who as 'Holda' heads the furious host, and looks after her spinsters just at the time of his appearing at Christmas. Can it be, that when the constellation takes name from Fricka, her spindle is made prominent; and when Wuotan or a giant-hero lends his name, the herd of hunted boars is emphasized? The Greek fable unfolds itself yet more fully. Orion is struck blind, and is led to new light by Kedalion, a marvellous child who sits on his shoulders. Might not we match this *blind* giant with our *headless* wild hunter?¹ A feature that strikes me still more forcibly is, that Artemis (Diana) causes a *scorpion* to come up out of the ground, who *stings* Orion *in the ankle*, so that he dies:² when the sign Scorpio rises in the sky, Orion sinks. This is like Hackelberend's *foot* being pierced by the wild boar's tusk, and causing his death (pp. 921. 947). Orion's [cosmic] rising is at the summer, his setting at the winter solstice: he blazes through the winter nights, just when the furious host is afoot. Stormy winds attend him (nimbosus Orion, Aen. 1, 535); the gift is given him of walking on the sea (Apollod. i. 4, 3), as the steeds in the aaskereia skim over the wave. Orion's relation to Artemis is not like that of Wuotan to Holda, for these two are never seen together in the host; but Holda by herself bears a strong resemblance to *Artemis* or *Diana* (p. 267. 270), still more to the nightly huntress *Hecate*, at whose approach *dogs whimper* (as with frau Gaude), who, like Hel, is scented by the dogs (p. 667),³ and for whom a paltry pittance was placed (as for Berhta and the wild woman, p.

¹ A malefactor, whose crime is not divulged before his death, is doomed to wander with his *head under his arm* (Superst. I, 605). Can the being struck (or growing) blind be meant to express ghostly wandering?

² Aratus Phaenomena. 637. Ov. Fast. 5, 541. Lucan Phars. 9, 832. Adonis got his death-wound from the boar. Nestor (Jos. Müller 101) tells us, it was prophesied to Oleg that he would die of his *horse*; he still had it fed, but would not see it again. Five years after, he inquired about it, and was told it was dead. Then he laughed at soothsayers, and went into the stable, where the horse's skeleton lay, but when he trod on the skull, a snake darted out of it and stung him in the foot, whereof he sickened and died (see Suppl.).

³ Apparently a slip; for that was Athena.—TRANS.

432) at the trivium (OHG. driwikki),¹ conf. Theocr. 2, 15 and Virg. Aen. 4, 609: 'nocturnis Hecate triviis ululata per urbes.' Lucian's *Φιλοψευδής* cap. 22. 24 tells us how such a 'Εκάτη appeared in the wood to Eucrates, and the yelping dogs are there too (see Suppl.).

Tacitus Germ. 43 thus describes the Harii, a people of N.E. Germany: 'truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur; nigra scuta, tincta corpora, atras ad proelia noctes legunt, ipsaque formidine atque *umbra feralis exercitus* terrorem inferunt, nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut *infernum* aspectum' (see Suppl.). Is this about 'host of the dead' and 'hellish array' Roman rhetoric, or was it contained in descriptions of this people given by Germans themselves? An airy host (p. 940) is also spoken of by Pliny 2, 57: '*armorum crepitus et tubae sonitus auditos e coelo* Cimbricis bellis accepimus, crebroque et prius et postea; tertio vero consulatu Marii ab Amerinis et Tudertibus spectata *arma coelestia* ab ortu occasuque *inter se concurrentia*, pulsus quae ab occasu erant.'

¹ Cross-roads, the parting of ways, are a trouble to frau Gaude. Festus sub v. 'pilae, effigies' says these were hung up at such places for the Lares.

CHAPTER XXXII.

TRANSLATION.

An idea specially characteristic of our mythology is that of *Entrückung* (removal), which, while extending to the subjects of the foregoing chapter, has a wider range besides.

Verwünschen (ill-wishing) is the uttering of a curse or ban, maledicere, diris devovere, Goth. *fræqviban*, OHG. *farwâzan*, MHG. *verwâzen*; as I do not find *verwünschen* in our older speech, I explain it simply as the opposite of *wünschen* (fausta apprecari), and refrain from supposing in it a reference to the old 'wunsch,' the perfection of felicity.¹

This *banning* differs from *metamorphosis*, inasmuch as it does not transform, but rather throws a spell upon things in their natural shape, only removing them into a new position; though common parlance calls whatever is transformed 'verwünscht' (banned). Further, what is *metamorphosed* remains, till the moment of its emancipation, in the new shape given it, visible to all eyes, e.g. the stone or tree into which a man has been changed; whereas, when a thing is *banned*, in the sense in which I use the word, it seems to me essential that it be *withdrawn* from our senses, and only re-appear from time to time, and then in the same shape as before. In other words: what is *metamorphosed* remains corporeal, what is *banned* becomes imperceptible, and can only on certain conditions become corporeal again, in the same way as invisible spirits can at will assume grosser material shapes. *Vanishing*² is therefore voluntary translation (to another sphere), a prerogative of gods (p. 325) and spirits, also of some heroes that are possessed of a magic mask (*grîma*) or concealing helmet; translated men are spirit-like,

¹ Note the O. Fr. antithesis between *souhait* (wish) and *dehait* (verwünschung); both words are wanting in the other Romance tongues, they have their root in OHG. *heiz*, ON. *heit* (votum).

² 'Frau Sælde *verswant*,' vanished, Etzel's hofh. 210.

and another expression for it is: 'they *sleep*,' they only wake from time to time¹ (see Suppl.).

And not only persons, but things, are translatable. Persons that vanish and re-appear are precisely in the condition of the spectres dealt with in the last chapter: just as souls of dead men there got identified with heroes and gods, so here we come upon the same gods and heroes again. Vanished gods get confounded with enchanted spell-bound heroes.

With our people a favourite mode of representing translation is to shut up the enchanted *inside a mountain*, the *earth*, so to speak, *letting herself be opened* to receive them.² More than one idea may be at work here together: motherly earth hides the dead in her bosom, and the world of souls is an underground world; elves and dwarfs are imagined living inside mountains, not so much in the depths of the earth as in *hills* and *rocks* that rise above the level ground; but popular forms of cursing choose all manner of phrases to express the very lowest abyss.³ The Swed. *bergtagen* (taken into mountain) means *sunken*, *bergtagning*

¹ See the famous legends of the *Seven Sleepers* (Greg. Tur. mirac. 1, 95. Paul Diac. 1, 3), and of *Endymion*, who lies in eternal sleep on Mt. Latmos. Conf. Pliny 7, 52: *Puerum aestu et itinere fessum in specu septem et quinquaginta dormisse annis, rerum faciem mutationemque mirantem, velut postero experrectum die; hinc pari numero dierum senio ingruente, ut tamen in septimum et quinquagesimum atque centesimum vitae duraret annum;* and the German story of the three miners. *Shepherds* slept in caves 7 years, or 7 times 7 (Mone's Anz. 7, 54).

² An impatient longing to *disappear* we express by the phrases 'I should like to *creep into the earth*,' and '*jump out of my skin*,' the same thing that is called at the end of the Lament (Nib.): '*sich versließen und úz der hiute triefen in löcher der steinwende*,' trickle away, so to speak. O. iv. 26, 43 has: '*ruafet thesên bergon, bittet sie thaz sie fallên ubar iuih, joh bittet ouh thie buhila thaz sie iuih thekên obana, ir biginnet thanne innan erda sliafan, joh saintet filu thrâto.*' Hel. 166, 3: '*than gi sô gerna sind, that iu hier bihlidan hôha bergôs, diopo bidelban,*' be-lid and deep be-delve you. Much of this language is Biblical (Isa. 2, 19; Hos. 10, 8; Luke 23, 30; Rev. 6, 15, 16), but the sentiment of many nations will run alike in such matters. Nib. 867, 2: '*mir troumte, wie obe dir ze tal vielen zwêne berge,*' I dreamt, two mts fell on thee. That jumping out of one's skin, like a snake casting his slough, may also come of joy and anger, O. Fr. '*a poi n' ist de sa pel,*' is well nigh out of his skin, Ogier 6688. Nethl. '*het is om uit zijn vel te springen.*' So in our Elis. von Orleans, ed. Schütz p. 223; '*for joy,*' Etnn.'s Unw. doctor 856. Not unlike is that *jumping into stone* spoken of on p. 552; as early as Alb. von Halb. 143^b: '*at one leap he turned into stone.*'

³ They wish you '*100,000 fathom under ground;*' '*as far down as a hare can run in two years*' (p. 179); '*so low, that no cock crows after (or to) thee,*' and the like. What does the last formula mean? that the cock's crow can no longer, even in the hush of night, reach the sunken man? or that those above ground cannot hear the cry of the fowl that has sunk with him to the subterranean dwelling? In Kinderm. 2, 32 it is said of the princesses: '*se versünken alle drei so deip unner de eere, dat kien haan mer danach krehete.*' '*So kreet doch kein han nach mir,*' and '*kein han fort da nach krehen thut,*' H. Sachs iii. 2, 178^b. 213^c.

translation, Sv. visor 1, 1. Afz. 1, 28. 33. In Asbiörnssen and Moe no. 38 'indtagen i bierget;' and Faye 35-6 quotes striking instances of this 'indtages i höie og fjelde,' being taken into height and fell. ON. *gánga inn í fjallit*, Nialss. cap. 14. 135 (see Suppl.).

We understand now, why frau *Holda*, frau *Venus* and their following *dwelt in mountains*: they are sequestered there, till the time come for holding their progress among men. So live Wödan and king Charles in the *Odenberg*.

Here and there a man has gained entrance into such mountains; Tanhäuser sojourned many years at the court of Venus. A blacksmith was looking in the underwood on the *Odenberg* for a hawthorn to make his hammer-helve, when suddenly he saw a gap he had never noticed before in the face of the cliff; he stepped in, and stood in a new world of wonders. Strong men were bowling balls of iron, they challenged him to play, but he declined, the iron balls, he said, were too heavy for his hand. The men were not offended, they told him to choose what present he would have. He begged for one of their balls, took it home, and put it among his stock of iron. Afterwards, wanting to work it, he made it red hot, but it burst in pieces on the anvil, and every piece was *sheer gold*.¹ He never again found the opening in the *Odenberg*; he had happened that time to hit the day when it stands open to men, as it does on certain days of the year to Sunday children. They see an old man with a *long beard*, holding in his hand a metal goblet (as Charles in Romance epic always has the epithet 'a la barbe florée,' and Oðinn too was called *Lángbarðr*, *Harbarðr*, *Síðskeggr*). Inside the mountain they have presents given them, as in the Kifhäuser.

In the *Guckenberg*² near Fränkischgemünden, a *kaiser* disappeared with all his army a long time ago; but when *his beard has grown three times round the table* at which he sits, he will come out again with all his men. Once a poor boy, who went about the neighbourhood selling rolls, met an old man on the mountain, and complained that he could not sell much. 'I will

¹ This skittle-playing sounds like rolling thunder (p. 167). They say in N. Germ. when it thunders, 'the angels are playing at bowls.'

² Not Gouchsberg nor Kaukasus (p. 681); but rather the mt of the progenitor *Guogo* (guggāni, Z. f. d. a. 1, 23), or of the beetle (guegi, p. 183). Meichelb. 1182 ad Guoginhäsun; Trad. fuld. 2, 33 in Gougeleibu.

shew thee a place,' said the man, 'where thou canst bring thy rolls every day, but thou must tell no man thereof.' He then led the boy into the mountain, where there was plenty of life and bustle, people buying and selling; the *kaiser* himself sat at a table, and his *beard* had grown *twice round it*. The lad now brought his rolls there every day, and was paid in ancient coin, which at last the people in his village would not take; they pressed him to tell how he came by it, then he confessed all that had taken place. Next day, when he wished to go into the mountain, he could not so much as see it, let alone find the entrance (Mone's Anz. 4. 409, and thence in Bechst. Fränk. sag. p. 103). So between Nürnberg and Fürth stands *kaiser Carls berg*, out of which in former times came the sound of singing, and of which a similar tale is told about carrying bread; in a vaulted chamber the baker's boy saw *men in armour* sitting (Mone's Anz. 5, 174).

In Westphalia, between Lübbecke and Holzhausen, above Mehnen village on the Weser, stands a hill called die Babilonie,¹ in which *Wedekind* (Weking) sits enchanted, waiting till his time come; favoured ones who find the entrance are dismissed with gifts (Redeker's Westf. sag. no. 21).

An older myth is preserved in the Chron. ursbergense (Auersperg) ad an. 1223 (Pertz 8, 261): In pago Wormaciensi videbantur per aliquot dies non modica et *armata multitudo equitum euntium et redeuntium*, et quasi ad placitum colloquium nunc hic nunc illic turbas facere, circa nonam vero horam *cuidam monti, quo et exiisse videbantur*, se reddere. Tandem quidam de incolis regionis illius, non sine magno timore hujusmodi tam prodigosae concioni, crucis signaculo munitus appropinquat. Mox quandam ex illis occurrentem sibi personam per nomen omnipotentis Domini nostri, manifestare causam populi qui sic apparuerit, adjurat. Cui ille inter cetera 'Non sumus' inquit, 'ut putatis, fantasmata, nec militum, ut vobis cernimur, turba, sed *animae militum interfectorum*, arma vero et habitus et equi, quia nobis prius fuerant instrumenta peccandi, nunc nobis sunt materia tormenti, et vere totum ignitum est quod in nobis cernitis, quamvis id vos corporalibus oculis discernere non possitis.' In hujusmodi

¹ Several times in MHG. poems 'diu wüeste Babilône.'

comitatu dicitur etiam Emicho comes ante paucos annos (an. 1117) occisus apparuisse, et ab hac poena orationibus et elemosynis se posse redimi docuisse.' *Donnersberg*, Tonnerre (p. 170) was then in the Wormazfeld, it must therefore be the mountain in and out of which the ancient ghosts kept riding: souls of fallen and resuscitated heroes (p. 940), but by the christian eye seen here in hell-fire.

In the old *mountain castle* of Geroldseck *Siegfried* and other heroes are supposed to dwell, and thence they will appear to the German nation in its time of utmost need, Deut. sag. no. 21. A *cleft in a rock* by the L. of Lucerne, some say on the Grütli, holds *in sleep* the three founders of the Swiss Federation; they will *wake* when their country wants them, *ibid.* no. 297. At the *Kifhäuser* in Thuringia sleeps *Frederic Barbarossa*: he sits at a round stone table, resting his head on his hand, nodding, with blinking eyes; his *beard grows round the table*, it has already made the circuit *twice*, and when it has *grown round the third time*, the king will *awake*. On coming out he will *hang his shield* on a *withered tree*, which will *break into leaf*, and a better time will dawn. Yet some have seen him awake: a shepherd having piped a lay that pleased him well, *Frederick* asked him: '*fly the ravens* round the mountain still?' the shepherd said yes: 'then must I sleep *another 100 years*.'¹ The shepherd was led into

¹ Similar questions are put by the *blind giant* in a Swed. folktale, which I insert here from Bexell's Halland (Götheborg 1818) 2, p. 301: Några sjömän ifrån Getinge blefvo på hafvet af stormarne förde emot en okänd ö (seamen from G. driven by storms to an unknown isle), omgifne af mörker uppstiga de der (landed in the dark). De blefvo varse en på afstånd upptänd eld (saw a lighted fire), och skynda dit. Framför elden ligger en ovanligt lång man, som var blind; en annan af lika jättestorlek (another of like giant size), står bredvid honom och rör i elden med en järnstång. Den gamle blinde mannen reser sig upp, och frågar de ankomne främlingarne, hvarifrån de voro. De svara, ifrån Halland och Getinge socken. Hvarpå den blinde frågar: '*lefver ennu den hvita qvinnan* (lives the white woman still)?' De svarade ja, fast de ej viste hvad han härmed menade. Ater sporde han: '*männe mitt gethus står ännu kvar* (stands my goat-house yet)?' De svarade återigen ja, ehuru de äfven voro okunnige om hvad han menade. Då sade han: '*jag fick ej hafva mitt gethus* i fred för den kyrkan som byggdes på den platsen. Viljen I komma lyckligt hem, välan, jag lemnar er dertill tvenne vilkor.' De lofva, och den gamle blinde fortfor: '*tagen detta sölfbälte*, och när I kommen hem, så spännen det på den hvita qvinnan, och denne ask stätten den på altaret i mitt *gethus*.' Lyckligen återkomne till hembygden, rådfråga sig sjömännen huru de skulle efterkomma den gamle blinde mannens begäran. Man beslöt at spänna bältet omkring en björk, och björken for i luften, och at sätta asken på en *kulle* (grave-mound), och straxt står kullen i *Giusan låga*. Men efter det kyrkan är bygd der den blinde mannen hade sitt gethus, har hon fått namnet Getinge. The 'blind giant' banished to the island is a spectral heathen god (conf. Orion, p. 949), the 'white woman' a christian church or an image of Mary; had they fastened the

the king's armoury, and presented with the stand of a hand-basin, which the goldsmith found to be *sheer gold* (ib. nos. 23. 296).¹ Others make *Frederick* sit in a *cave of the rock* near *Kaiserslautern* (ib. no. 295), or at Trifels by Anweiler, or else in the *Unterberg* near Salzburg (ib. no. 28), though some put *Charles the Great* here, or *Charles V.*; the *growing of the beard round the table* is related just the same. When the beard has for the third time reached the last corner of the table, the *end of the world* begins, a *bloody battle* is fought on the *Walsersfeld*, *Antichrist* appears, the angel-trumpets peal, and the *Last of Days* has dawned. The *Walsersfeld* has a *withered tree*, which has been *cut down three times*, but its *root has always sprouted* and grown into a perfect tree again. *When next it begins to leaf*, the terrible fight is near, and will open when the tree bears fruit. Then shall *Frederick hang his shield on the tree*, all men shall flock to it, and make such a slaughter that the *blood will run into the warriors' shoes*, and the *wicked men be slain by the righteous* (ib. nos. 24. 28). In this remarkable tradition may be recognised things old and very old.—A religious poem of the 16th cent. (Gräter's *Odina* p. 197) speaks of *duke Frederick*, who is to win back the *H. Sepulchre*, and hang his *shield on a leafless tree*; and *Ante-christe* is brought in too.—A fragment of an older lay of the 14th cent. (Cod. Pal. 844) says of Emp. *Frederick*: 'An dem gejaid er verschwant (in the hunt he disappeared), das man den edeln keiser her sind gesach (saw) nyemer mer; also ward der

silver belt round it, it would have shot up into the air as the birch did.—Another account makes the blind giant ask the sailors if the *jingling-cow* by the church (meaning the bell or belfry) were *still alive*? They answered yes, and he challenged one of them to hold out his hand, that he might see if the inhabitants had any strength left. They handed him a boat-bar made red-hot, which he crushed together, saying there was no great strength there (Faye p. 17). A story in *Odman's Bahuslän* 153-4 has similar variations: A ship's crew, driven out of their course to an out-of-the-way coast, see a fire burning at night, and go on shore. By the fire sits only one *old man*, who asks a sailor: 'Whence be ye?' From *Hisingen* in *Säfve* pastorate. 'Ken ye *Thorsby* too?' Ay, that I do. 'Wot ye the whereabouts of *Ulfveberg*?' Ay, it's many a time I've passed it, going from *Götheborg* to *Marstrand* by way of *Hisingen*. 'Stand the great stones and barrows there yet unremoved?' Ay, but one stone leans and is like to fall. 'Wot ye where *Glosshed-altar* is, and whether it be well kept up?' I know nothing about that. 'Say to the folk that dwelleth now at *Thorsby* and *Thorsbracka*, that they destroy not the stones and mounds on *Ulfveberg*, and that they keep in good condition *Glosshed-altar*, so shalt thou have fair weather for thy home-return.' The sailor promised, but asked the old man his name. 'My name is *Thore Brack*, and there dwelt I of yore, till I was made to flee: in the great mounds of *Ulfveberg* lies all my kin, at *Glosshed-altar* did we sacrifice and serve our gods.'

¹ The *Kifhäuser* legends now stand collected in *Bechst.* 4, 9—54.

hochgeporn *keiser Friederich* do verlorn. Wo er darnach ye hin kam, oder ob er den end da nam, das kund nyemand gesagen mir, oder *ob yne die wilden tir* (beasts) *vressen* habn oder *zerissen* (eaten or torn), es en kan die warheit nyemand wissen, oder *ob er noch lebendig sy* (be yet alive),¹ der gewiszen sin wir fry und der rechten warheit; iedoch ist uns geseit von pawren (yet we are told by peasants) solh mer, das er als ein waler (pilgrim) sich oft by yne hab lassen sehen (seen by them) und hab yne offentlich verjehen (declared), er süll noch gewaltig werden (he should yet become master) aller römischen erden, er süll noch die pffaffen storen, und er woll noch nicht uf horen, noch mit nichten lassen abe, nur er pring (nor rest till he bring) *das heilige grabe* und darzu das heilig lant wieder in der Christen hant, und wol *sine schildes last haben an den dorren ast* (his shield's weight hang on the withered bough); das ich das für ein warheit sag, das die pauren haben geseit, das nym ich mich nicht an, wan ich sin nicht gesehen han, ich han es auch zu kein stunden noch nyndert geschribn funden, was das ichs gehort han van den alten pauren an wan.—A poem of about 1350 (Aretin's Beitr. 9, 1134) says: 'So wirt das *vrlweg also gross* (war so great), nymand kan ez gestillen, so kumpt sich *kayser Fridrich* der her (high) vnd auch der milt, er vert dort her durch Gotes willen, an einen *dürren pawm* (withered tree) so *henkt er seinen schilt*, so wirt die vart hin uber mer . . . er vert dort hin zum *dürren pawm* an alles widerhap, dar an so *henkt er seinen schilt*, er *grunet* unde *pirt* (bears): so *wirt gewun daz heilig grap*, daz nymmer swert darup gezogen wirt.—Again, in Sibylle's prophecy, composed in German rhyme soon after the middle of the 14th cent.: 'Es kumet noch dar zuo wol, das Got ein keiser geben sol, den hat er behalten in siner gewalt und git (gives) im kraft manigvalt, er wirt genant *Fridrich*, der usserwelte fürste rich, vnd sament daz Christen volgan sich vnd gewinnet *daz helge grap* uber mer, do stat ein *dor boum* vnd ist gros, vnd sol so lange stan blos, bicz der *keiser Fridrich* dar an *sinen schilt* gehenken mag vnd kan, so

¹ At the end of the Lament for king Etzel; 'Des wunders wird ich nimmer vrî, weder er sich vergienge, oder in der luft enpfinge, oder lebende würde begraben, oder ze himele uf erhaben, und ob er üz der hiute trüffe oder sich verlüffe in löcher der steinwende, oder mit welchem ende er von dem libe quæme, oder waz in zuo zim næme, ob er filere in daz apgründe, oder ob in der tiuvel verlünde, oder ob er sus si verschwunden, daz en-hât niemen noh erfunden.'

wirt *der boum wieder gruen* gar, noch kument aber guete jar, vnd wirt in aller der welt wol stan, der Heiden glouben muos gar zergan' (Wackern. Basel MSS. p. 55).¹

That the *common people* disbelieved the death of Emp. Frederick, and expected him to come back, is plain from the passages which expressly refer to 'old peasants'; it had most likely been the same in the preceding (13th) cent., and was long after. Impostors took advantage of the general delusion; one chronicle (Böhmer 1, 14) relates: 'Ecce quidam truphator surrexit in medium, qui dixit se esse *Fridericum quondam imperatorem*, quod de se multis intersignis et quibusdam prestigiis scire volentibus comprobavit.' King Rudolf had him burnt on a pile in 1285. Yet Detmar has under the year 1287: 'By der tid quam to Lubeke en olt man, de sprak, he were *keiser Vrederic*, de vordrevene. Deme beghunden erst de boven (lads) und dat mene volk to horende sines tusches (fraud), unde deden eme ere (honour). He lovede en (promised them) grote gnade, oft he weder queme an sin rike; he wart up eneme schonen rosse voret de stat umme to beschowende . . . darna cortliken (shortly after) quam de man van steden, dat nenman wiste, wor he hennen vor (fared). Seder (later) quam de mer (news), dat bi deme Rine en troner (trickster) were, de in dersulven wise de lude bedroch, de ward dar brand in ener kopen.' A more exact account in Ottocar cap. 321—6, and the chron. in Pez 1, 1104. The legend may also confound the two Fredericks, I and II (see Suppl.).²

¹ In the MS. 'Historia trium regum' by Joh. von Hildesheim (d. 1375) is mentioned a temple of the Tartars. Behind walls, locks and bolts stands a *withered tree*, guarded by men at arms: whatever prince can manage to *hang his shield on the tree*, becomes lord of all the East; the Great Khan did succeed, and is therefore irresistible (Goethe's *Kunst u. alt.* ii. 2, 174-5. Schwab's *Account of the book* p. 181-2). The tree stands at Tauris, form. Susa. On the other hand, Montevilla reports that 'in the vale of Mambre, as one journeys from Ebron to Bethlehem, stands the *woful withered tree* that they call *Trip*, but we name it *tree of victory*; 'tis an oaktree, and thought to have stood from the beginning of the world; and before Our Lord suffered, 'twas green and well-leaved, but when God died on the cross, it withered up . . . 'Tis found written in prophecies, Out of Netherland shall come a prince with many christians, he shall win these lands, and *let sing the mass under the dry tree*, then shall it gather green leaves again, and be fruitful, and Jew and Heathen all turn Christian. Therefore do they shew it great honour, and over it keep good ward.' This is from the transl. by Otto von Diemeringen; the Nethl. edition names the tree *Drip*, the Latin one *Dirp*, and has nothing about the predicted singing of mass. Was this a German interpolation, and is the whole a Western legend transported to the East? Or are the German popular traditions due to reports of Eastern travel? In O. Fr. the tree is called *le sec-arbre, l'arbre sech* or *supe*; see passages quoted in *Théâtre Fr. au moyen âge*, p. 171.

² There is a remarkable phrase: '*auf den alten kaiser hinein dahin leben*,' to

As Charles's *white beard* points to Wuotan, so does Frederick's *red* to Donar, and the like mythic meaning has been put on Olaf's *red beard* (p. 548) in Norway.

Frederick Redbeard in the Kifhäuser and Unterberg, Charles Longbeard in the Unterberg and Odenberg, Holda in the Horselberg, all express one mythic idea, but with a different story tacked to it in every case. Charles fights a stupendous battle, and is then gathered up in the Odenberg, whence he will issue one day to new war and victory. Frederick is coming out of the Unterberg to fight such a battle. In the 13-14-15th centuries the people associated with it the recovery of the H. Sepulchre: the heroes of Odenberg and Kifhäuser have no such purpose set before them. The older programme is, that upon their awaking comes the great *world-battle*, and the *Day of Judgment* dawns: of this the mention of *Antichrist* leaves no doubt. Here we see connexion with the myth of the *world's destruction* (p. 810-2). The *suspended shield* may signify the approaching Judge (RA. 851); even the sign of the *tree turning green again* looks to me more heathen than christian. It might indeed be referred to Matth. 24, 32. Mark 13, 28. Luke 21, 29-30 (Hel. 132, 14), where the omens of the Great Day are *likened* to the budding fig-tree as a sign of approaching summer; but to apply the simile to the Judgment-day would clearly be a confusion of thought. I prefer to think of the *newly verdant earth* after Muspilli (Sæm. 9^b), or of a withered and newly sprouting World-tree, the *ash* (p. 796-9); we might even find in this of the *withered tree*¹ some support to my interpretation of *muspilli*, *mudspilli* as = arboris perditio (p. 809). And what if Frederick's asking after the *flying ravens* should be connected even with the *eagle flying* over the new world (Sæm. 9^b), or the one sitting on the ash-tree? It might also suggest the *cranes* which at the time of the great overthrow *come flying* through the bread-stalls (Deut. sag. no. 317).

live in hope of the old k., Simplic. 3, 20. 4, 11; 'auf den alten kaiser hinein stehlen,' Springinsf. cap. 6; *i.e.* reckoning on a possible change in the nature of things.

¹ In other cases too the withering or greening of a tree is bound up with the fate of a country. In Dietmarsen stood a marvellous tree, that *flourished* before the conquest, and *withered* on the loss of liberty. There goes a prophecy that 'when a *magpie builds on it and hatches five white chickens*, the country will be free again,' Neocorus 1, 237, conf. 562.

In the same way Fischart (Garg. 266-7) couples the enchanted king's return with the *coming of the cranes*.¹

The myth of the sprouting tree and the battle near it is set before us with important variations in a Low Saxon legend (Müllenhoff nos. 509—512. 605; Pref. L.). An *ash*, it is believed, will one day grow up in the churchyard of Nortorf in the middle of Holstein: no one has seen anything of it yet, but every year a *small shoot* comes up unnoticed above the ground, and every New-year's night a *white horseman on a white horse* comes to *cut the young shoot off*. At the same time appears a *black horseman on a black horse* to hinder him. After a long fight, the black rider is put to flight, and the white one cuts the shoot. But some day he will not be able to overcome the black one, the *ash tree will grow up*, and when it is *tall enough for a horse to be tied under it* (RA. p. 82; conf. the Dan. legend of Holger, Thiele 1, 20), the *king with mighty hosts* will come, and a terribly *long battle* be fought. During that time his horse will stand under the tree, and after that he will be more powerful than ever. In this story one can hardly help recognising the World-tree and the battle at the world's destruction: the white horseman seems to be *Freyr*, or some shining god, struggling with *Surtr* the black, and striving to delay the approaching end of the world by lopping off the sprout. Heathen gods the two champions are for certain, even if they be not these. The king, whose horse stands tied up under the tree, is the same as he whose shield is hung upon the tree, a future judge of the world.

As the past and the future, the lost paradise and the expected, do in the people's imagination melt into one,² they come to believe in a *re-awaking* of their loved kings and heroes out of their *mountain-sleep*: of Frederick and Charles, of Siegfried and doubtless Dietrich too. This is the true hall-mark of the epos, to endow its leading characters with a lasting inextinguishable life. But Siegfried is also Wuotan (pp. 26n. 134), Dietrich is Wuotan

¹ Other signs that the end of the world is at hand: when the *swan drops the ring from his bill* (p. 429); when the *giant's rib*, from which a drop falls once a year, has *all trickled away* (Deut. sag. no. 140); when the *tongue of the balance stands in* (ib. 294); when, says a Swed. song, the *stone in the green valley falls*; when the *ship made of men's nails* is built (p. 814).

² P. 822-3; even the particles *ever, once, one day, olim*, apply to both states of being.

future. In the *castle-cellar* of Salurn, in the Silesian Zobtenberg, (p. 937), Charles is Wuotan (p. 394); and Wuotan, after Muspilli, rises on the world anew, a god alive and young again. Once before, Oðinn had departed out of the land to Goðheim (Yngl. saga, c. 10); they supposed him dead, and he came back. And with long-bearded Wuotan the older legend of a red-bearded Donar may have started into consciousness again.

Arthur too, the vanished king, whose return is looked for by the Britons,¹ is believed, riding as he does at the head of the nightly host, (p. 942), to be *lodged in a mountain* with all his massenie: Felicia, the daughter of Sibylle, and the goddess Juno live in his fellowship, and his whole army lack neither food nor drink, horses nor raiment.² That *Gralent* continues to live, we are assured at the end of the *Lais de Graelent*. In a *vaulted chamber* near Kronburg in Denmark, mail-clad men sit round a stone table, stooping down, resting their heads on their crossed arms. When *Holger danske*, sitting at the end of the table, raised his head, the table, *into which his beard had grown*, went to pieces, and he said: 'we shall return when there are no more men in Denmark than there is room for on a wine-butt,' (Thiele 1, 23. 168). The Danes applied every myth to Olger, who does not belong to them at all, but to the Netherlands; he is the same *Ogier* (Otger, perh. Otacher) that haunts the Ardennes forest, and is to come back some day.³ The Slavs too believe in the return of their beloved *Svatopluk* (Sviatopolk), and some parts of Moravia still keep up the custom of going in solemn procession to seek *Svatopluk* (Palacky 1, 135). With this I couple Svegdir's going forth 'at leita Oðin,' to look for O., Yngl. saga 15. The 'seeking God' on p. 145 was another thing (see Suppl.).

Often the banished one bears no name at all: the shepherd from the Ostenberg found in the *cavern* of the *Willberg* a *little man* sitting at a stone table, which his *beard had grown through* (Dent. sag. no. 314); and a *grizzled man* conducted the shepherd of Wernigerode to the treasures of the *mountain cave* (ib. no. 315), The *beard's growing round* or *into the stone* expresses forcibly the long duration of the past time, and the slow advance of the

¹ 'Et prius Arturus veniet vetus ille Britannus,' Henr. Septimell. in Leyser, p. 460. 'cujus in Arturi tempore fructus erit,' ib. p. 477.

² Wartb. kr. jen. hs. 99. 100 (Docen 1, 132-3).

³ Barrois, préface p. xii. Pulci 28. 36.

were found *three men* sitting at the table (ib. nos. 15. 143), who are represented as malefactors enchanted. It is easy to trace the step from heroes shut up in mountains to such as, having died naturally, sleep in their tombs of stone, and visibly appear at sundry times. At Steinfeld, in the Bremen Marschland, a man had disturbed a hüne-grave, and the following night *three men* appeared to him, one of them *one-eyed* (an allusion to Wuotan), and conversed in some unintelligible language; at last they hurled threatening looks at him who had rummaged their tomb, they said they had fallen in their country's cause, and if he broke their rest any more, he should have neither luck nor star (Harrys Nieders. sag. 1, 64).

But as Holda is spell-bound in the mountain, so it is preëminently to *white women, white-robed maidens*, (pp. 288. 412-8) that this notion of mountain banishment becomes applicable: divine or semi-divine beings of heathenism, who still at appointed times grow visible to mortal sight; they love best to appear in warm sunlight to poor shepherds and herd-boys. German legend everywhere is full of graceful stories on the subject, which are all substantially alike, and betray great depth of root.

On the *Lahnberg* in Up. Hesse sat a *white maiden* at sunrise; she had wheat spread out on sheets to dry in the sun, and was *spinning*. A baker of Marburg was passing that way, and took a handful of grains with him; at home he found nothing but *grains of gold* in his pocket. And the like is told of a peasant near Friedigerode.

A poor shepherd was tending his flock at the *Boyneburg*, when he saw a *snow-white maiden* sit in the sunshine by the castle-door; on a white cloth before her lay pods of flax ready to crack open. In astonishment he steps up, says 'oh what fine pods!' takes up a handful to examine, then lays them down again. The maiden looks at him kindly, but mournfully, without a word of reply. He drives his flock home, but a few pods that had fallen into his shoe, gall his foot; he sits down to pull off the shoe, when there roll into his hand five or six *grains of gold* (Deut. sag. no. 10; conf. Wetterauische sagen p. 277. Mone's Anz. 8, 427).

In the *Otomannsberg* near Geismar village, a fire is said to burn at night. Every seven years there comes out a *maiden in*

snowy garments, holding a bunch of keys in her hand. Another *white woman* with a bunch of *keys* appears on the castle-rock at Baden at the hour of noon (Mone's Anz. 8, 310).

In the castle-vault by Wolfartsweiler lies a hidden treasure, on account of which, every seventh year *when may-lilies are in bloom*, a *white maiden* appears; her black hair is plaited in long tails, she wears a *golden girdle* round her *white gown*, a *bundle of keys* at her side or in one hand, and a bunch of *may-lilies* in the other. She likes best to shew herself to innocent children, to one of whom she beckoned one day from beside the grave below, to come over to her: the child ran home in a fright, and told about it; when it came back to the place with its father, the maiden was no longer there. One day *at noon*, two of the goose-herd's girls saw the *white maiden* come down to the brook, *comb* and *plait up* her tails, *wash* her face and hands, and walk up the castle hill again. The same thing happened the following noon, and though they had been told at home to be sure and speak to the maiden, they had not the courage after all. The third day they never saw the maiden, but on a stone in the middle of the brook they found a liver-sausage freshly fried, and liked it better than they ever did another. Another day two men from Grünwetersbach saw the maiden fill a tub with water from the brook, and carry it up the hill; on the tub were two broad hoops of pure gold. The way she takes, every time she goes up and down, was plainly to be distinguished in the grass (Mone's Anz 8, 304).

At Osterrode, every *Easter Sunday* before sunrise, may be seen a *white maiden*, who slowly walks down to the brook, and there *washes*; a large *bunch of keys* hangs at her girdle. A poor linen-weaver having met her at that season, she took him into the castle ruins, and of three *white lilies* she plucked him one which he stuck in his hat. When he got home, he found the lily was pure gold and silver, and the town of Osterrode had not the money to buy it of him. The Easter-maiden's marvellous flower was taken by the Duke in return for a pension to the weaver, and placed in his princely coat of arms (Harrys 2, no. 23).

One Christmas night, when all lay deep in snow, a waggoner walked home to his village by a footpath. He saw a *maiden* in a

summer bonnet stand not far off and turn over with a rake some *pods of flax* that lay spread out on the ground. 'I say, lass, is that the way?' he cried, and took a handful of the pods; she made no answer, but cut him over the hand with the rake. The next morning, when he remembered what he had brought home, the *flax-pods* had all turned into *gold*. He then hurried back to the spot, where he could see his footprints of the night before deep in the snow, but damsel and flax had disappeared (Mone's Anz. 5, 175).

On a hill near Langensteinbach in the forest is the long-ruined church of St. Barbara, where the *white woman* walks by buried treasures. One leap-year in the spring a young girl went into it, and saw her step out of the choir, she cried sh! and beckoned the girl to her: her face and hands were white as snow, her raven hair was thrown back, in the hand she beckoned with she held a *bunch of blue flowers*, on the other were ever so many *gold rings*, she wore a *white gown, green shoes*, and a *bunch of keys* at her side. The terrified girl ran out of the church, and fetched in her father and brother who were at work outside, but they could not see the *white woman* till they asked the girl, who pointed and said 'there!' Then the woman turned, her hair hung over her back to the ground, she went toward the choir, and then vanished (Mone's Anz. 5, 321).

Into the convent garden of Georgenthal a maid was going about the *hour of noon* to cut grass; suddenly, high on the wall there stood a *little woman as white as lawn*, who beckoned till the clock struck twelve, then disappeared. The grass-girl sees on her way a fine cloth covered with *flax-pods*, and wondering she pockets two of them. When she gets home, they are two bright ducats (Bechst. Thür. sag. 2, 68).

About the underground well near Atterode many have seen in the moonlight the *white maiden* dry either *washing or wheat* (ib. 4, 166).

At the deserted castle of Frankenstein near Klosterallendorf, a *maiden clothed in white* appears every seven years, sitting over the vault and beckoning. Once when a man wished to follow her, but stood irresolute at the entrance, she turned and gave him a handful of *cherries*. He said 'thank you,' and put them in his pouch; suddenly there came a crash, cellar and maiden had dis-

appeared, and the bewildered peasant, on examining the cherries at home, found them changed into gold and silver pieces (ib. 4, 144).

A fisherman in the neighbourhood of the Highwayman's hill near Feeben was throwing out his nets, when he suddenly saw the *white woman* stand on the bank before him with a *bunch of keys*. She said, 'thy wife at home is just delivered of a boy, go fetch me the babe, that I may kiss him and be saved.' The fisherman drove home, and found everything as she had said, but he durst not take his child out at once, the clergyman advised him to have it christened first; after which, when he repaired to the hill, the *white woman* sat weeping and wailing, for it was one of the set conditions that her redemption should be wrought by an infant unbaptized. So ever and anon she still appears on the hill, and waits the deliverer's coming (Ad. Kuhn no. 67).

By Hennikendorf not far from Luckenwalde, two shepherds pastured their sheep. A woman *half white, half black*, shewed herself on the mountain, making signs to them. One of them tardily went up, and she offered him all the gold in the mountain, if he would come in and set her free. When this entreaty failed to move him, she said that if he did not release her, there would not be another born for a hundred years that could; but the shepherd did not get over his fear till the hour of deliverance was past, and the woman sank into the mountain, whence he could for a long time hear heartrending plaints and moans (ib. no. 99).

A peasant who kept watch on the bleaching-floor near the ruins of Chorin monastery, saw the *white woman* (known there as the *utgebersche*, housekeeper, from her carrying a large *bunch of keys*) step in suddenly, and was not a little frightened. Next morning he told the other men, one of whom asked him if he had noticed her feet. He said no: 'then' said the other, 'let's all go to-night and have a look.' At midnight they sat down in the floor, and watched: before long the *white woman* came slowly striding, they all looked at her feet, and observed that they were in *yellow* (some say, green) *slippers*. Then the other man called out, laughing, 'why, she has yellow slippers on!' She fled in haste, and was never seen again (ib. no. 199).

Beside the brook of the Bütow castle hill, a peasant was

ploughing, and often noticed a *maiden* draw water from it in a *golden bucket* and *wash* herself. At length he summoned up courage to ask her, and was told that she was a king's daughter, and had sunk with the mountain-castle into the ground; she could only be saved by one who, without halting or looking round, would carry her to the Wendish burial-ground at Bütow, and there throw her down with all his might. The ploughman ventured on the enterprise, and had safely got to the church-yard, but before he could fling her off his shoulders, something clutched his hair from behind, and he was so startled that he looked round and let his burden fall. The maiden flew up into the air, complaining 'that she must suffer more severely now, and wait another hundred years to be saved by a steadier hand.' Since then she has not as yet appeared again (Tettau and Temme no. 267).

The Piliberg is a castle that was banned. In the *evil hour* from 11 to 12 at noon a woman used to shew herself on it, *smoothing her hair in the sunshine*, and begging the shepherds to lay hold of her: no harm should come to whoever did so, only let him hold her tight and not say a word. A man of thirty, who was still employed as a cowboy, mustered up all his courage for once, and grasped the hand of the *castle-dame*; while he held, all sorts of jugglery were played upon him, dogs were just going to bite him, horses to run over him, still he held fast; but anguish forced from his breast the moan 'herr Gott, herr Jesus!' In a moment the dame was loose from his hand, sobbed out that she was lost for ever, and vanished (Reusch's Sagen des Samlands no. 8).

On the hill near Kleinteich a castle is said to have stood, which has long been swallowed up. The people say their forefathers still saw with their own eyes a king's daughter come up every day *between 11 and 12*, and *comb* her golden locks *over a golden trough* (ib. no. 12).

The Hünenberg by Eckritten was once a holy mount, whereon the Prussians sacrificed to their gods; there a *dame* shews herself now. A peasant, having heard a good deal about her, rode up the hill to see her. He did see her too, *combing her hair*, but turned tail directly, and was only prevailed on by her prayers to turn back again. She addressed him kindly, and gave

him what she had *combed out of her hair*. He felt so daunted that he thanked her, popped the present into his pocket, and rode off; but when he was out of her sight, he threw it away. He had better have kept it, for at home he found a few *grains of gold* still, which had stuck in the corners of his pocket (ib. no. 13).

I could fill sheets with this kind of stories: with all their similarity, they differ in details, and I had to pick out what was characteristic.¹ Then, as to locality, they occur not only in Alamannian, Franconian, Hessian or Thuringian districts, but I believe all over Germany, notably in Westphalia, L. Saxony, the Marks, and further East; no doubt also in Switzerland, Bavaria and Austria. Schmeller 1, 33 mentions the *Loferer jungfrau* of Salzburg country, and remarks that the story has spread far into Bavaria. And the people of Friesland, Drenthe and the Netherlands have just as much to tell of their *witten wijven* or *juffers* in hills and caverns (J. W. Wolf no. 212), though here they get mixed up with elvish personages. Thiele's *Danske folkesagn* 4, 33 cites a white woman, '*den hvide qvinde*' of Flensburg, who watching a treasure waits for deliverance; and 4, 96 a *gold-spinning dame* in black dress near Veilefjord in North Jutland. The Swed. *hvita qvinna* above, p. 955n., seems to be of another kind.

Sometimes the narrative becomes fuller and like a fairytale: e.g. that in Bechstein 4, 221 no. 39 of the couple who had set down their child of five years in the forest while they gathered wood, but could not find it again, and looked a long time, till the child came running up with flowers and berries which the *white maid* had given it out of her *garden*. The parents then set off to see this garden: it was all out in bloom, though the time of the year was cold; the *white maid* beckoned to them, but they were afraid. The child wished every day to go to her, wept and moped, sickened and died: it was forfeited to the sky-folk, the elves (conf. *Kinderlegenden* no. 3). Again, a man who puts up at a lonely huntingbox, hears at midnight a *scuffing of shoes*, the *white woman* comes to his bedside, bewails her woe, and craves

¹ See further D. Sag. nos. 11. 12. 316. Mone's Anz. 3, 149. 258-9. 4, 162. 7, 370. 476. 8, 313. Bechst. 1, 121-5. 2, 51. 93. 164. 3, 180-1-7. 4, 157-8. 187. 209. 221-4-9. Fränk. sag. 157. 285. Tettau and Temme 166. 189. Harrys 1, 19. 30. 2, 19. 23. Kuhn nos. 64. 119. 206.

deliverance, as Condwîrâmûrs did of Parzival (Mone's Anz. 6, 396—8; and Suppl.).

For the origin of these White Women we need not go to the Celtic *matrons* and *fays* (pp. 410-7) who are closely related to them; our own antiquity brings us to beings nearer still. Elfs and swan-wives appear in white shining garments; among goddesses may be named three in particular, of whom the 'white woman' and finally the 'nun' might be the outcome: *Holda*, who in the very same way combs and bathes in the midday sun, *Berhta*, white by her very name, who spins and weaves, *Ostara* (pp. 290. 780), to whom the people offered up may-lilies (p. 58). *Holda* and *Berhta* bestow trifling gifts, which turn into gold; the white women are fond of gold rings and wands (Mone 7, 476), heaps of gold lie on their laps (8, 185), they give away boxfuls of gold sand (5, 414). *Berhta* as the white ancestress appears when a death is at hand (p. 280); so does the white maid (Bechst. 4, 158). *Berhta's* misshapen foot (p. 280) lies at the root of the white maiden's goat-foot, her long nails (Mone 7, 476), her green or yellow slippers (p. 965); else why should these have seemed so strange? The woman half-white, half-black, resembles *Hel* (p. 312), unless one would trace them to the garb of a nun (Mone 3, 259). Even the white man's occasionally displacing the white dame (6, 69) is like *Berhtolt* by the side of *Berhta*. Allegoric females like those in chap. XXIX evidently have in their manner of appearing much in common with white women.

Now the pervading thought in all this of *being banned* and longing for *release* I take to be just this, that the pagan deities are represented as still beautiful, rich, powerful and benevolent, but as outcast and unblest, and only on the hardest terms can they be released from the doom pronounced upon them. The folk-tale still betrays a fellow feeling for the white woman's grief at the attempted deliverance being always interrupted and put off to some indefinitely distant date.

The traditional mode of expressing this is peculiar and assuredly ancient: He that shall some day speed in achieving the deed and upheaving the hoard (his predestined reward), must be rocked as a babe *in the cradle* made of the *wood of the tree* that now, but a feeble *twig*, *shoots* out of the wall of a tower: should the sapling wither or be cut away, the hope of release is put off till it sprout

anew and be grown a tree (D. sag. nos. 107, 223). Other conditions aggravate the difficulty: The cherry-stone, out of which the seedling is to sprout, must be carried into the chink of the wall by a little bird (Bechst. Franken 191); among the stones a *double* fir-tree must spring out of *one root*, and when it is 100 years old, two unmarried persons must hew it down on St. Wunibald's day, the stouter stem shall slide down the hill in a sledge on St. Dagobert's day, and out of its planks the deliverer's cradle be made (Mone's Anz. 3, 91); the walnut-tree is now but a finger high, whose planks are to form the cradle in which the future deliverer must lie (7, 365). Sometimes it is merely said, the tree is yet unplanted, the timber unhewn (6. 397. 7, 476. 8, 63). In Ad. Kuhn no. 94 the formula runs thus: A lime-tree shall be planted, that will throw out *two plantschen* (boughs) above, and out of their wood is a poie (buoy) to be made: the first child that therein lies is doomed to be brought from life to death by the sword, and then will salvation ensue. In all these tales the arrival of the future event is linked with the *germinating of a tree*, just as the World-fight was made to depend on the sprouting of the ash (p. 960), or on the dry tree breaking into leaf (pp. 955-7).

Another difficulty put in the way of deliverance is, that the maiden in some disgusting shape, as a *snake, dragon, toad or frog*, has to be *kissed three times* (D. sag. no. 13. Mone's Anz. 3, 89. 7, 476). Already in the poem of Lanzelot we have this kissing of the dragon's mouth, who after that turns into a fair lady (7881. 7907-90).

Now and then the apparition of the white dame basking in the sun, beaming and bathing, melts into the notion of a *water-holde* and *nixe* (p. 491), a Scand. *hafs-fru* (Afzelius 2, 150), spirits that likewise need redemption (p. 493). Twelve *white sea-maids* come and join in the dancing of men (Mone's Anz. 5, 93); add the Romance legend of Melusina. But such mer-women generally assume, wholly or in part, the shape of a fish or snake; and some white women have a *fish's tail*, a *snake's tail* imputed to them: a king's daughter was immured in the golden mount as a *snake*, and only once in three nights recovered her human form (Kinderd. no. 92); in the Oselberg by Dinkelsbühl dwells a *snake* with woman's head and a bunch of keys about the neck (D. sag. no. 221; and Suppl.).

With the notion of mountain-banishment is commonly associated that of an enchanted, yet recoverable *treasure*. Where the ancient hero or god sits in his mountain cavern, just as in the hero's grave or barrow, lies hidden a huge hoard; and the white woman, the snake woman, or simply snake and dragon, are they that guard it.

The Goth. *huzd*, OHG. *hort*, AS. *heord*, ON. *hodd*, seems to be letter for letter the Lat. *cust* in *custos*, *custodia*, and this from *curo* (for *cusō*), so that our *hûs* (what harbours, shelters) and the Lat. *curia* (house and court) will come under the same root; thus *huzd* already contained the notion of keeping watch and ward. From thesaurus, It. Sp. *tesoro*, Fr. *trésor*, was taken the OHG. *tresō*, *dresō*. The Goth. *skatts*, OHG. *scaz* meant simply *numus*, and has only gradually acquired the sense of our *schatz*, *thesaurus*, *gaza*; as late as the 13th cent. *schatz* had simply the meaning of money, wealth (Flore 7749. Troj. 2689. 3171. MS. 2, 146^a), not of depositing and guarding.

The generally diffused belief that treasures sleep in the bosom of the earth causes O. v. 4, 23, in speaking of the earthquake at the Saviour's resurrection, to say: 'sih scutita io gilicho thiu erda kraftlīcho, ioh sî sliumo thar irgab thaz *dresō* thar in iru lag,' gave up the treasure that in her lay.

The treasure being buried deep down, it follows, that whoever would gain possession of it, must *dig it up* (*heben*, *heave*). It is supposed that the treasure *moves* of itself, i.e. slowly but steadily strives to come to the surface, it is commonly said, at the rate of a cock's stride every year (D. sag. no. 212). We saw how the *thunderbolt*, Donar's priceless hammer, after plunging far into the ground, pushed its way up in seven years (p. 179). At an appointed time the treasure is up, and waiting to be released; if then the required condition fails, it is snatched away into the depths once more. Its nearing the surface is expressed by the phrase 'the treasure *blossoms*' (as *fortune blossoms*, p. 866), 'it *gets ripe*'; then 'it *fades*' (Simpl. 2, 191), has to sink again. This may refer to the *blowing of a flower* above or beside it. In MHG. they spoke of the treasure *coming forth*: 'wenne *kumt hervür* der hort, der mich sô rīche möhte machen?' MS. 1, 163. It ripens in most cases every seven years, in some only every hundred, and that especially under a full moon, or during the

Twelves. Another phrase is, 'the treasure *suns itself*': on the Fridays in March it is said to rise out of the ground to sun itself (Mone's Anz. 8, 313), and that spreading-out of the wheat and the flax-pods (p. 962-4) was this kind of sunning; the treasure heaves itself up in *cauldrons*, and then indicates its presence by a *clear blaze* shining on it, as fire flickers over a ghost's barrow (p. 915-6); a *blue flame* is seen upon it (Reusch no. 46); it has the appearance of *glowing embers*, of a *brewing-copper* full of *red gold* (nos. 7. 25-6); when a fire burns over it, they say 'the treasure *airs itself*.' Nevertheless many treasures do not move toward the surface at all, but have to be sought in the cavern itself.

Two requisites for raising the treasure are *silence* and *innocence*. Holy divine tasks endure no babble: thus, heilawâc must be drawn in silence (pp. 229. 586), in silence herbs of magic power be picked; cry out over a treasure, 'twill sink that moment out of sight (Superst. 214). The harmless hand of childhood is fit to lay hold of it, as it is to draw lots; poor village boys, shepherd lads, are they that find it (D. sag. 7. 157-8); he that is stained with vice can never come near it (ib. 13).

Whoever spies the treasure should hasten to throw something on it, both as taking possession, and to ward off danger. It is recommended to throw quickly over the treasure either *bread*, or a piece of *clothing worn* next the skin, or a three-halfpenny piece (Superst. I, 218. 224. 612). See the passages on fire, quoted p. 602-3.

But the hoard is *indicated* and *guarded*. Indicated by the re-appearance of those vanished heroes and white dames; indicated and watched by dogs, snakes, dragons. Also the flickering flame (waver-lowe, p. 602) or the flower in bloom bewrays it, and swarming beetles (p. 694) are a sign of it (see Suppl.).

To get into the mountain in which it is concealed, one usually needs a plant or root to clear the way, to burst the door.

The folktales simply call it a beautiful *wonderflower*, which the favoured person finds and sticks in his hat: all at once entrance and exit stand open for him to the treasure of the mountain. If inside the cavern he has filled his pockets, and bewildered at the sight of the valuables, has laid aside his hat, a warning

voice¹ rings in his ear as he departs: '*forget not the best!*' but it is then too late, *the iron door shuts with a bang, hard upon his heel*, in a twinkling all has disappeared, and the road is never to be found again. The same formula comes up regularly every time in the legends of the Odenberg, of the Weser mountains and the Harz, and in many more (D. sag. nos. 9. 303. 314. Bechst. 1, 146. 3, 16. 4, 210-1. Dieffenbach's Wetterau pp. 284-5. 190); it must be very old.² The flower is commonly said to be *blue*, the colour most proper to gods and spirits, yet also I find '*purple flower*' and '*white flower*' mentioned. Sometimes it is called *schlüsselblume* (key-flower), because it locks the vault, and as symbol of the key-wearing white woman, whom the *bunch of keys* befits as old mistress and housekeeper, and who has likewise power to unlock the treasure; also *luck-flower* (Bechst. 3, 212), but most frequently *wunderblume*. When *three wonderflowers* are named, it seems to mean three on *one* stalk (ib. 1, 146. 4, 209). The sudden violent springing-to of the door is remarkably like the Edda's '*hrynja honom þá á hæl þeygi hlunnblick hallar,*' Sæm. 226*; '*þegar laukst hurðin á hæla hönum,*' Sn. 2; '*eigi fellr honum þá hurð á hæla,*' Fornald. sög. 1, 204; and twice of the slamming of hell's door (p. 315). A shepherd boy has the *heel of his shoe* carried away (D. sag. 157), as another who hastens away has his *heel cut off* (Kinderm. 3, 75). When a shepherd mistook the order, the vault broke down, the door closed behind him with a crash, but caught him by the *heel of one foot* and smashed it, he was long a sufferer, and spent the money he had brought away on the cure of his foot (Bechst. 4, 211); or, he rushes out, the door slams behind him, and both his *heels are cut away* (Harrys 2, 14). I set some value on the recurrence of these formulas, and should like to trace them in MHG. poems. A 13th cent. phrase, '*die berge sint nú nâch mir zuo*' (mountains closed behind me now), MS. 2, 145^b, seems to mean that former chances are now forfeited.

¹ As if that of the flower itself. Several flowers, esp. the germander (speed-well) and myosotis, are popul. called *forget-me-not*, clearly with reference to their miraculous power. The sentimental explanation arose later.

² Other formulas: '*je mehr du zerstreust, je mehr du bereust!*' or, '*je mehr du verzetttest, je minder du hettest!*' esp. when the gold given or gathered has the appearance of foliage or charcoal. In the cavern, where gold lies on the table, the three old men sitting by it cry to the astonished visitor: '*greif einen grif, streich einen strich, und packe dich!*'

Instead of wonderflower or keyflower, other stories name the *springwurzel* (explosive root), a herb that can be procured in the following manner: The nest of a *green* or *black woodpecker*, while she has chicks, is closed tight with a wooden bung; the bird, on becoming aware of this, flies away, knowing where to find a wonderful root which men would seek in vain. She comes carrying it in her bill, and holds it before the bung, which immediately flies out, as if driven by a powerful blow. Now if you are in hiding, and raise a great clamour on the woodpecker's arrival, she is frightened, and lets the root fall. Some spread a white or red cloth under the nest, and then she will drop the root on that, after using it. Mone's Anz. 8, 614 gives a pretty old passage out of Conrad von Megenberg: 'Ain vogel haist ze latin *merops*, und haist ze tütsch *bömheckel* (tree-hacker), und nist in den holen bömen, und wenn man im sinü kint verslecht (nails up) mit ainem zwickel, so bringt er ain krut (herb) und hält das für den zwickel, so vert (starts) der zwickel her dan. Das krut haist 'herba meropis,' daz spricht *bömheckelkrut*, und haist in der zöberbuch 'chora,' und wer nit guet daz man es gemainklich erkant, wan es gänt sloss gegen im uff (not good to be generally known, for locks fly open before it), damit smidet nieman, wan der gevangen lyt uf den lip.' The pecker was esteemed a sacred and divine bird (p. 673); even Pliny 10, 18 reports the myth: 'Adactos cavernis eorum a pastore cuneos, admota quadam ab his herba, elabi creditur vulgo. Trebius auctor est, clavum cuneumve adactum quanta libeat vi arbori, in qua nidum habeat, statim exsilire cum crepitu arboris, cum insederit clavo aut cuneo.'¹ That the woodpecker specially is acquainted with the magic virtues of herbs, appears from other tales: he guards them, and flies at the eyes of the man that would pull them up. Thus Pliny says 25, 4, 10 of the pæony: 'praecipiant eruere noctu, quoniam si *picus martius* videat, tuendo

¹ Conf. Aelian De nat. an. 3, 25, on the hoopoe. Rabbinic legend mentions the rock-splitting *shamir*, which Solomon procured in the following way [to get stone] for his buildings. He had search made for the nest of a *woodcock* (grouse?) with chicks in it, and had it covered over with white crystal. The *woodcock* came, and finding it could not get at its young fetched the *shamir*, and was placing it on the glass, when Solomon's messenger set up a loud cry that startled the bird and made it drop the *shamir*, and the man took it with him (Majer's Myth. wtb. 1, 121). The *Gesta Roman.* tells nearly the same story of the *ostrich* and his fetching the blaster worm *thumare* (Gräss's transl. 2, 227).

in oculos impetum faciat;’ and 27, 10, 60: ‘tradunt noctu effodiendas, quoniam *pico martio* impetum in oculos faciente, interdium periculosum sit.’ That root of explosive power is supposed to be the euphorbia lathyris, which the Italians call *sferracavallo*, because its power over metals is so great, that a horse stepping on it has to leave the shoe behind (see Suppl.).

But, beside these plants that make doors fly open, another very ancient means of discovering and obtaining the gold or treasure buried in the earth is the *wishing-rod*. Why should an OHG. gloss at once render ‘caduceus’ by *wunscili-gerta* (Gramm. 2, 540. Graff 4, 257), but that this term was thought to come nearest the sense of Mercury’s magic wand? The Latin name carried nothing on the face of it about wish or wishing (Notker in Cap. 16. 37 translates it *fluge-gerta*, *virga volatilis*). The notion then of a magic rod with a German name of its own was of very old standing, and that name moreover is one connected with the meaning I have more than once mentioned of the word ‘wunsch,’ which, like *sælde*, signified both the sum total of happiness and a personal being Wunsch or Sælde. The diminutive form of it in *wunscili-gerta* leads me to see in this compound no reference to a person, but to a thing: it is the *gerta* (yard, rod) by possessing which a man becomes partaker of all earthly bliss. The bestowal of that bliss proceeds from Wuotan the supreme (p. 419).

The 13th century poets also use the term. Conrad in his *Schmiede* 664 (614), comparing the Virgin to the rod of Moses: ‘dû bist diu *wünschel-gerte*, dar mit (wherewith) ûz einem steine wazzer wart geslagen;’ and 1306 (1261): ‘dû sælden (Sælden?) *wünschelgerte*;’ in his *Troj.* 19888, of Helena: ‘schœne als ein *wünschelgerte* kam sie geslichen (gliding) ûfreht,’ as Danish folk-songs use *lilje-vaand* (lily-stalk) in a like sense.; *Troj.* 2215: ‘alles heiles ein *wünschel-rîs* (-spray).’ Gotfried in a minnesong 2, 9: ‘der gnâde ein *wünschel-ruote* (-rod).’ Nithart in *Rosenkr.* 3: ‘gespalten nâch der *wünschelruote* stam,’ cleft like the w.’s stem. Albr. Titur. has more than once *wünschelgerte*, *wünschelruote* 4146, and ‘wünschel-sâme des varmen’ 4221, because *varm*, our *farn* (the fern, filix), is a healing plant. But the weightiest passage is that in *Nib.* 1064 (even if the stanza be an interpolation), just where the hoard of the Nibelungs is described:

Der *wunsch* lac (lay) dar under, von golde ein *rüetelîn*,
 der (whoso) daz het erkunnet, der möhte meister sîn
 wol in al der werlte über islîchen (every) man.

Among the gold and gems of the hoard lay a rod, whose miraculous virtue (*wunsch*) included every good, every joy; and he that knows *its* worth (I put only a comma after *rüetelîn*, and make 'daz' refer to it, not to the whole sentence) has power given him over all men; the wishing-rod not only made treasures come, it intensified and continually increased their value.

Here the wishing-rod is called *golden*. It was commonly picked off a *hazel-bush*; according to Vintler it is 'that year's shoot (summer-late) of a wild hazel-tree.' To have it, one must cut by right-hand moonlight (crescent moon) a bough with a *zwisele*, *zwispele* (*furca*), and *twist it three times* round itself.¹ Others demand a white shoot of *hazel* or *holy-thorn*, one that has a twiele or fork, has shot up in one year, and has not a speck of old wood in it; it must stand so that the sun from east and west shines through the fork, else it is no good. He that would gather it walks in silence to the shoot, between 3 and 4 in the morning of a Sunday in full moon, turns his face to the east, bows three times to the shoot, and says: 'God bless thee, noble spray and summer's bough!' Then follow seven spells, given in the Meckl. jb. 5, 110—7. That simile of Conrad's makes us imagine a single *slender* rod. Several sorts were distinguished, at least in later times: fire-rod, burn-rod, burst-rod, strike-rod, quake-rod. The hazel was not used for all, some were made of brass wire, and perhaps of gold. In Lower Germany they say *wickerode*, from *wicken*, to play the witch, tell fortunes. It is all-important to hold the rod correctly in the hand (grasping the two tips, so that the stem out of which they spring shall look upwards); it will answer then, the stem will turn toward the objects it has to point out, and if there are none at hand, it will keep still. Some say that one point of the fork is held up firmly in each hand, and if nevertheless one of them bends with irresistible force to the ground, a bed of ore is not far off. There were also spells to be spoken during the process: '*Rod, rod*, I ask of

¹ Ettner's Unwürd. doctor pp. 3—8. Conf. the forked fir and lime (p. 969), and the three flowers on one stalk (p. 972); a twig with nine tips (Superst. I, 950), a lime bough with nine branches (Rhesa dainos 30).

thee, where may the best treasure lie?' By means of the wishing-rod men thought they could discover hidden treasures, veins of ore, springs of water (hence in Switzerland they call it spring-taster, Tobler 80^a), nay, even murderers and thieves.¹

In Anshelm's Bern. chron. 2, 8, I find the name *glücks-stäblin*, as we had a flower of luck above. The French name is *baguette divinatoire*: acc. to the Mém. de l'acad. Celtique 4, 267 'de coudrier, fourchue d'un côté.'

Does the ON. *gambanteinn*, Sæm. 77^b, 85^b contain a similar notion? Teinn is ramus, virga (Goth. táins, OHG. zein, AS. tân, OS. tēn),² gamban resists all interpretation hitherto. In the last-named passage *gambanteinn* is gathered in the forest:

Til holtz ec gêcc (I went) oc til hrâs viðar
gambantein at geta. *gambantein* ec gat.

Another passage Sæm. 60^b deals with a 'gamban-sumbl umgeta,' which might very well mean a wishing-banquet of the gods. I would adopt the variant 'gaman-sumbl,' and explain gaman as bliss, just as wunsc seems to belong to wunna. Yet in AS. we find *gomban* gyldan, Beow. 21, a distinct word from gomen (gaudium). Again 'tams vendi ec þic drêp,' with wand of taming I thee smote, Sæm. 84^b, is worth weighing: tams vöndr is undoubtedly a rod of magic influence.

A story in full detail of a *wishing-staff* that St. Columban gave away to a poor man, and which he smashed at the bidding of his wife, may be found in Adamanni Scoti vita S. Columbae cap. 24 (Canisii Lect. antiq., tom. 5).

And now our surest guide to the original meaning of the wishing-rod is the *κηρύκειον* of Hermes (the *cādūcēus* of Mercury): a staff with two snakes twining round it. But these snakes appear to have been first formed by the boughs of the olive, so that the older *ράβδος* (Od. 24, 2) probably had the forked figure of our wishing-rod ['three times twisted,' p. 975]. The Hymn to Merc. 527 calls it *ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου ράβδον, χρυσεῖην, τριπέτηλον* golden (as in the Nib. Lay), three-leaved, bringing *luck* and

¹ Literary history of the wishing-rod in the New Lit. Anz. 1807, pp. 345—477; conf. Braunsch. Anz. 1752, p. 1625; Goth. taschenb. 1809, pp. 1—19. The assertion that it has only come into use in Germany since the 11th cent. seems false.

² It might also mean *sagitta*, which recalls Martin von Amberg's 'nach schatze mit *pfilen* suochen.'

wealth. Now, seeing that Mercury wears the winged petasus too, as Wuotan was recognisable by his pilei umbraculum, that in this again there dwells the idea of a *wishing-hat* (p. 869), and that the bliss-bestowing *wishing-rod* must be referred to a personal *Wish*, consequently to Wuotan; I think, in the concurrence of all these resemblances there lies an incontrovertible proof of the primitive unborrowed identity of *Wuotan* with *Mercury*. Rudolf in his *Barl.* 274, 25 may very well have meant 'des *Wunsches bluome*,' as the numerous examples from his *Gerhart* (p. 140) shew how familiar this personification was to him. So in *Tit.* 5161-9: 'gezwiēt vil der *wünschelrîse*' and '*wünschel-berndez rîs*' (see *Suppl.*).

The mythical aspect of *mountain-primed* treasures, as of *mountain-primed* heroes and gods, has led us to Wuotan the supreme maker and giver of all things, 'to whom are known all hidden treasures,' *Yngl. saga*, cap. 7.

Some other things, beside flowers, herbs and rods, are helpful to the lifting of treasure. Thus a *black he-goat that has not a light hair on him* is to be sought out and tied to the spot where money lies hidden, like a sacrifice to the spirit who guards it (*Mone's Anz.* 6, 305). Some prescribe a *black fowl* without even the smallest white feather, else the devil breaks the lifter's neck for him (*Bechst.* 4, 207). Enchanted money has had the curse pronounced on it, that he alone shall find it who *ploughs it out with a pair of black cocks*; one man carved himself a tiny plough for the purpose, and accomplished the lifting, *Reusch's Samland* p. 29 (see *Suppl.*).

But on the hoard lie *dogs, snakes, dragons* to guard it, *DS.* no. 13. 159. *Schm.* 2, 209.

In *Annales Corbej.* ad an. 1048 (*Paullini* p. 386): '*Aiunt in Brunsberg magnum thesaurum absconditum esse, quem niger canis custodit cum oculis igneis;*' and in the *Carmen de Brunsbergo* (*Paullini* p. 599):

Horrendus canis est tenebrosum vinctus ad antrum,
thesauri custos, qui latet imus ibi;
igneus est visus, color atque nigerrimus illi,
os patulum, et cunctis halitus usque gravis.

Under the pear-tree men saw burning coals, and at night a

black poodle lying (Mone's Anz. 7, 227). On one chest in the vault lay a *toad*, on the other a *white dog*: when the peasant's wife struck about with a rod she had got from the white woman, the dog turned black as coal, at which the woman was so frightened she broke silence, and the deliverance came to nothing (ib. 5, 320).

No beast has more to do with gold and treasures than the *snake*, which coils itself down on the gold-heap (p. 689), shakes off sparkles (p. 690-1), wears gold crowns (p. 686). We saw the white woman herself appear half or wholly in serpent shape. By the water outside the gold cavern a huge hissing snake keeps watch: hit him boldly on the head, he will arch himself into a bridge over the water for you, and you may step over it with a stout heart, and bring away as much golden earth as you will (Bechst. 4, 174). *Fani-gold* seems to be gold that has lain in fens with the snakes and dragons (p. 531).

Our earliest antiquity has famous legends of *snakes* and *dragons* on the gold (p. 689-90). It is worth noting, that men were fond of giving the shape of the snake to costly golden ware in the way of ornaments and weapons. A heap of gold glittered in the sun, and a *black worm* lay coiled around it, yet so that he did not reach quite round, and a span's breadth was left open: at this spot the labouring man who had spied the hoard stepped in and gathered gold. When he had crammed his pockets full and even the smock he had pulled off, it came into his head to call up a companion and bid her load herself with the rest of the treasure; but his voice was drowned in the terrible roar that suddenly arose: 'out with the coin, out with the coin!' was the cry, and the terrified man flung all the money away, and began to flee; in a moment worm and treasure sank into the mountain, and the earth closed up again, the uproar was over and the sun shone sweetly; only a few coins remained, which when thrown away had fallen outside the serpent ring (Reusch's Samland no. 3).

The great hoard on which *Fáfnir* lay was made up of gold that the gods had been obliged to hand over for the covering and cramming of Otter, but which Loki had previously taken from the dwarf Andvari. Sigurðr, having got it into his power after slaying the dragon, conveyed it all safely away *on Grani's back*, hence gold was named *byrðr Grana* (Granonis sarcina, OHG.

would be Kranin purdi), Sn. 139. It is remarkable that in a Swed. folksong (Arvidsson 2, 193) the maiden awaiting her betrothed says :

Vore det den ungersven (were he the swain) som jag skulle ha,
så förde han det guldets på gångarens bak !

According to our lay of the Hürnen (horny) Sifrit,¹ though the hero still wins the hoard by slaying the dragon of Drachenstein, and *loads it on his steed* (166, 4), the origin of the gold is related differently. It is the *Nibelinges hort*, and Nibling king of dwarfs leaves it to his three sons (13, 4. 14, 3. 134, 3. 168, 2), two of whom, when their mountain began to move (in an earthquake?) and threatened to fall in, carried it away without telling their brother Eugel,² and hid it in a cave under the 'dragon-stone,' where Siegfried afterwards found it (133, 4. 134, 3. 135, 1). A *dragon* that always after five years and a day takes human shape for one day³ at Easter, had charge of the treasure and of a beautiful princess, a white woman, whom Siegfried set free together with the treasure.

Some things are left obscure in this account, which are cleared up in the epic of the Nibelungs itself. Siegfried acquires the *hort Nibluniges* not when he kills the lintrache (lithe-dragon), but when Schilbunc and Niblunc asked him to *divide the treasure*, a thing they could not manage themselves; and neither could he (94, 5). The hoard is carried 'uz eime holn berge;' apparently it belonged to dwarfs, so that Schilbunc and Niblunc were of the elf kindred. Thus in both lays the hoard originates with dwarfs, and in the Edda with dwarf Andvari; as elvish beings they are by nature collectors and keepers of subterranean treasure, haunting the *mountains* as they do (pp. 448. 452), and they *delude* (pp. 464. 915) like spectres. Then the wishing-hat is brought to mind by the cover-capes and mist-mantles of dwarfs (p. 915); the dwarf race, like the dragons,⁴ cherishes and guards treasures,

¹ The Seifriedsburg in the Rhön mts (Weisth. 3, 535) is another place about which the hero-legend is told among the common people (Mone's Anz. 4, 410, and thence Bechst. Franken 144).

² Eugel's prophecy and his conversation with Siegfried (159—164) leave no doubt of his identity with Gripir in the Edda, but in point of name with Gripi's father Eylimi. This Eylimi (insulæ, prati ramus, almost a Laufey reversed p. 246) contains ey = OHG. ouwa, augia, which must be in Eugel too.

³ Ein tac in der helle hät leng ein ganzes jâr 28, 2.

⁴ Mountain-sprites guarding treasure are found in the Schenkofen cavern, in the Reichenspitz, in the Ziller valley. Muchar's Gastein p. 145.

and as Dame Holda travels with the Furious Host and sits locked up in the mountain, she too is connected with the elves (p. 452). Entrance into the caves of dwarfs is found as into enchanted mountains, and men are carried off to spend some time in the society of elvish sprites (p. 494), as they do in Dame Venus' mount (p. 935).

That Nibelung and Schilbung wished to have their father's property divided, is asserted also in Bit. 80^a; that they *could not divide the treasure*, is a highly mythic feature, which I shall illustrate further on, when I come to treat of Wishing-gear.

As a union with goddesses, wise-women, white-women, results in danger to heroes, so does their winning of the hoard turn to their misfortune. He that has lifted the treasure must die soon (Mone's Anz. 7, 51-3). Because Andvari laid a curse upon the ring that Loki extorted from him, the same ring brought destruction upon Hreiðmar and his sons, who insisted on having it, and upon Sigurð and Brynhild, whose betrothal was accomplished by it (Sn. 140).

An ON. name for gold is 'orms beðr' or 'Fâfnis bæli,' worm's bed, *dragon's couch*, who lies brooding on it, so to speak. Bûi turns into a worm, and lies on his gold-chests, Fornm. sög. 11, 158. *draco thesauri custos*, Saxo Gram. 101. 'incubas gazae ut magnus *draco*, custos Scythici luci,' Martial 12, 53; miser and dragon have little joy of their wealth.

Dragons guarding treasure were also known to the Orientals and Greeks. The hundred-headed sleepless one guarded the golden apples of the Hesperian grove (Scythici luci), Photius, Bekk. 150, 6. 16. The ancients were equally familiar with the notion of *griffins* watching over gold: '*grífen golt*,' Parz. 71, 17 seq.

Sometimes, on the spot where treasures sparkle, a *calf* is said to lie (Reusch no. 47), not in my opinion as keeper, but as part, of the treasure. For treasure-diggers profess to look for the golden calf, and for the golden hen and twelve chickens,¹ by which plainly something mythical is meant (see Suppl.).

A statement in the Renner 5100 deserves attention, that all buried, i.e. unlifted unredeemed treasures will one day be *Anti-*

¹ Pluquet's Contes populaires de Bayeux. Rouen 1834 p. 21.

christ's, whose coming we have already seen mixing itself up in many ways with the fable of the Furious Host and mountain-prisoned heroes.

The legends largely run over into each other: what is told of the doings of elves and dwarfs in mountain-clefts is also related of noisy sprites haunting deserted houses (p. 514). In one *enchanted castle* a maiden with her treasures waits deliverance (Kinderm. no. 4), another is possessed with devils (ib. no. 81). And here again comes up the feature, that the spirit unblest carries his head under his arm (ib. 3, 15) like the leader of the Furious Host, and that he gets *his beard shaved* by the stranger who is to take off the ban (ib. 3, 9. Mone's Anz. 7, 365. Baader's Bad. sagen no. 275); conf. the well-known fairytale in Musæus, and Simpliciss. 1713. 1, 617, who also knows the legend of the waste castle and the beard-shaving (see Suppl.). The old fable of the water-bear lodges *schrats* (night-hags) in the forsaken house, and Beowulf rids the royal hall of Grendel's nightly visits. A house like this, in which all is not right, seems to be called in MHG. *wunder-burc*: 'ich sunge ouch wie der (trache?) lît, der manigen in der *wunderburc* verslunden hât dur sînen gît,' MS. 2, 177^a.

Similar to removal into mountains or banishment into the ground, and proceeding from like causes, there is also a *sinking into the waters*. What the elves get hold of in one case, nixes and sea-sprites do in the other. Holla dwells not only in the hollow mountain, but in the fountain and the lake.

Accordingly, to spirits of heroes and to treasures we shall see a residence assigned in water as well as in a mountain. King Charles sits in the *fountain* at Nürnberg, with his beard grown into the table (Deut. sag. no. 22).¹ The Nibelungs' hoard lies *sunk in the Rhine*: 'Rîn skal râða rôgmálmi, î veltanda vatni lÿsaz valbaugar,' Sæm. 248^a. In the Siegfried's Lay 167, 4 the hero himself spills it into the stream, that it may not work the ruin of his Recken, as Eugel has foretold; the Epic however makes Hagen destroy it, and not till after Siegfried's murder 1077, 3:

er sancte in dâ ze Lôche allen in den Rîn;

¹ Conf. Ettner's Unwûrd. doctor 1720-1.

this he did secretly, without the knowledge of Chriemhilde, who to the last supposes it to be in his hands, till he answers 2308, 3:

den schatz weiz nu nieman wan (but) Got unde mîn.

No doubt there were other legends which placed it in mountains: the account given by a woman living in Nerike was, that it lay inside the *Kilsberg* there, and the key to the cavern was kept under a rosebush (Iduna 10, 269). The Ms. 2, 169^b has: der *Imelunge hort* lît in dem *Burlenberge* in bî (by them, i.e. the Rhine-folk); but the MsH. 2, 241^a reads 'der *Nibelunge hort*' and 'in dem *Lurlenberge*.' Imelunge may be corrupt for Nibelunge, as Imelôt for Nibelôt (p. 385n.), and Lurlenberg shall have its due, if such be the reading, though I had taken Burlenberg for Burglenberg, Bürglenberg, OHG. Burgilûnberc on the Rhine near Breisach (Dumbeck p. 339), where the Harlungs, perhaps Amelungs, dwelt with their treasure (Heldens. p. 186—8). One of the Venus-hills in the Breisgau and Eckart may also have to do with it. But the *Harlunge golt* (Dietr. 7835) enters into Gothic Amelung legends, and there might be an 'Amelunge hort' like the famous '*Ermenrîches hort*' of which so much is told. Again, the Vilk. saga cap. 381 makes Etzel the avaricious first get at Siegfried's gold which is locked in a mountain, and then significantly die of hunger, so that the Niflûnga skattr drags him also to destruction; while Danish lays have it, that Gremild, immured in the mountain, pines to death in presence of Nöglings (i.e. Nibelung's) pelf (Heldens. p. 306). So many conflicting yet connected accounts may justify us in conceding even to that far older *aurum Tolosanum*, which the Tectosages *sunk in the lake of Tolosa*, some influence on old Gothic legend.¹

Stories of *submerged castles* are found in abundance. When the waters are at rest, you may still descry projecting pinnacles of towers, and catch the chiming of their bells. Scarcely can enchanted men be dwelling there; all life is grown dumb beneath the waves. Three legendary features I will single out. The approaching doom is commonly announced by *talking beasts*: the enormity of the crime whose punishment impends has lent them speech, or some magic has opened to man the meaning of their

¹ Justinus 32, 3; conf. Duncker's *Origines Germanicæ*, p. 31.

tones. The serving-man tastes a piece off a silver-white snake, and immediately knows what the fowls, ducks, geese, doves and sparrows in the yard are saying of the speedy downfall of the castle (DS. no. 131). This is told of Isang's castle near Seeburg, a similar story of Tilsburg near Dahlum (p. 774), and no doubt in other neighbourhoods as well. Another thing we come across is, that a good man who is sick sends his son out to *observe the weather*, and is told first of a clear sky, next of a tiny cloudlet on the mountain's edge, and by degrees of a cloud as big as a hat, as a washtub, as a barn-door; then the old man has himself carried in all haste up a hill, for the judgments of God are now let loose on the Suggenthal, Sunkenenthal (Mone's Anz. 8, 535; conf. Schreiber's Tagb. for 1840, p. 271). That is a forcible description of the swift advance of an unforeseen calamity. The same legend presents us with yet a third feature full of meaning. When the water had wrecked and swamped all the houses in Suggenthal, there remained alive only that old man and his son, and one small infant. This child, a boy, *floated in his cradle* all through the flood, and with him was a cat. Whenever the cradle tilted to one side, the cat jumped to the other, and restored the equilibrium; in this way the cradle safely arrived below Buchholz, and there stuck fast in the *dold* or crown of a tall oak. When the water had subsided, and the tree was accessible again, it was fetched down, and child and cat were found alive and unhurt. As nobody knew who the boy's parents had been, they named him after the tree-top *Dold*, and the name is borne by his descendants to this day (Mone's Anz. 6, 69 and more completely 8, 535). The story perfectly tallies with that Welsh one quoted p. 580, where, in spite of all difference of detail, the main thing, the child's being saved in the cradle, is related just as it is here; which also seems to me to confirm the sense I ascribed to the ON. lúðr p. 559n. A pretty adjunct is the companionship of the auxiliary cat, who together with cock and dog was required by simple-minded antiquity to give evidence (RA. 588). From the name of this foundling *Dold* (OHG. Toldo, i.e. summit-born) I understand now what the common people mean by being born on an oak or walnut-tree (p. 572n.); how exactly the myths of Creation and Deluge fit in together, is past doubting (see Suppl.).

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DEVIL.

The notion of the Devil and of devilish spirits, which has by degrees acquired so wide a compass and struck such deep root even in the popular religion, was unknown to our heathenism.

It seems a general rule, that a Dualism dividing the Supreme Being into opposites, where it is not [already] based on the earliest profound thought of a system, (such as the Zendic), never gets established at a later period except by abstract philosophizings. To the sensuous mythologies lying in the great middle it is ill-adapted.

An all-pervading idealistic distinction between a good and an evil spirit, Ormuzd and Ahriman,¹ is known neither to the Indian and Greek theologies, nor to the Teutonic. Before the might of the *one* all-governing God the kakodæmon's power fades away. Then out of this unity there grow up trilogies (Brahma, Vishnu, Siva; Zeus, Poseidon, Pluto; Wuotan, Donar, Frô; Hâr, Iafnhâr, Thriði), dodecalogies, and the plenitude of pantheism. But it is to my mind a fundamental feature of polytheism, that the good and beneficent principle in the Divine preponderates; only some isolated deities, subordinate to the whole, incline to the evil or hurtful, like the Norse Loki, whose nature even then is more on a par with that of Hephæstus (Vulcan) than of the christian Devil. Goodness predominates even in elvish sprites: to the nix, the homesprite, nay the giant, it is but partially that cruelty and malice are attributed. In harmony with this is the mild way in which our antiquity pictures death and the underworld.

But for all that, amid the vast variety of character and colouring in these mythologies, the Dualistic antagonism need not altogether be silent: it does break out in individual features, without greatly affecting the whole. Under this head come, e.g.

¹ The genuine forms are Ahurômazdâo and Agrômainyus, but the former is often called Çrentômainyus, ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, in contrast to Agrômainyus the κακὸς δαίμων. Burnouf's Comm. sur le Yaçna pp. 90. 92.

the myths of Day and Night, of Elves light and dark (p. 444), of Summer and Winter.¹

The Jewish monotheism accorded to its Satan (שָׂטָן) only the subordinate part of a tempter and traducer, as is plainly shewn in the book of Job, and confirmed by the Greek term *διάβολος* which the LXX and New T. use alternately with *σατάν, σατανᾶς* (Arabic *shaitān*) or *δαιμόνιον* (usually for Hebr. *shéd שֵׁד*). After the Captivity the Jews were more familiar with the idea of Dualism, and in N.T. times their whole demonology had largely expanded; Beelzebub is spoken of as prince of all evil spirits, whom the O. T. knows merely as a heathen idol: so that, even as early as that, false gods come to mean demons or devils.

It pertains to the history of Christianity to explain how there came to be added the notion of Lucifer,² a rebel spirit of light who took up arms against God, and with his adherents (in Matth. 25, 41 the devil has already 'his angels') was banished into darkness. Luke 10, 18: *ἐθεώρουν τὸν σατανὰν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα*, as the lightning darts into the ground, whereas a falling star usually affords a pleasing image (p. 722). At the same time, this revolt of the Devil and his companions must be supposed to have had a higher antiquity. Thus arose the doctrine of a satanic empire in rivalry with the celestial, a doctrine that daily met with more acceptance: the evil spirits may be the weaker side and suffer defeat, but they go about enlisting wicked men, and seek thereby to replenish their host. Compacts are made with the Devil, and he aids his confederates even during their earthly life.

From another side, the conversion of the Heathen itself contributed to expand and diversify the prevailing conception of the Devil's agency. It has been remarked more than once, that the deserted heathen deities were declared vanquished and shorn of their strength, yet not downright powerless: their once kindly benignant sway had turned into a fierce fiendish one. Thus what the Christians believed about the Devil received at the

¹ The old faith of the Slavs set up a white and a black god: Bèlbogh and Chernibogh. But this dualism seems to me neither thoroughgoing nor primitive.

² It arose out of Isa. 44, 12: 'how art thou fallen from heaven, fair Morning-star!' But it appears first in Eusebius (Demonstr. evang. 4, 9), not in Tertullian, nor Irenæus nor Lactantius. Even Jerome and Augustine never call the devil Lucifer.

hands of the Heathen a twofold enlargement: heathen gods and spirits already malign and gloomy in themselves readily dropt into the christian category of devilish beings; with greater difficulty and more resistance from public opinion, was effected nevertheless the transmutation of the good gods of old into spectres and demons. In this process names for the most part got suppressed or disguised; myths and stories were not so easily to be abolished.

In not a few cases the Devil may be regarded as a *parody* or *aping* of the true God, as the left or wrong-side (taken mildly, the foil p. 515) of the Divine Being¹: he wants to have the same power, enjoy the same honour, and mimic God in everything; but his contrivances miscarry and come to nought. So the idea of a Devil's-mother might have arisen as counterpart to Mary the mother of God, though she had an earlier prototype in the giant's-mother (see Suppl.).

All these influences so diverse in kind have joined to produce such popular notions of the Devil's being and character, as have existed from the N. T. to our own times. The Devil is Jewish, Christian, Heathen, a false god, an elf, a giant, a spectre, all in one. By the addition of him, Christianity could not but receive, just as heathen Polytheism was expiring, a visible bent towards Dualism, which afterwards philosophy tried to resolve into a general principle of good and another of evil. When we compare the cheerful tone of Greek myths with the harshness and grimness imparted to the legends of our Mid. Ages by the intrusion of an all-too positive Devil, we see that the contrast comes out not so much in the original texture of the popular beliefs, which is everywhere the same or similar, as in the colour laid upon it; and therefore our inquiry is entitled to resolve a whole mass of devil-phenomena back into the milder forms of ancient spirits and gods.

Before I attempt to isolate so much of these traditions as is due to our Teutonic paganism, or at least that of our next neighbours, it is even more than usually necessary to make sure of the various names employed. *

¹ Gotfried of Viterbo 1, 23 propounds the query: 'Quare creavit Deus diabolum, cum sciret eum malum esse futurum? Respondeo, quia propter operis sui ornatum, sicut pictor nigrum colorem substernit, ut albus apparentior fiat, sic per praevaricationem malorum justii clariores fiunt.'

The word *teufel*, *devil*, is un-Teutonic, being simply *διάβολος* retained.¹ Ulphilas, following the Greek text, distinguishes *diabaülus*, *satana* and *unhulþó*, translating *δαιμόνιον* by the last, to which I shall have to come back. In OHG. *satanas* is kept unaltered, but the *diabolus* of the Vulgate is cut down to *tiubil*, *tieval*, or to *diuval* (T.), *diufal* (O. ii. 4, 101), neut. pl. *diufilir* (iii. 14, 53), which likewise renders the Lat. *daemonium* (Fragm. theot. ii. 14). By this extension of meaning and contraction of form, we see that the word was getting naturalized and gradually driving the others out of the field: MHG. *tievel*, *tiuvel*, *tivel*, our *teufel*; AS. *deofol*, Eng. *devil*; M. Nethl. *duvel*, now *duivel*; Icel. *djöfull*, Sw. *djefvul*, Dan. *djävel*. It spread through nearly all Europe: It. *diavolo*, Sp. *diablo*, Fr. *diable*, O.Fr. *deable*; Pol. *djabel*, Boh. *d'abel*, Russ. *diavol*, Serv. *diavo*; the Lettish and Finnish nations, the last to be converted, have alone forborne the appellation. And, as in the case of God (p. 15), there occur euphemisms: HG. *deichel*, *deixl*, *deigel*, *deiker*, *deuker*,² Swiss *dyggeli*, *tüggeli* (Stald. 1, 325); Nethl. *duker*; Swed. *djäkul*, *knäkul*, *knäfvæl* (Ihre's Prov. lex. 93^a), also Westph. *knüvel* for *düvel*; Fr. *diacre*, Pol. *djachel*, *djasek*, *djablko* and many more.³ Noticeable is N. ps. 90, 13: '*urtiefel*, chuninch anderro tiefelo,' diab. rex daemoniorum.⁴ *Satan* is used rarely in MHG., very often in modern German; in the Anegenge 218^b and in Stricker I find '*der satanât*,' the later MLG. Zeno often repeats *satanas*. O.Fr. *goufre de satenie*, *saternie*, Ren. 20224, 28429, the last form stretching out a hand to Saturn (p. 249, and Suppl.).

All other names for the Devil can be brought under three points of view, according as they are drawn from his Character, his Figure, or his place of Abode. And to these may be added Disguised forms of name.

I. From his intrinsic nature the Devil is called the *evil*, *hostile*,

¹ So is our *engel*, *angel* borrowed, both name and thing. Mone, who thinks '*teufel*' is unborrowed, and identifies both it and *diabolus* with Dionysus (Anz. 6, 354. 8, 449), will hardly boggle over the Germanness of '*engel*' either. It is true *διάβολος* (the slanderer), which the LXX does not yet have, might in the N. T. spring out of an Oriental word allied to Pers. div and Lat. *divus* (p. 161).

² And even '*der deutscher*,' as the Poles say *Niemiaszek* (= German) of the Devil, which may really go back to the Slav deity Nemisa?

³ *Zabulus*, *zabolon*, which Mid. Age dictionaries and glosses give for *diabolus*, and render '*contrarius*, *arena*,' is the same word, '*zabulones buoch*,' Ms. 2, 13_v.

⁴ Notker's interpretations of *diabolus*, '*niderris*, *niderfal*, chuning widerluzze,' turn upon the fall, the down-rush, of the devils, Gramm. 2, 763

unlovely (unholde), as antithesis to the good kind gracious God. The thought is often expressed in roundabout phrases or in adjectives, often enshrined in appropriate appellatives: 'der nie guot geriet,' who never counselled good, Dietr. 40^a; 'der ie tugende stôrte,' ever thwarted virtue, Kolocz. 254; like the Edda's 'sâ er flestu illu ræðr' of Loki, Sn. 46, or the epic periphrase in Reinh. xxxii. xxxvi to describe the fox and wolf as beasts of devilish nature. 'dich hât niht quotes ûz gelân,' 'twas nothing good (= the devil) that left us you, Dietr. 8347; as we still say 'I have looked for him like *nothing good*.' der *übele* tiuvel, Iw. 4676. Nib. 215, 4. 426, 4. 1892, 4. Ms. 1, 59^b der *übel* vîent, Gregor 2849. The *evil* foe, *evil* spirit, *evil* one; der *ubile* geist, Fundgr. 102, 34. 105, 2. der *böse* geist 105, 7. Nethl. de *booze* vyand. 'The *crooked* devils' in Kinderm. 1, 422 means the unrighteous, evil ones. A sermon in MHG. has 'der *ubile* búman der tivel,' Griefshaber 277. It is remarkable that in ON. we even come upon 'hinn *illi* Oðinn,' Fornm. sög. 5, 172. 10, 171. The O.Fr. poets often put *maufez*, *malfez*, *maufes* (pl. *maufé*, *malfé*) for devil; later *maufais*, *maufaiter*, which leaves no doubt as to the sense being *evildoer*, *evildoing*.¹ As early as 585 we have *adversarius boni operis* (Pertz 3, 3), It. *aversiera*,² O.Fr. *aversiers*, devil. OS. *the balowiso*, *malus*, *dirus*, Hel. 33, 2; conf. ON. *bölvís*, Sæm. 77^b.93^a (*bölvísar* konor 197^b are witches); Goth. *balvavêsei*, i.e. *balvaveisei* *κακία*, 1 Cor. 5, 8; but our *pilwiz* on p. 472 can hardly be connected. Then OS. *the lédo*, *invisus*, *dirus*, Hel. 33, 9, *léda* *wiht*, *maligni spiritus* 48, 14; M. Nethl. de *lede* *duvel*³; OHG. der *leidige* *tiefal*, Diut. 3, 59; AS. se *láða*. Again, OS. *the hatola*, *odiosus*, Hel. 110, 9; *hetteand* *herugrim* 142, 12, *cruel hater* and *persecutor*. AS. se *grimma gæst*, M. Nethl. *lede gast*, Rein. 2841. Of special importance here are names denoting a *hostile* being, resisting God

¹ Here belongs particularly the Slav. *biðs*, *bès* (devil), from which even OHG. *pösi*, O. Fris. *båse* seems to have come, being unknown to other Teut. tongues; and Slav. *zli*, *zly*, *zlo* (evil), Boh. *zley-duch* (evil spirit), Slovèn. *slódi* (*zlodi*, Glagolita xxxix), slo-*déy* (evil-doer), *slom*, *slomik*, to which again our *schlimm* (OGH. *slimb*, Graff 6, 793 obliquus) may be allied; Slovèn. *hudizh*, *hudir* (from *hud*, *malus*, Pol. *chudy*, *miser*), &c. &c. [Are not two roots confounded here: *zol*, *zlo*=bad, and *s-lom*, *iz-lóm*, *raz-lóm*=dis-ruptio, from *lomiti*, to break? And is *zlódi* conn. with Goth. *sleidja* fierce, *sleipjan* to hurt?]

² Muratori's *Antiq.* 2, 1090, and *la Versiera* in *Pulei* 5, 42. 21, 27 (Vocab. della *Crusca* sub v.), *arusaria* Biondelli 249.

³ Rein. 1280 *intsléts* *duvels* name = in des *lêts* (*leden*) *duvels*.

and persecuting men. The Latin Fathers favour the use of the term *antiquus hostis* (Greg. Magni opp., ed. Bened. Paris 1705. 1, 1019; his Moral. 31, 50 and Dial. 2, 30. Bonif. epist. 6, anni 723. Jonas Bobbiens. p. 5; Vita S. Romani 744^a. Capitulare in Georgisch 795, and many later records, e.g. one of 1121 in Kremer's Beitr. 3, no. 24). And this our OHG. authorities imitate: *alt-fiant* (Muspilli 49); *fiant entrisk* (Hymn 24, 9), but here we cannot help thinking of the AS. for giant, *ent* (p. 524), as giants in general are supposed to be *old*, stone-old (p. 529). AS. se *ealda deofol*, se *ealda*, Cædm. 267, 5. So 'then *altan satanâsan wilit er gifâhan* (he wants to catch)', O. i. 5, 52. der *satanâs altist*, Musp. 25. In MHG.: der *alte*, Geo. 3376-85; der *elteste* 3368. In N. Friesland to this day 'de *ual* (old) *düivel*,' Geizh. p. 112; in England '*old Nick, old Davy*;' in Denmark '*gammel Erich*' (Holberg's Uden hoved og hale, sc. 5), which it would be allowable to trace back even to the divine *Erik* of heathen times (p. 361); Norweg. *gammel Sjur* (Hallager 102^a); ON. *kölski*, both senex and diabolus. In the same way God is called the *old* (p. 21). Beside 'antiquus hostis' we also find *persequutor antiquus*, Vita S. Rom. 743, and *callidus hostis*, Jon. Bobb. p. 5. *hostis generis humani* (fiant mannaskînes chunnes), Hymn 24, 3. A simple *hostis* I find but rarely used, and the Goth. *fjands* is never anything but *ἐχθρός*: in OHG., *fiant* by itself can be devil; so AS. *feond* (of Grendel), Beow. 202. 1444-89; MHG. *viënt*, En. 2525; M. Nethl. *viânt*, Huyd. op St. 3, 38; O. Fr. *ennemi*; OS. *craftag fîund*, Hel. 142, 12, *unhiuri fîund* 32, 1. 164, 14; MHG. der *leidige viënt*, Fundgr. 66, 4. der *bæse viënt*, Geo. 345, like our *böse feind* [while Engl. *fiend* is nothing but devil]. *gêrfîund*, Hel. 32, 2 seems to be a strengthened form (ger = jaculum, hasta). Out of the ON. *fîandi*, taken in the sense of devil, arose the Dan. *fanden*, Sw. *fanen*, *fan*¹; but in ON. itself *andskoti* was both *hostis* and *diabolus*. A word whose meaning approaches that of *hostis* is the OHG. *scado* (homo nocivus, latro), which in earlier times was also applied in a good sense to heroes (p. 342). AS. *sceaða*, OS. *skatho*, not standing alone, but in such compounds as AS. *hellsceaða*, Cædm. 56, 24. Thorpe's Anal. 126, 28, *leodsceaða*, Cædm. 56, 24, *peodsceaða*,

¹ Conf. p. 916 *dôlgr* for spectre, devilish spirit.

Beow. 4550, *uhtsceaða* 4536, *mánsceaða* 1417-68, and OS. *ménscado*, Hel. 32, 1. 33, 15. 142, 15, *wamscado* 31, 17. 164, 4, *liudscado* 32, 14. *thiodscado* 33, 1, it designates the Devil. Now this hostile, hating, harmful being the Goths named the 'unhold,' ungracious one, by which Ulphilas translates, not as a rule *διάβολος*, but *δαιμόνιον*, yet with a vacillation of gender that claims attention. A masc. *unhulþa* stands for *δαιμόνιον*, *δαίμων* in Luke 4, 35. 8, 29. 9, 42; for *σατανᾶς* in 1 Cor. 5, 5; for *διάβολος* in Eph. 4, 27. and prob. ought to be so in Matt. 9, 33. A fem. *unhulþó* occurs, always for *δαιμόνιον*, in Mk. 7, 26-9. 30. Lu. 4, 33. 7, 33. John 7, 20. 8, 48-9. 52. 10, 20-1. The plur. *δαιμόνια* is only once rendered by masc. *unhulþans*, Lu. 8, 33, and everywhere else by fem. *unhulþóns*, Mat. 7, 22. 9, 34. Mk. 1, 32-4-9. 3, 15. 5, 12. 6, 13. 9, 38. 16, 9. Lu. 4, 41. 8, 27. 30-5-8. 9, 1. 49. The inference is, that the notion of female demons was the favourite one with the Goths, and very likely with other Germans, for in Hymn. 24, 3 the word for diabolus is the OHG. fem. *unholdá*.¹ If as heathens they had worshipped a goddess Holdá, how natural, in contrast with her mildness, to regard a malignant being as a female unholdá! Thus Ulphilas's preference for the term goes far to prove a Gothic worship of Hulþó; and the translation of Diana by *Holdá* and *unholdá* (p. 267) is worth noting.—Again, the notion of malice and ill-will carries with it that of fierceness and wrath: so the Devil is in AS. 'se *wráða*,' Cædm. 39, 24, in OS. 'the *wrêtha*,' Hel. 106, 3. 164, 4; AS. 'se *rêða*' (*trux*, *saevus*), Cædm. 271, 12, the OS. would be 'the *ruodho*'; AS. 'se *grama*,' OS. 'the *gramo*,' Hel. 32, 16; also prob. AS. 'se *módega*,' OS. 'the *muodago*,' conf. 'muodaga wihti' for evil spirits in Hel. 120, 9; and all four of these epithets denote the wrathful, furious.² It should not be overlooked, first, that they are found only in Saxon poets, never in OHG. writers; secondly, that they express, especially in the plural, more the idea of demonic spirits than of the Devil: 'þá *graman gydena*,' Bth. 35, 6 (*dira numina*) are the *Parcae*: *gromra* (*gramra*), Cod. Exon. 49, 5 = *diabolorum*; *gramóno hêm* (*daemonum habitatio*) in Hel.

¹ O. Slav. *nepriyèzn'* (fem.) the ungracious = diabolus; even *Sotoná* himself occurs as a fem.

² Our MHG. poets never give their *Tiuvel* the epithets 'grimm, grimmig,' these they reserve for Death (p. 849). But in AS. I find *Grendel* called 'se *grimma gâst*,' Beow. 204.

103, 10 stands for hell. Of Judas at the Last Supper receiving the sop and taking it into his mouth, the Hel. 141, 11 says; 'sô afgaf ina thô thiú Godes craft, *gramon* in-gewitun an thene licha-mon, *léda wihti*,' so forsook him then the strength of God, demons and devils lodged themselves in his body; ¹ '*gramon* habdun thes mannes hugi undergripan,' demons had got the mastery over his mind 157, 19; '*gramo*(no) barn, *fíundo* barn' are the devils' household 161, 23. 157, 18; '*gramóno*' or '*wrêtharo* willio,' devils' will and pleasure 106, 3; '*módag* wihti' are *unholdá* 120, 8, conf. *módag* 157, 18.

This application of *gram*, *wrêth*, *muodag* to daemons is, to my mind, a relic of heathen times, which clung to the converted Saxons as *unhulþó* had done to the Goths before them. Grendel is called *gram*, Beow. 1523, and *yrremóð* 1445; an ON. imprecation was '*þic hafi allan gramir!*' Sæm. 80^b, and '*gramir hafi Gunnar!*' 208^b, *gramir* being daemonia and exactly equiv. to the AS. *gramon*. Another time Sæm. 255^a has '*eigi hann iötnar!*' where the prose Völs. saga (Fornald. sög. 1, 214) gives *gramir*, so that here again comes up the affinity of devils to giants. The use of *módag* (*iratus*) for diabolic spirits rather confirms an explanation of '*Muotes her*' suggested on p. 931n.

One name, which I have held back till now, is of frequent occurrence in MHG. poets of the 12-13th cent.: '*der vâlant*,' S. Uolrich 54^a. 69^b. 74^a. Anengege 218^b. 219^a. 220^b. Tundal 56, 31; '*diu vâlantinne* Herôdia' (see p. 283), Fundgr. i. 139, 6; '*der vâlant*,' ii. 109, 42. Roth. 3106; '*vâlandes* man,' Roth. 3227. 3366; *vâlant*, Rol. 289, 7; '*vâlantes* man' 111, 5. 189, 16; '*der übel vâlant*,' Nib. 1334, 1; *vâlandinne* (she-devil) 1686, 4; *vâlantinne* 2308, 4. Gudr. 629, 4; '*der vâlant*,' Nib. Lam. 625. Er. 5555. Herbort 7725. Eilhart's Trist. 2837; *vâlant*, Wigal. 3994. 6976. 7022; er het gehoeret den *vâlant*, er (the sentry) sprach: '*seht, bî der mûre* (wall) da hôrt ich in schrîen lût, owê! er fuor die rise alsô zetal (down), daz im die stein vast walgten nâch (stones rolled after him), ich weiz nicht war im ist sô gâch (hasty),' Frauend. 375, 12-24; '*daz in der vâlant rîten sol*,' Welsch. gast 67^a; '*bî sîner stimme* (voice) ich hân erkant, daz ez wære der *vâlant*,' *ibid.* (Reinh. 384, 50); '*der leide vâlant*,' Trist. 8909; '*des vâlandes rât*' 11339; '*vâlandes* man' 6217.

¹ '*Aftar* themo muase, sô kleib er Satanâse,' O. iv. 12, 39.

6910. 16069; '*válandes barn*' 15965; '*tiuwels válant*, schrat und wazzerber' 92; '*dô geriet in der válant*,' Mone's Anz. 8, 52; '*válant*, Ottoc. 453^b.¹ Certain poets abstain from the word: Wolfram, Rudolf, Conrad. In Mod. Germ. it still lives as a proper name (Faland, Phaland, Foland, Volland), otherwise it rarely occurs: '*der böse volant*,' Chr. Weise's Comödienprobe 219; '*junker Volland*,' Berthold's Tageb. p. 54. In Henneberg they say '*der böse fahl*' or '*fähl*,' Reinw. 1, 30, at Frankfort '*der fold, fuld*.'² In MLG. once only in Zeno 1166: '*du arge volant!*' and nothing like it in M. Nethl. But neither do I find *fálant*, *válant* in OHG., even as a proper name; yet one can hardly doubt its having existed, for the participial ending, as in *víant*, *heilant*, *wígant*, etc., points to an early formation. A MHG. verb *válen*, *válen*, occurs only in the Martina 145. 177. 215 and Alb. Titurel, and there it means to fail, err, conf. Schm. 1, 519. *Fálant* must either have meant the same as the adj. '*irri*,' *iratus*, *infensus*, or else misleading, *seducens* (Goth. *airzjands*, *uslutônds*); the AS. *fælian* or *fælan* is *scandalizare*, *seducere*, and its partic. *fælend* would answer to *válant*. Some such meaning may lie in the ON. *fála* (Sæm. 143^b. 210^b *gigas femina*) and the verb *fæla* (*terrere*); in that case it would be credible that *fálant* also referred originally to giants. But now that *Phol* (pp. 224—9. 614) has come upon the scene, he must not be left out of sight in attempting to explain a word so incorporated with our language: the change of *a*, *o* into *á* does occur in some instances, e.g. *tálanç*, *tolanç*, and the popular forms '*voland*, *fold*, *fuld*' are in its favour; the participial ending must remain an open question till further light be thrown on the obscure name of this ancient god. Even the fierce *Unfalo* in Teuerdank may be taken into the reckoning, as the '*un-*' seems merely a prefix added to intensify the ill-repute of the word; an *Unfahl* occurs elsewhere too as a proper name.³ Compare what is said of the *pfahl-mauer* (stake-wall) further on⁴ (see Suppl.).

¹ Hagene was known as the *válant aller künige*, Gudr. 168, 2. 196, 4; all kings feared him like a devil. Mone in Ndr. volkslit. 67 makes it mean '*vallant de tous les rois*'!

² In the Mehlwardein, a local farce 1837, p. 16: '*ei der Fuld!*' = devil; so in another, the Bernemer Kerb p. 13.

³ In the Nördlingen witch-trials p. 47 an Apollonia *Unfahlin*.

⁴ I fear some will take it into their heads to explain *phol*, *phal* by aphæresis of the first syllable in *deofol*, *diufal*, pretty much as *Eblis* is derived from *diabolus*.

II. Many names of the Devil turn upon his outward Form. The most striking feature is his lame foot: hence the *hinkende teufel* (diable boiteux), *hinke-bein* (limping-leg); the fall from heaven to the abyss of hell seems to have lamed him, like Hephæstus hurled down by Zeus (p. 241).¹ He further resembles that god and the lame smith Wieland (*Völundr* p. 376) by his skill in working metals and in building, as also by his dwelling in a *sooty* hell. Here the antithesis to clear shining white Deity demands a *dingy black hue*, as the dark elves were opposed to the light. We may therefore balance the white Baltac (p. 228), the radiant Berhta (p. 272) against the gloomy powers, light-elves against black-elves, though the two principles touch, and even generate one another. The word alp seems to contain the notion of white, night and day come out of one another, Night was the mother of Day (p. 735), Halja, Demeter, Diana, Mary (p. 312-3 n.) present themselves half *black* or wholly darkened.² The dark diabolic principle may be regarded as one not original, as a falling away from divine light.

The Devil is called the *black*: OS. *mirki* (tenebrosus), Hel. 31, 24. der *swarze*, Renner 36^d. Satan exit ore torvus *colore tanquam corvus*, S. Gallenlied, 11, 3. er was *swarz als ein rabe*, Tund. 51, 17. *diabolus in effigie hominis nigerrimi*, Cæsar Heisterb. 7, 17. der *swarze hellewirt*, Ms. 2, 254^a. der *hellewirt der ist swarz*, Parz. 119, 26. der *helle-môr*, Walth. 33, 7. der *helsce môre*, Fundgr. 1, 25. der *helle-grâve*, Anegenge 39, 46. As a dark colour hides, the evil spirit gets the name of the hidden, the secret: OS. *dernea wihti* (spiritus latentes), Hel. 31, 20. 92, 2. But in our folktales he is also indicated as *grayman*, *graymanikin*, conf. *graa told*, Dan.V. 1, 169. 180, which reminds of Wuotan and of Berhtold; I therefore lay stress on the fact, that as Berhta and Berhtolt *hand empty spindles* (pp. 274-9), the Mark legend tells exactly the same of the Devil: 'You must not spin of a Thursday evening, for the *evil one* would throw an *empty spindle* into your room, and call out, Spin that full as well!' Ad. Kuhn p. 379. Of shapes of animals, some are ascribed to the Devil chiefly on the ground of their black colour (see Suppl.).

¹ II. 1, 592. Thor threatens to lame Loki, Sn. 130, and the lightning-flash has a maiming power.

² The Romans called Pluto *Jupiter niger*, the black god. Silius Ital. 8, 116.

Such animal shape was often not made complete, but merely indicated by some addition to a configuration mainly human, much as the Greeks and Romans represented their satyrs, fauns or Pan, and to Dionysus, Actæon or Io simply added horns. The Devil then approximates to those wood-sprites, skrats and pilosi treated of in p. 478 seq.; shaped like a man in the rest of his limbs, he is betrayed by his goat's ear, his horn, tail or horse's foot. A *vâlant* is thus described in Tund. 51, 33: 'er het *vil der hende*,¹ an des lîbes ende einen vreislichen *zagel* (tail), der het manigen *îsnîn nagel* (iron nail), manigen *haken chrumben*, damit er die *tumben chölt unde stichet*.' Even in heathen times the gods and ghostly beings could imitate beasts in some parts of their body: the Triglav of the Slavs had three goat's-heads, and a mixture of human with animal forms is extremely common in the Indian mythology; in the Greek and Teutonic it is rare, and then but barely hinted at. Huldra comes before us with a tail (p. 271), Berhta with the goose-foot (p. 281), the nix with a slit ear, and the nixie with wet skirt (p. 491), the hero with a swan's wing (p. 428) like Hermes with his winged feet, the water-wife with a snake's or fish's tail; even the giant has [only] a finger and toe above the common (p. 527n.). The Devil's horse-foot may suggest the semi-equine centaurs, as well as the ON. *nennir* (p. 490).

Conversion into complete animal form might easily arise out of this; or it might be regarded as a prerogative of the higher being to transform himself into an animal for a time.

The Devil in retiring is compelled unawares to let his *horse-foot* be seen (p. 326); a kobold (home-sprite) is also *horse-footed* (p. 511). To the water-sprite the whole or half of a *horse's* figure is attributed; that is why horses are sacrificed to rivers. A British demon *Grant*, possibly connected with *Grendel* (p. 243), shewed himself as a *foal*, Gerv. Tilb. in Leibn. 980. Loki changed himself into a *mare*, and bore Sleipnir to Svaðilföri, Sn. 46-7. The Devil appears as a *horse* in the stories of Zeno and of brother Rausch, and in legends (Zappert pp. 68—71); *black steeds*

¹ This *many-handedness* agrees with that of giants, but I do not remember to have seen the Devil represented with *more heads* than one, except in the shape of a dragon. Antichrist however was pictured with *seven heads* and a *horse's foot*, conf. Zappert ubi supra 73-4.

fetch away the damned, and even convey heroes like Dieterich to hell, *Vilk. saga* 393. *Otto Frising* 5, 3 (see *Suppl.*).

The representation of the Devil in the shape of a *he-goat* goes back to a remote antiquity!; what can have given it such a vigorous growth among heretics and witches? The witches all imagine their master as a *black he-goat*, to whom at festal gatherings they pay divine honours; conversely, the *white goat* atoned for and defeated diabolic influence (*Haupt's Zeitschr.* 3, 35). In oaths and curses of the 15-16th cent. the he-goat apes the true God: 'dass in der *pock* schend!' is a frequent formula in *Hans Sachs*; they swore 'bei *bocks* schedel,' skull, 'bei *bocks* lid,' limbs, as by the limbs of saints, 'bei *bocks* hulde,' grace.¹ Or can *bocks* here be a mere variation of 'botz, potz, kotz' for *Gotts* (p. 15)? It does seem singular that the 13th cent. poets never use *bock* in such a sense; only *Martina* 156^b. 184^b has *helleboc* clearly for the Devil. According to *Schm.* 1, 151, *bock-schnitt* means that *bilwez-schnitt* [cut through a neighbour's corn, p. 475-6], which the people ascribe to spirits and the Devil. Now the *he-goat* was the sacred beast of *Donar*, whom the modern notions of the Devil so often have in the background. In Switzerland the people will not eat *goats' feet*, because the Devil appears with such, or you see them when he pulls his boots off (*Tobler* 214); it might equally well be explained by *Donar's he-goats*, whom he served up for dinner, then brought the bones to life again, and was angry when one of them was broken. But in fairy-tales the Devil himself appears as a *bleating goat*, and already in *Gregory the Great's Dial.* 2, 30 as '*cornu*² et *trepidicum* ferens,' which I interpret, in the shape of a three-legged goat and horned; *three-legged* animals being spectral and diabolic (pp. 920. 934). The *posterli* also shewed itself as a *goat* (p. 933). May it not be that the figure of the he-goat sacrificed by the heathen (p. 52) was afterwards by the christians transferred to

¹ *Appenzeller reimchr.* 14. 37-9. 51. 72. 95, and *Senkenberg sel.* 1, 46. *bocks angst und gütt!* *Er. Alberus* 21. *bocks marter!* 33. *dass dich bocks esel schend!* 23. *dass dich box sners schende!* *Schreiber's Freib. urk.* 2, 67. *durch bocks tod!* 3, 404. *bocks lid* answers to '*tiufel* und *sin lit,*' *Mone's Anz.* 8, 41.

² 'To curse one *leg* off the devil's body, and the *left horn* off his head,' *Garg.* 232^a. People still say: 'he'll deny one of the devil's *ears* off him and *on* again,' *Haupt* 3, 368; i.e. to curse and lie so hardily as to do the very devil's figure a damage. But what means the expression: '*ir lieget dem tiuvele an daz bein*' (*Roth.* 3137)? you swear falsely? (p. 1008).

the false god? In the *goat-hallowing* of the ancient Prussians¹ the victim was lifted up high.

Next to the goat the *boar*, which was sacred to Frô among the ancient gods, which affords food to the heroes in Walhalla, and moreover, far from irrelevantly, mingles in the stormful march of the Wild Host (p. 921-3), is a devil's animal; hence in the roar of the whirlwind, people cry *sû-stert* and *säu-zagel* (sow-tail), rebuking the Devil by that name (p. 632). In devils' buildings the *sow* plays another and perhaps more prominent part. The Evil One appears as a *grunting sow* (Schweinichen 1, 31). But the main point is, that here we again stumble on the name *Phol*: the MHG. *fol*, *fal*, *ful* in the compound *urful* signifies a boar, as is clear from the Schwabensp. 315 Wack., 204 Lassb., where the readings 'erfaul, urfaul, urfol, urval, wurffel' are all against 'ursûl,' which makes no more sense than 'halpswuol' in Nib. 878, 3, the variants 'halbfol, halpfol, helfolen' shutting us up to the combination *halp-ful*, *halp-fol*, i.e. half-swine as opposed to the full swine *ur-fol*, the old boar of five years.² Not that the god's name is to be explained by the beast's; on the contrary, in both the compounds it has been transferred to the beast, and so preserved; and as *Phol* is *Paltar*, it may now appear less venturesome to bring in as belonging here *Baltero* the boar's name in Reinardus.

A soul-snatching *wolf* the Devil was already to the Fathers (Greg. M. opp. 1, 1486). In the Laws of Cnut he is 'se *wôð-freca werewulf*' (Schmid. p. 148); Ditmar of Merseb. p. 253 calls him *lupus vorax*, and Loki's son is Fenris *úlfr*; out of MHG. poets I have not noted down a *hellewolf*, but I hardly doubt their having used it, as Simplic. 2, 72 still does *hollenwolf*. And a Slavic name for the Devil, Pol. *wrog*, Boh. *wrah*, Serv. Slov. *vrag*, Russ. *vrag*, *vórog*, though it means malefactor, enemy, latro, is the same as the OHG. *warg* (*lupus*), Reinh. xxxvii. The Devil has monstrous jaws and throat in common with the wolf and hell: 'des tiuvels *kiuwe*,' Warnunge 540.

A *canine* conformation of the Devil is supported by many authorities: *hellehunt* in the old lay on Georio, Fundgr. 1, 13;

¹ Luc. David 1, 87. 98. Joh. Voigt 1, 616.

² In MSS. it is hard to distinguish the long *f* from *f*.

des *hellehundes* list (cunning), Hartm. Greg. 163. Renner 289. *wint* (greyhound) in des tiuvels biunt, *hunt* in der helle grunt, Ls. 3, 124. *hellerüde*, Martina 32^a (Diu. 2, 143), and *hellewelf* 111^a, as the Edda already supposes a *hvelpr* in hell, Sæm. 94^a, and the Greek religion a Cerberus (p. 814n.). A fight with the *hell-hound* is described in Fundgr. 178, and as a *dog* the Devil guards treasures (p. 977). *black dog*, Superst. Denm. no. 149. des tiuvels *rüden*, Renner 23343. H. Sachs iv. 3, 31^c provides him with a *quail-hound* (pointer, setter, to catch souls for him?).¹ May not the Latin *latro* (robber) have come from the barking animal, like our *warg* from the wolf? It makes the Devil resemble both animals more (see Suppl.).

Foremost among birds comes the *raven*, whose form the Devil is fond of assuming, Ls. 3, 256. 'der ungetriuwe *hellerabe*,' Ottoc. 298^b. 803^b. 'volgen wir niht dem *swarzen raben*!' Rol. 33, 23. 'volget dem *swarzen raben* niht!' Karl 19^b. 'c'est uns deables, uns *corbiax*,' Ren. 28284. The black raven sent out by Noah is called the foe (feond), Cædm. 87, 11. Not only the bird's colour, cunning and quickness, but his old connexion with Wuotan (p. 671) might, as in the case of the wolf, confirm the notion. In Cædm. 188, 6 the full Odinic epithet *wælceosig* (stragem eligens), pertaining to the god's messenger-maidens (p. 417), seems archaically applied to the raven; it is true, even Jerome's commentary on Job 38, 41 had already in a far-fetched way made the (*black*) *raven* mean the Devil. In Danish folksongs the *vilde ravn*, *vilde val-ravn* (the *corvus stragis*, OHG. *walahraban*) takes exactly the place of the diabolic trolld, DV. 1, 186-7. In the puppet-play of Dr. Faust, it is remarkable that the *raven*, who is bearer of the written covenant with the Devil, is called the bird of *Mercury*, which would be exactly right of Wuotan. Within the last few centuries only I find the *vulture* (*geier*) put for the Devil,² still more frequently the *cuckoo*, whose connexion with magic was spoken of, p. 679. Another bird

¹ *Wahtelbein* (quail-bone, decoy-whistle) des tiuvels,' Berth. 225. 'sust veriret (so misleads) ez als ein *wahtelbein*,' Jüngl. 1210. 'in korne wart ein kündic *wahtel* nie sô sanfte *erbeinet*,' was ne'er a quail so neatly boned, Ms. 2, 206b.

² 'The vulture take you!' Gryphius p. m. 746. 'Where the vulture . . .?' Ettner's Unw. doctor 335. 'dass dich der *geier* schende!' Wackern. Lesebuch 788, 21. Fundgr. 2, 320.

whose figure is assumed is the *cock*: chanticleer and swine build together at the devil's dike (p. 1023), and from under the cloak of the human-shaped Devil peep out cock's claws in the same way as the cloven hoof.

Incomparably older and more widely diffused is the manifestation of the Devil as a *snake, worm, or dragon*. The serpent that beguiled in Paradise was taken for the Devil himself. Beside antiquus hostis, he is *antiquus anguis, anguifer hostis, letifer anguis, serpens* (Greg. M. opp. 1, 111. Jonas Bobb. pp. 5. 15. Vita Burgundofaræ p. 427. Vita S. Romani p. 743), *serpens antiquus*, Caes. Heisterb. 7, 35, the *old dragon*, AS. *draca*, El. 765. The belief is founded chiefly on Rev. 20, 2, and on the interpretations the Fathers gave of Leviathan. A dragon is mentioned in Rev. 12, 4, who with his tail drew the third part of the stars from heaven.¹ It is in this Biblical sense that our old poets call the Devil *slange, hellewurm*, Lohengr. 141, *helletracke*, Mart. 141^d; but there also went with it an inkling of the native superstition about venomous fire-spitting worms, treasure-guarding dragons (p. 978) and wonderful serpents (p. 684). As a dragon the Devil appears in numberless folktales, e.g. Deutsche sag. nos. 520. 858. Here I draw particular attention to that fairytale, in which it is variously the *Devil*, or the *dragon*, or the bird *griffin*, that has feathers plucked out of his tail in his sleep, Kinderm. nos. 29. 57. 165. Norske folkev. 1, 31—33. Mailath's Magyar. m. 1, 179. The dragon of misfortune dogs mankind, and one whom everything goes against will say, 'On all my luck the *Devil puts his tail*.' To the dragon also may be traced the Devil's *wings*, O. Fr. diables *enpanez*, Méon's Nouv. réc. 1, 250, like angres *enpanez* 1, 272. When the church represented Leviathan as an enormous *whale*, whose cheek Christ pierced with his hook (Greg. M. 1, 110; conf. supra p. 182), that was an echo of the huge hostile *world-serpent* whom Thórr fished up from the bottom of the sea (p. 689). As snake or dragon, the Devil has enormous jaws and throat (MHG. *kêwen*, Ms. 2, 166^b), like hell itself (pp. 314. 806-7. 996).

Fly-shape. The LXX translates Baal-zebub, the name of the god of Ekron, by Βάαλ μυῖα, fly-god (2 Kings 1, 2). Ahriman in

¹ Der alte *slange* mit seinen genözen von himel wart her abe gestözen, sins libes wesen teilt er endriu (divides in three), etc. Renner 3100 seq.

the *shape of a fly* pervaded all nature. Lith. *mussú birbiks*, fly-god (Mielke 231), birbiks usu. blowing, buzzing. Fairytales have diabolic spirits imprisoned in phials as *flies*.¹ Loki turns into a *fly* (*fluga*), when he wants to defraud Freyja of the brísínga-men. Connect with this a Lombard story in Paul Diac. 6, 6 of the 'malignus spiritus' who settles on the window as a *fly*, and gets a leg chopped off; and one in Acta Bened. sect. 1, p. 238 of a devil being cast out: 'in *muscae* similitudinem prorumpens cum sanguine de naribus egressus est inimicus.' As a fly, Loki finds his way into locked rooms through the keyhole, he can slip even through a needle's eye (Norske folkev. no. 31), which puts me in mind of his insinuating mother (p. 246). The Devil, like the giant (p. 555), has the power to make himself *great or small*, N. folkev. 1, 134. 192. Of the elvish nature of *butterflies*, which as psyches (p. 829) may be spirits of good or evil, we have more to say in the sequel. When *stagbeetles* and *dungbeetles* are taken as devils, it gives assurance of a heathen point of view (see Suppl.).

But also, and that from early times, the Devil has been likened to two *implements*, the *hammer* and the *bolt*, in which I have pointed out (pp. 180. 243) the reference to heathen gods. We have still to consider here what countenance they receive from the Bible or the Church. *Malleus* is reckoned among names of the Devil already in Jerome's epistle to pope Damasus (366—384), where he expounds the parable of the prodigal son; Jerome may have picked up the expression from heathens in Dalmatia, Italy or Gaul; and he had been on the Rhine. Greg. M. (d. 603) opp. 1, 1125): 'in scriptura sacra *mallei* nomine aliquando diabolus designatur, per quem delinquentium culpaeferuntur, aliquando vero percussio coelestis accipitur . . . nam quia in appellatione *mallei* antiquus hostis exprimitur, propheta testatur, dicens: quomodo contractus est et contritus malleus universae terrae!' (Jerem. 50, 23. conf. 51, 20). The two notions of a chastising God and of a hostile heathen power seem here to meet. In Donar's hand the hammer was at once a consecrating and a crushing tool: *stormwind*, *whirlwind*, phenomena which old heathenism ascribed to the lord of thunder, and later superstition

¹ Danish story of a devil shut up in a box, Thiele 1, 18. KM. no. 99.

to giants or devils (p. 635-6. Superst. I, 522, and Esth. 100), are in some parts of Germany called *hammer*, either from their violent destructive action, or because the Devil is imagined to have stirred them up.¹ In Rhenish Westphalia, when the wind suddenly throws the doors open, or whistles through the house by fits, they say: 'do es *der aul* van terjohren!' there goes the old one of last year, you know who, we need not mention names. As the name *hamer* for devil never occurs to my knowledge in poets of the Mid. Ages, I hesitate to derive those imprecations of the vulgar (p. 181-2) from the *malleus* of the Fathers; I would rather believe in an original connexion between the heathen and Jewish beliefs. And the same might be the case with *riegel* (bolt): *vectis* is not only a thing to fasten doors with, but to shove and thump with, lever, pole, almost malleus over again. Leviathan is called *vectis*, quia usque ad necem percutit (Greg. M. 1, 111). The MHG. *hellerigel*, AS. *grendel* (p. 243) might be an imitation of this *vectis*, and also have an older relation to Loki.

I think I have often noticed that the Devil unwinds himself out of a *ball of yarn*. One fairytale makes him roll down the mountain as a *millstone*, Altd. bl. 1, 297. This displays his affinity to giants, for Swedish legend tells of giants who, when frightened at Thor's lightning darting through the air, come rolling down the mountain into the meadows in various shapes, mostly as *bundles of thread* or *balls*, and seek shelter with the mowers; but these, well knowing the danger, keep them back with their scythes, and it is said to have often happened that the lightning came down and shivered the scythes, whereupon the giants with rueful moans rushed back into the mountain (Afzelius 1, 10). It recalls to my mind the *windball* of the demons,² p. 640 (see Suppl.).

III. From the Devil's abode in hell, whence he has dislodged

¹ The Moravian peasant calls the whirlwind *hammer* (Meinert in the Vienna Jahrb. vol. 48. Anz. bl. p. 55), which may refer to Donar as well as the Devil, and thus agree with the fancies unfolded on p. 632; the Devil is described as *ventus urens* and *aquilo*, Greg. M. 1, 547. 570, and the Mod. Greeks call him *ἀνεμος*, Gramm. 3, 736. It is odd that the Priscillianists ascribed *storms* to the Devil, *thunder* to his roaring, *rain* to his sweat, which sounds very heathenish. The Manicheans too explained *thunderstorms* by the fury of the chained Devil.

² Witches confessed they had been converted into *balls*, and gone bobbing round stark naked on tables and benches. Weng's Nördl. hexenprocesse p. 54.

the heathen goddess, are borrowed his frequent names of *hellewarte* (-ward), Sumerl. 7, 9. Cod. pal. 361, 71^c; *hellehirte*, Parz. 316, 24; *hellegrübel*, Mart. 4^b. 10^b. 72^b; *hellewirt*, Ms. 2, 175^a, and the like. Lohengr. 70, calling him *hellescherge* (-constable), says 'er las die sîne an sich,' he gathered his own unto him, just as Wuotan receives the souls of his heroes.

His dwelling lies in the *North*, which at once agrees with the view explained p. 34. 'Leit í norðr (looked to N.)' occurs in the singing of a valgaldr (ferale carmen), Sæm. 94^a; 'diabolus sedet in lateribus aquilonis, Greg. M. 1, 1186; he claims to rule 'on norðdæle,' Cædm. 3, 8; sets his throne *nordernhalp*, Diut. 3, 40. Fundgr. 2, 11: 'niðr ok norðr liggr helvegr' (p. 802). The Esthonian also shuns the *north side*, Superst. N, 43; and the dæmon's waterfall runs *north* (p. 493).

I will here insert a few terms not touched upon at p. 804, because I am not sure if they originally belonged more to Hell or to the Devil. In the old play of Theophilus, after he has sold himself to Satan, he is conducted to a castle, where it is cold, but high feasting is kept up: 'up de *Ovelgunne*' (ill-favour). This name, aptly expressing the envy and malice of the fiendish nature, is borne by several places in Lower Germany: an *Ovelgunne* in the Magdeburg country, one in the Münster, near Hortsmar, and one in the Osnabrück between Witlage and Dümmersee; an *Övelgunne* by Werben in the Altmark, an *Ovelgönne* in Oldenburg, an *Ovelgünne* estate in Eidighausen parish, Minden country, an *Übelgünne* by Warburg, Paderborn country, and four or five more in L. Germany. Probably other localities have the same name, which makes one think of the equally well chosen *Ubelloch* (Malpertuis) in our 'Reinhart.' Whether they were so named in allusion to the Devil, or, as I rather think, to their bleak northerly aspect, is a point to be determined; in the latter case the name is fitly transferred to the Devil's dwellingplace, which is directly opposed to heaven's blessed and blissful hall of joy (p. 820).—Again, they say in L. Saxony: 'na *Hekelvelde* varen,' fare to H., Sam. Meiger ccciii^a; in Denmark: 'gaa du dig til *Häkkenfeldt!*' Lyngbye's Fär. qv. p. 549. Thiele 3, 71 spells it 'til *Hekkenfjälde*'; what if the allusion be to Hakelberg, Hakelbernd (p. 923)? Veld is not our feld, but the ON. fiall (fell, mons), as the Dan. form fjäld shews; and Hakelberg may

be the furious hunter's and therefore the Devil's abode, nay, it is evidently Mount *Hekla* in Iceland, sometimes called *Heklu-fiall*, a rendezvous of witches; and Fischart Garg. 119^b calls it *Heckelberg*. *Hekla* itself is apparently named from the shape of the cloak or cowl (cucullus), as *Wódan* is the cloaked one, *hacol-berand*; so that there are many points of contact.—*Abyssus*,¹ whence our *nobis*, I have spoken of, p. 805, and only wish now to give fuller examples of the latter form. Kilian has: *nobisse* (daemon, nanus, cacodaemon), *nobisgat* (orcus), *nobiskroech* (orcus). I dare say there are even more *Nobiskrugs* in L. Germany than *Ovelgunnes*, the name is often given to border taverns [*krug*=jug, alehouse], where you get as it were into a new country; thus you find a *nobiskrug* on the Frisian and Saxon frontier in Ostringien bailiwick, Oldenburg, another between Altona and Hamburg; by Kiel, by Münster, out of the way publichouses receive the name, which does not convey quite the bad sense of our hell, but rather the ancient one of death and the underworld: 'he is na *nobs-kroge*' means no more than he is dead. *Nobiskrug* is also used by HG. writers of the 16-17th cent., usually for hell, devil's tavern, he being a *helle-wirt* (-landlord): 'in *nobiskrug* faren,' Luther's Table-talk, ed. 1571, 418^a. 'the rich man's soul in *nobiskrug*,' Fisch. Garg. 53^b. 'that he die not thus unshriven, and fare perchance to *nobis-haus*' Eulensp. 277. 'darauff sie sagt, sie wird dalent me in *Nobiskrug* sein' (=be dead), L. Thurneisser's Nothgedr. ausschr. 1584, iii. 85. 'dein seel fahr hin in *nobiskrug*,' Cursus Cleselianus. 'fehrst in *nobiskrug*,' Ayrer 76^b. 'the Devil builds alway his chapel and *nobiskrug*, where God his church hath set,' Andr. Musculus's Hosenteufel 1630, p. 16. 'to have been in *nobiskrug*,' Chr. Weise's Floretto p. 74. *nobishaus*, Burc. Waldis 191^a. 303^b. According to Stald. 2, 240 *nobiskratten* are the place where unbaptized children go.

More beautiful is Walther's (123, 38) expression for hell, 'daz *verlorne tal*,' recalling Dante's '*citta dolente*' and his '*per me si va tra la perduta gente*' (see Suppl.).

¹ Provençal *abis*, Rayn. 1, 14^a, conf. 1, 184^b *baratro*, *baratrum*; but even the Italian has by the side of *abisso* formed a *nabisso* (from in-*abisso*). In Rol. 195, 1 a heathen standard-bearer is called *Abisse*, but the O. Fr. poem has *Abismes*, as if hell's abyss. The Brem. wb. 3, 254 gives the older form *obiskroog*, *obskroog*.

IV. Obscure names. On the Goth. *skóhsl* for *δαίμόνιον* a conjecture was hazarded p. 487, which is strengthened or weakened by the AS. *socca* (also spelt *sceocca*, *scucca*,¹ therefore hardly *scócca*); with *skóhsl* as it is spelt, the root *skaka* (quatio) would agree, while *skiuha* (timeo) would require *skuhs*. Still nearer perhaps is the ON. *skass* (femina gigas), for which in Sæm. 154^b the MS. reads *skós*. There is one expression for devil now largely diffused in Germany, but nowhere used except as a diminutive: L. Sax. *stöpke*, *stöpke in der helle*, on the Main *stebchen*, *stäbchen*, in thieves' slang *steppche*, *stepches*, U. Sax. *stebgen*, *stöpgen*, Thur. *stöpfel*, Baden *steubel*; what is meant by it is particularly the flying fiery dragon, who calls at the homes of his devotees, bringing them money and corn; a fiery man, a will o' wisp (Superst. I, 611), and the will o' wisp was called *dôlgr*, foe, fiend (p. 916): all this throws no light on the origin of the word. A L. Saxon and Westphalian name already touched upon p. 521 n., is *drôs*, de *drôs in der helle*, *dross*; people swear 'bi'm *drôs*,' and curse 'dat di de *drôs* slâ!' Brem. wt. b. 1, 257. The HG. *drus*, *truos*, *drüs* appears to correspond, but is only used impersonally of pestilence, ch. XXXVI. There is a host of provincialisms besides, and I can neither quote nor explain them all: in Switzerland they say *kuhni*, *kueni*, Stald. 2, 142, perhaps the bold, reckless one; in Ravensberg district *kramberend* (conf. Brem. wt. b. under *krambeer*, *krambeker*), *bramberend* (from *bram*, broom, *genista*?), *hanax*, etc.; the M. Nethl. *barlebaen*, *barlibaen* (Huyd. op St. 3, 38. Rein. 5184. Fergût 1754. 2372. 3763), occurs pretty often, but is unintelligible, and the Romance languages afford no light; the only thing like it is the O. Eng. *barlibak* (acc. to Massinger 1, 80 the name of an evil spirit), and *barlibreak*, *barleybreak* is a play in which hell is represented (Nares sub v.); a MHG. 'bœser *frîmurc*,' Turl. Wh. 136^a, said to be spelt *fêmurc* in Cod. Pal., seems to contain *murc* (putridus), Wh. 23, 5, and the ON. *myrkr*, AS. *myrce* (tenebrosus) p. 830; lastly, 'ein tiuvel der hiez *oggewedel*, der ie die êrsten lüge vant,' invented lies, Ms. 2, 250^b: *wedel* is flabellum, and occurs in other names for the devil, Grünwedel, Strausswedel, ch. XXXIV, and

¹ Beow. 1871 lâðum *scuccum* and *scinnum* (invisis daemonibus et praestigiis), conf. *scinna* þeaw (praestigiorum mos), Cod. exon. 362, 4; *sceuccum* onsæcgan (daemoniis immolare), Ps. 105, 27; *sceucegyldum* (sculptilibus), ib. 26.

harmonizes with *flederwisch*, whisk; and if *ogge* be the same as *ocke*, *ecke*, *uoke* (p. 237), the OHG. form would be *Uokiwedel*, *flabellum horrendum*.

Several appellations are proper names of men, bestowed on the evil spirit either as euphemisms or in good-natured pity, just as on homesprites (p. 504) and will o' wisps (p. 917). Such are the Engl. old *Davy*, old *Nick* (Nares sub v. Nicholas), though here there may also be an allusion to *Hnikar* (p. 488); the Dan. gammel *Erik* (p. 989); the Swiss *kueni* above may mean *Kueni* (Conrad, as the noisy ghost was called Kurt, p. 913n.); and is *Benz* (in Keisersb. *teufel*, Oberl. sub v.) Benno? [Burns's *Nickie Ben*?]; a Bavar. *Muchsel* might come from *Nepomuk*, unless we prefer *Schmeller's* interp. 'sly sneak' 2, 546 [mugger, s-muggle?]; but hardly *Stepchen* from *Stephen*? *Velten* (*Valentin*) often stands for devil ('potz *Velten*!'), I suppose with an allusion to *vâlant*, p. 991; so does 'meister *Peter*, *Peterchen*, *Peterle*,' Etnn. unwürd. doctor 672, and this recalls nicknames for a thief-taker or constable, who is likewise called *meister Peter* or *Hemmerlin*, RA. 883, so that he lends a name to and borrows one from the devil, for the devil is 'hell's constable,' he binds and torments souls, and is called *henker*, *diebhenker* [Burns's *auld Hangie*]. Now, as soldiers give their provost-marshal the nickname 'stepchen' too, it is worth considering whether *stepfel* may not come from the MHG. *stempfel*, Ms. 2, 2^b, which again brings up the question of *frau Stempel's* spectral nature (p. 278). A record of 1177 (no. 71 in *Seibertz*) has *Stempel* as a proper name (see *Suppl.*).

Such grafting of the Devil on older native beliefs in spirits and semi-divine beings was altogether natural, as christian opinion held these to be diabolic, and the people tried to domesticate the outlandish Devil. Hence *Fischart* could call him *butze* (p. 506): 'may I become the very *butze's* if, etc.' *Garg.* 224^a; and the same in *Altd. bl.* 1, 55. The *skratti* (p. 478) of ON. superstition hovers somewhere between woodsprite, devil and giant, and so is *tröll* (p. 526) a 'daemon' in this more comprehensive sense.¹ In the cursing formulas '*tröll hafi þik!*' or '*tröll hafi þína vini!*' *Nial. cap.* 38, '*tröll hafi þik allan!*' *Kormakss.*

¹ *Tröll ok évattr*, *Fornald. sög.* 2, 248; *tröll ok eigi maðr*, *Finnbogas* pp. 264. 292. 340.

188, 'tröll taki hann!' Orvarrodss. cap. 9, 'fara í trölla hendr!' Laxd. p. 230, it answers exactly to our Devil, yet also to the older and more pagan one: 'eigi þik gramir' or 'iötnar!' (p. 990-1). In Sæm. 39 we read: 'farþú nú þar smyl hafi þic!' It seems that Scandinavian sorceresses call the Devil *urðar mání* (luna saxeti, Biörn sub v.), which I know of nothing to compare with. And as Loki is next of kin to Hel (p. 312), we find the Devil in close contact with Death (p. 854): 'den *tiuvel* and den *tót vürhten*,' Fríd. 67, 9.

So far our survey of a great variety of names (from which however all merely Jewish ones, like Beelzebub, Asmodi, Belial etc., had to be excluded) has already shewn an admixture of heathen ingredients, or betrayed a still older identity or similarity of christian and pagan beliefs. Apparently words like *gram*, *unhold*, and perhaps *scado*, can only have been applied to the newly adopted Devil because they already signified to the heathens a hostile hateful spirit. *Old* was already said of giants, and could the more readily be used of the Devil. *Wolf*, *raven*, *goat* called to mind the animals that escorted heathen gods or were sacrificed to them. The designations *hammer* and *bolt*, and the *northerly* residence were, to say the least, in accord with heathen notions.

Let us try whether these results are likewise supported by the substance of the tales and traditions.

To the new converts the heathen gods were one and all transformed, not only into *idols*, i.e. false lying gods (*galiuga-guþ*, as Ulphilas advisedly renders *idola*), but into *devils*, i.e. fellows and partners in a rival kingdom, whose dominion was broken down, but yet even under retreat, put forth some power. Whoever clung to the ancient gods and sacrificed to them in secret, was a devil's servant, and his idolatry a downright *diabol-geld* (p. 38-9); formulas of abjuration were imposed, which quote in one category the devil and the once honoured gods.¹ In the AS. Laws *deoflum geldan* means simply to serve the old gods. This mode of thinking, which gave the ancient deities more than their due, could not

¹ 'Forsachistu diobole (dat.)?' 'Ec forsacho *diabole* end allum *diabolgelde* end allém dioboles werum end wordum, Thuner ende Wöden ende Saxnôte ende allém thém *unholdum* thê hiro genôtas sint.

always be avoided, so long as a belief in the reality of those gods was undestroyed in the hearts of men: the new doctrine could more easily take root and germinate by representing the old as odious and sinful, not as absolutely null; the christian miracles looked more credible when something supernatural was allowed to time-honoured heathenism too. This view found a precedent in the New Test. itself: the god Beelzebub of the O.T. had dropt into the class of devils. Long in the habit of regarding Jupiter, Mercury, Mars and Venus as diabolic beings, how could the converters, preaching christianity to our forefathers, have set Donar, Wuotan, Zio, Frouwa and the rest in any other point of view?

What is said and sung of the breaking of heathen images of gods entirely confirms the fact that the false gods were credited with some degree of diabolic activity. When thrown down, they complain, as demons, of the violence of the intruders (p. 498-9): *Perun's* image, which the men of Novgorod dragged through their streets and flung into the Volkhov, broke into wailings on the faithlessness of his former adorers. Olaf talks to the statue of *Freyr* (p. 657), and with *Thórr* he has to stand a regular contest (p. 177). St. George compels *Apollo's* image to walk and speak, Geo. 33—35. *Mars*, a 'lügeliſche got,' had prophesied at Rome the Saviour's birth, and when it took place, his image suddenly crumbled down: 'als der *tievil* dô verdolte den slac (tholed, suffered the blow) von himel sô grôzen, er fuor ze *sînen genôzen* (fared to his comrades) sâ verstôzen in die helle, dâ ist er gebunden sêre, daz er niemer mêre her ûz mac gereichen,' Maria 191-3. Darius writes to Alexander: if thou get the better of me, 'so mugen von himele mîne gote zo der helle wesen bote,' Alex. 2542, i.e. they have belied my confidence, and are *devils*. Medieval poetry is full of such statements. I have shewn in ch. XXXI the way in which *Wuotan*, distorted into a *Wuotunc* and *wütende* (furious) *hunter*, appearing at the head of the Wild Host, was made a *devil* of (p. 920). That is why the Devil is called *helle-jager*, Mart. 62^d. 174^d: 'er *rûsſchte* als der *tiuvel* in dem *rôre*,' MsH. 3, 187^a; 'als in (him) der *tiuvel jagete*,' Livl. chr. 96^b. Our folktales make him either *ride a black steed*, or drive in a magnificent *car* (Mone's Anz. 8, 184) like *Wuotan* and like *Donar*.

Wuotan was known as the god and inventor of *gaming*, and of *dice* in particular (pp. 150. 160) : it was he that gave the all-winning die to Player Jack in the fairytale. But very commonly dice-playing is ascribed to the *devil*, in folktales he looks on at the game, especially if played during divine service on Sunday, and he plays with men, who have to stake their own souls ;¹ in witch-trials he is called *Schenzerlein*,² dicer, from *schanzen* to throw dice, Schm. 3, 374 ; and he lies in wait for gamblers, Renn. 11316 seq.

Judaism has devils, but knows nothing of she-devils ; all power for good or evil it places in the hands of male beings (p. 396). To put it still more generally : gods are altogether the older, and a strict Monotheism or Dualism recognises gods alone ; it is in the mellow fulness of Polytheism that goddesses first emerge. The Teutonic paganism, like others, is fond of female deities and elves : even the Goth. *vahts* (genius) is feminine (p. 439). Divine mothers, bright benignant dames, norns, valkyrs, wood-wives, water-maidens, formed a main part of the religion : only kobolds and home-sprites are exclusively male ; the very giantesses are often lovely in mien and manners, and the world of the dead is ruled by a goddess.

Following this general tendency, as a negative must run on the lines of the positive, it was Teutonic to the core for Ulphilas to translate *δαίμόνιον* by *unhulþó*, and not to form a neuter, which would have been just as easy. To the converted Goths this *feminine unholda* fills the place of what their fathers had believed in as Holda.

It is no slight confirmation of the diabolic nature of Grendel in Beowulf, that he has a *mother* at his elbow, one with even more of the giant in her than he ; that she tries to avenge his death, and the hero's exploit is not complete until her discomfiture : *Grendel's módor* 2517-64. 3076. It is a very ancient feature in our nursery-tales, that in the Devil's dwelling sits likewise his *grandmother* (mother, or sister), and when the hero turns in for shelter, she takes pity on him and befriends him against the monster, Kinderm. 1, 152. 2, 188 devil's grandmother (*ellermutter*, great-grandm.). Oðinn taunts the Vala with being

¹ E.g. in Tettau and Temme's Preuss. sagen 197-9. 200-212.

² Nördlinger hexenprocesse, p. 46.

'*þriggja þursa móðir*,' Sæm. 95^b. The human guests usually arrive while the devil is out, they are then concealed by her, and smelt out by the son on his return. So Thôrr and Týr come into giant Hýmír's house, where they find his 900-headed grandmother (amma) and another female, his sweetheart, who hides them under the cauldron, Sæm. 53^a. The Indian giant too has a soft-hearted sister living with him (p. 459). Now those stories of the devil were known here in the 13th cent.; a poem of the Cod. Vindob. 428 no. 154 contains the words: 'der donr slahe uns beide! der *tiuvel* brâhte mich zuo dir, und dich *sîn muoter* her ze mir,' his mother brought you to me; 'mit des *tiuvels muoter* wette loufen,' run a race with; Wahtelmære 108: 'ist diz der *tufel* daz hie vert (rides), oder *sîn muoter*, oder *sîn sun?*' Herb. 7729; 'der *tufil* adir *sîn eldirmuoter*.' Altd. bl. 1, 264; 'des *teufels muoter*,' Cl. Hätzl. 219, 16; and in Margareta v. Limburg she plays an important part (Mone's Anz. 4, 166). We see that she is by turns represented as all that is bad, outdoing even her son, and again as of a gentler disposition: 'a widower a widow wedded, the *devil* to *his dam* was added' (things got worse) says Burc. Waldis 138^a; 'kam nicht der Mansfelder, der *teufel* mit *seiner mutter*' (omnia mala simul), Berl. kal. 1844 p. 298: 'to swear one of the *hangman's grandam's* legs off,' Simplic. 2, 254; 'I fear me not, were it the *devil and his dam*.'¹—And this subject again contributes popular explanations of natural phenomena: a sure indication of old myths in the background. When rain and sunshine rapidly succeed each other, it is said as a proverb, 'the *devil* bleaches his *grandmother* (de düvel blekt sin möm)': in Switzld. 'the *devil* beats his *mother*,' Tobler 294^a (also, the heathen hold a hightide); of a brown complexioned man, 'he's run out of the *devil's* bleaching ground (he is dem düvel út der bleke lopen)'; if it thunders while the sun shines, the *devil* beats *his mother* till the oil comes.² In Nethl., 'de *duivel* slaat zyn wyf,' and ' 'tis kermis in de hel (nundinae sunt in inferno).' In Fr., 'le *diable* bat sa *femme*,' when it rains amid sunshine (Tuet's Proverbes no. 401). In connexion with this ought to be taken

¹ Conf. Felner's Flores philol. cap. 7 p. 103. Names of the devil or his grandmother were given to cannon (Rommel 4, 180); 'Huck vor die hölle' = D.'s mother (Stender's Lett. wtb. 2, 337^a).

² Praetorii Blocksbergverr. 2, 113. Brem. wtb. 1, 97.

the explanation of crackling fire (p. 242) and of earthquake (p. 816-7). The last quotation names the wife instead of the mother, like the iötun's *frilla* in *Hýmris-qviða*; and Hagene says of Brunhild, who made him feel uncomfortable, 'jâ sol si in der helle sîn *des übelen tiuvels brût* (bride)', Nib. 426, 4. A Greek, seeing giant Asprian grind fire out of stones, cries out, 'heir veret *des tuvelis brût*,' Roth. 1054; just as another giant's (the *Wind's*) bride fares along (p. 632). Percuna *tete* (p. 173) washes her son the Thunder-god in a bath: this is the Bavarian '*anel* with her ley' (p. 641). In Austria they tell (Ziska pp. 14—16), of the devil's *franel* (= ver anel), how she felt dull in hell, and came for a change to the Highlands (Up. Austria), where she got her son to build her a castle near the Danube, imagining the people would worship her as much as the virgin Mary; but as no one wanted her and the people laughed at her, she was enraged, and threw a huge piece of rock with a part of her castle into the Danube, at the spot now called *wirbel* and *strudel*, and the ruins of her house are still named the *devil's tower*; conf. p. 592 on whirlpools. I suppose no one can doubt that all these notions date from heathen times¹ (see Suppl.).

Private sacrifices, intended for gods or spirits, could not be eradicated among the people for a long time, because they were bound up with customs and festivals, and might at last become an unmeaning harmless practice. We have seen how a clump of ears was left standing in the field for Wuotan or dame Gaue, and a bushel of oats was presented to Death or the Wild Hunter. This the clergy of an older time would at once have set down as *deoflum geldan* (Leges Wihtrædi 13). It is certain that the centuries immediately following the conversion still witnessed lighted candles beside holy waters (p. 584). In Norway *lambs* and *kids*, mostly *black* ones, were offered to the watersprite (p. 493); and similar sacrifices were in use among the Lettons and Lithuanians in modern times. Whirlpools and rivers demanded *goats* and *horses* (p. 592), Hecate *black lambs*. In a Hessian folktale the Devil guards a treasure, and will allow no one to lift it unless he offer to him a *black he-goat exactly a year and a day old*. This is an almost invariable incident in

¹ Mone in Anz. 8, 450 interprets the devil's mother as Demeter, who in the Eleusinian mysteries is made the mother of Dionysus.

treasure-lifting, and must have been deeply stamped on the people's imagination. To the examples given at p. 977 I will add one from the mouth of the peasantry in L. Saxony. Whoever goes into the forest on Shrove Tuesday and sits down under a harrow, may look on at everything, the beasts rushing through the wood, the king on his car with foxes [sorrel horses?] going before him, and whatever there is to be seen that night. A shepherd who knew this and wished to try it, went and sat under the harrow in the wood, and looked through the holes; then, when the devilry was over, he tried to creep out again from under the harrow, but he sat fast, and the Devil stood beside him, shewing his teeth: 'have you got a *black sheep*,' said he, 'one that is *coalblack* all over? Give it me, and you'll get loose.' The shepherd lay there till daylight, then some people passing through the wood tried to set him free, but could not, so he had his *black sheep* fetched, the Devil took it and flew up in the air with it, and the shepherd got loose. *Black cocks* were also sacrificed (Dieffenbach's *Wetterau* 279), but there must *not* be a *white feather* on them, Bechst. 4, 207. Little men of the mountain can also be conjured up, if you place a new table for them, and set two dishes of milk, two of honey, two plates and nine knives upon it, and kill a *black hen*, DS. no. 38. Guibertus (vita 1, 24) speaks of a cock-sacrifice that was still in use in France: '*diabolo gallo litare, ita ut ovum de quo concretus est, die Jovis, mense Martio, in gallina constet expositum;*' the cock was roasted, and carried to the pond (i.e. to a watersprite again). In H. Sachs iii. 3, 13^c a man says he will *cover* two old women with *bear skins*, *stick them all over with green lozenges*, and give them to the *Devil* on new-year's day. In Burcard Waldis 150^a we read of '*sending the soul stuck over with may* (or birch) to the *Devil*.'¹ To *light a candle to the Devil* (Schweinichen 2, 54) is preserved to this day as a proverbial phrase. *Drink-offerings* to the highest gods of heathenism must after the conversion have appeared *devilish*. At p. 56 was mentioned the *kufe* (cask, bowl?) out of which our ancestors drank

¹ These must be thoroughly popular phrases. In Christ. Weise's *Drei erznarren*, Lp. 1704 p. 426: 'if she were my wife, I'd have her *gilded and stuck over with rosemary*, put an *orange in her mouth*, and sell her to the *hangman* for a *sucking-pig*.' In his *Klügste leute*, Augsb. 1710 p. 124: 'ay, you should *stick him over with rosemary, gild his snout, and squeeze a Borstorf apple between his teeth*, you could invite the *Devil* to dine off him then.' That is how old-fashioned cookery used to garnish its roast.

Wuotan's minne; perhaps even 'Saturni *dolium*' (pp. 126. 247) was no bath, but a drinking vessel. It seems worth noting, that in an AS. sermon the words in 1 Cor. 10, 20 'non potestis calicem Domini bibere et calicem daemoniorum,' which Ulphilas renders verbally (ni maguþ stikl Fráujins drigkan jah stikl skôhslê), are thus expressed: 'ne mage ge samod drincan ures Drihtnes calic and þæs *deafles cuppan*,' so that 'cuppe' was the technical name of the heathen vessel. People still say, if you leave anything in your glass, that you are *sacrificing to the Devil* (Garg. 43^b). But there is also ground for maintaining that a devil's or hell's *bath* was believed in, as we saw before: 'ze helle baden,' Welsch. gast 105^a; 'to get into the Devil's bathroom' (Sastrow's Life 1, 11) means the height of distress. Popular legend often speaks of *devil's baths* (see Suppl.).

As in that passage of Wernher's Maria (p. 1006) which describes the Devil as *chained* in hell, so through the Mid. Ages in general he seems to have been imagined as lying bound till the dawn of the Judgment-day; then he will get loose, and appear in company with Antichrist. His *liberation from bonds* therefore marks also the time of general confusion and the world's destruction. One popular tradition makes him lie *tightly bound* under the table at which two virgins (evidently norns) are spinning, Deut. sag. no. 9. In other tales a *noose of bast* is slipt over his head, which like the chained wolf he is unable to break, and in that state is mauled on the anvil *with a hammer*, which leaves him lamed (Mährische sagen, Brünn 1817, pp. 69. 72. 123); still better known is the story of the blacksmith, who gets him to creep through the key-hole into a sack, and then *hammers him to pieces*. I hold these pictures to be heathenish and Eddic (see p. 244); as *Prometheus* is chained, so *Ahriman* lies fettered for 1000 years, so *Loki* is bound; not only in Germany, but in Scandinavia the expression 'the *Devil is loose*,' Nethl. 'de duivel is los,' has been handed down through many hundreds of years in the people's mouth.¹ With this we must connect that of *fire* breaking loose (pp. 245. 602), and of rubbing fire out of wood to break the devil's strength (pp. 606-7). What there is at the bottom of another saying, 'The *Devil's dead*, and any one can get to heaven un-

¹ Swed. 'nu är Fan lös,' Hallman's Skrifter, Stockh. 1820, p. 224.

hindered' (Meinert's Kuhländchen 215), I do not rightly know; it can hardly mean the devil's defeat in the christian sense. The Mære von der wibe list 368 already has a protestation 'durch des tiuvels tót.' I incline to identify it with the exclamation quoted p. 453n., 'the king is dead!' namely of the dwarfs or elves.¹ The Renner 17982 says: 'wæren die teufel tót, münche und pffaffen kæmen in nôt,' be in a bad way (see Suppl.).

To Wuotan, as the war-loving god, were imputed the *setting up* and *sowing* of strife and enmity (p. 145 n.). So Ahriman *sows* discord, Death *sows* his seed (p. 848), and Werre or Discordia hers (p. 273-4 n.). Shall we set it all down to the sowing of the devil's tares in Matth. 13, 39, or allow to the notion a more universal character? 'Sathanas seminavit semen suum,' Böhmer's Fontes 1, 47. 'den sâmen kan der tiuvel geben,' Freid. 67, 25. 'des tiefels sâme,' Walth. 31, 34. 'der tievel hât gesæt den sînen sâmen in diu lant,' Ms. 2, 111^a. 'warp de duvel sin sat dar in,' Detm. 2, 217.

It is remarkable that in Beow. 348 seq. the devil is called *gâstbona*, soul-killer, and 3485 *bona*, shooting with fiery bow; as indeed we find in Mod. German 'the murderer from the first' (Sieben ehen p. 394), 'the cruel *hangman of souls*' (in Erasm. Francisci); conf. the Serv. stari krvnik (p. 21). To him, as well as to Death, are ascribed *bands, ropes, bridle* and *steed*: 'diufeles *gi-benti*,' O. i. 10, 22. 'mit des tievels *bande geseilet*,' tied, Karl 33^a. 'der tievel hât mich *gestricket*,' snared, 17^a. 'in des tivels *zoumheften* (bridle-fastenings) sitzen,' Tod. gehugde 782. 'an des tiuvels *sîln*,' cords, Renner 21232; '*bridles* and *saddles* the devil's horse' 14429. 'tiuvels *seil*,' MsH. 3, 218.

To deepen the impression of something horrible, we still say, the very Devil would shudder and shrink at it, used as he is to horrors. As early as the 12th cent., it is said (Diu. 3, 59) of

¹ In many other cases it is difficult or impossible to trace the origin of the Devil's connexion with certain superstitious beliefs and modes of speech. People say: when the shaft is out of your hand, it belongs to the *devil* (he can steer it to where it will do mischief). Who runs behind himself (not so fast as he could), runs into the *devil's* arms, makes the *devil's* bed, Superst. I, 604. 659. Idleness is the *devil's* lounge, Nethl. luiheid is *duivels oorkussen* (pillow). Take the plough off the drag, or the *devil* sleeps under it, ib. 819. When you can't find a thing, the *devil* holds his hand or tail over it 256. The devil's *plough* and *cushion* appear already in Renner 15597. 15938. 'richtuom ist des tivels *wetzestein*,' Welsh. gast 125^b. 'des tiuvels *dorn*,' Renner 1748. What does 'des tiuvels *zite liden*' (Walth. 107, 28) mean? his festivals? *zite* (pl.), OHG. *zîti*, ON. *tîðir*, festa.

monsters with flashing teeth: 'swenne si si lâzent plecchen, sô mahten sie *ioch* (eke) *den tiufel screcken*.' And MsH. 3, 293^a: 'sô luog ich hervür, ich möht *den tiuvel úz der helle erschrecken*, swenne ich den mînen kolben úf enbür' (see Suppl.).

Our common folk, when the disagreeable is suddenly brought forward, or is bound to befall them, are apt, in outcry or curse, to bring in the Devil or some baneful being that does duty for him: 'has the *devil* brought you here again?' Platers leben p. 77. 'whence brings him the *devil*?' 'hât dich der *tiuvel* har getragen!' Meyer and Mooyer 48^a; 'hât dich der *tiuvel* alsô balde (so soon) getragen har?' 27^b. 'der *tiuvel* hât in dar getragen,' Reinh. 1544. 'der *tiuvel* brâht in hiure her,' Gute frau 783. So in M. Nethl.: 'galghenere, die *lede duvel* bracht u here,' Ferg. 4735; 'die *lede duvel* droech u hier' 520. 'deable li ont amené,' Ren. 5051. 8171. 'dise hât der *tiuvel* gesendet in mîn lant,' Bit. 10^b. 'der *tievel* sande mich an die stat,' Reinh. 311. 551. 'sus (so) kam er her gerüeret, als den der *tiuvel* füeret,' Trist. 6855. 'quis te *maleficus* hic adduxit?' Vita Joh. Gorziensis, before 984, in Mabillon's Ann. Bened. sec. 5, p. 401. 'does the *ritt* (pestis) bring you here now?' H. Sachs iv. 3, 5^b; equivalent to the Westphalian 'wo förd di de *süke* her?' for diseases were looked upon as demonic beings. But what means that in Schmid's Schwäb. wtb. 544, 'has the *zauch* brought you back already?' I suppose, the hellish hound (tyke, OHG. zôha, bitch). Westph. 'fört juw de *kiwitt* (peewit) nu weer her?' instead of the more usual *cuckoo*, *vulture*, which, like the peewit, are magical birds. 'hât mich der *guckguck* hergebracht,' Grobianus 97^a. And curses go through the same variations: 'daz dich der *tiuvel* hin füere!' Sîfrit 74, 2. 'var du dem *tiuvel* in die hant!' Reinh. 952. 'le *diable* t'emporte!' 'the *geier* (vulture) take you!' Gryphius 746. 'the *cuckoo* and *his clerk* fetch him!' Dan. 'var *satan* i vold!' 'die *leide ride* (mala pestis) müeze in vellen!' Karlmeinet, Meusebach 162. In the same way are to be judged the formulas about becoming and being the *devil's*, i.e. falling due to him, where again *cuckoo*, *vulture* and the rest can be substituted. A *devil's carl*, *devil's child*, *des tuvelis kint*, Rol. 2, 31 mean those taken possession of by him: curiously Lamprecht makes Porus exclaim 4452: dirre *tubilis* Alexander stellet michel 'wunder,' this hero is bold as the devil.

These quotations will not appear superfluous, if we will observe that they fit themselves to the Devil chiefly in those respects in which he is a product of heathen god-notions. As we hear it said just as much: 'what (ill) *weather* sends you here? what *tempest* (or *thunderstorm*) has brought you this way? what, has the *hail* beaten you here too? where does the *hail* beat you from?' in *Simplic.* 5, 2, "I'll be the *weather's* if . . .," 'I'll be *thunder's* first!' ¹ and even 'where does *the Lord* send you here again from?'; can anything be plainer, than that such phrases properly refer to the heathen *Donar*, lord of the weather, consequently that by the *Devil* afterwards put in his place we are to understand *him*? Or we may, if we please, summon up some storm-breeding *giant*, a *Bläster*, *Väder* or *Fasolt* (pp. 549. 630). We know that *thunderbolts* are also *devil's fingers* (p. 179).—And here some other points can be made good. *Donar* had a red beard, and our proverb runs: *red of beard*, devil's weird, 'rode baert duivels aert (= kind).' We good-naturedly pity in the words *poor devil*; in the 17th cent. they still said *poor thunder*, *Weise's Drei erz.* pp. 14. 335; and *thunder's child* is synonymous with *devil's child*, *ibid.* 285. 425. The author of *Simplicissimus* writes both *teufelsgeld* p. 480, and *donnersgeld* p. 481, in the sense of accursed pelf. The curse 'zum *donner*' still means exactly the same as 'zum *teufel*'; and our 'fahr zum *teufel*!' answers in effect to the ON. 'far til *Oðins!* *Oðinn* eigi þic!' as well as to 'þik hafi *gramir*, *iötnar*,' p. 991, and to 'dat die *Hamer!* *Hamer* sla!' p. 181. To the benediction '*Gott* walt's (God guide it)!' corresponds in the mouth of the vulgar the curse 'des walte der *teufel!* der *donner!*' Nor be it forgotten, that in exclamations and curses, of no matter what language, names of old gods get hardened and fixed; *conf.* p. 783-4, and *Gramm.* 3, 297 (see *Suppl.*).

Again, the Devil stands connected, not only with the gods of heathenism, but with its *dæmons*, its *spirits*; and a good deal of what was ascertained in ch. XVII. will apply to him. Thus he is called the *wicht*, the *bösewicht*, the *hellewicht* (p. 441) in the harshest sense; the *alp*, whose spell binds men, may stand for

¹ 'Ik sen donners!' *Hansen's Geizhals* p. 120. In Pruss. Natangen, *Pikullis* (p. 672, surely not akin to *Picken* p. 176?) takes the place of it: 'hat mich heute der *Pakulls* gedragen?' *Firmenich's Völkerst.* 1, 108.

him. Like elves he has the power of appearing, disappearing, and transforming himself, only the more sportful mischief of these sprites becomes grim earnest when applied to him. Like the alp, the Devil or *vâlant* is said to *ride* men, p. 464: in a poem of Heinr. von Müglein (Mus. 2, 196) God destines him to *ride* a wicked woman 'over hill and dale.' It is a remarkable thing, that the notions of wind, wight, thing, and no less those of devil and *vâlant*, are used to *strengthen a negative*, Gramm. 3, 734-6 (see Suppl.).¹ Now, as the word *tropf* (drop, *ibid.* 730) was used in the same sense, it explains how the expressions 'armer *tropf* (poor wretch, fool), armer *wicht*, armer *teufel*' all came to have one meaning. We either attribute to spirits and the Devil the swiftness of wind, of the Wild Host rushing in storm, or we imagine the wind itself a spirit and devil (p. 999); hence the following are synonymous turns of speech: 'sam sie der *tievel* vuorte,' as though the d. carried her, Rab. 749. Dietr. 8854, and 'as if the *wind* drove her,' 'she rushed past me like the *zauch* (tyke, p. 1013),' Schmid's Schwäb. wtb. 544.

That morbid imbecile condition of one whom the elves are said to have touched (p. 461) is undoubtedly analogous to *possession* by devils. The difference lies in this, that the Heathen view makes the spirits operate purely from without, while in Jewish, Oriental and Christian doctrine the devils take up their abode in a man's body, and for the abnormal condition to cease, they must be formally cast out. An actual incarnation took place (p. 338), and we speak of devils *incarnate*. Saul is possessed by the evil spirit. When Nalas had defiled himself, the demon Kalis entered into him, but retired at length, and passed into a tree (Bopp's Nalas pp. 234. 267. 196-8). Even our early Mid. Ages furnish examples: Carl, son of king Ludwig, was a demoniac (Pertz 1,

¹ Nib. 1682: 'ich bringe in den *tiuel*' means I bring you none at all, as we say 'the devil a bit,' etc. But also the simple indefinite pronoun is intensified by the addition of devil: '*welcher teufel?*' who? [*quisnam, τίς ποτε*] Phil. v. Sittew. 1, 30. 'besehen, *welchen tiuel* sie mit im wellen ane-vâhen,' see what d. they will do with him, Morolt 2650. 'zuo *welchem tiuel* bin ich geschart?' Bit. 7766. 'vön *welchem tiuel* si sint komen?' Dietr. 81^b. '*welchen tiuel* hæte ein wip an dir ersehen?' = who in the world, Hartm. erst. büchl. 818. Cries of surprise: '*was teufel*,' what (the) devil, Dan. 'hvad fanden' (intens. 'hvad i fandens skind og been,' skin and bone), 'drink then *you and the devil!*' (Schlampampe p. 17) are still common among the people. The meaning of the last is 'you and whoever it may be'; but the combination is also a counterpart of the 'God and I' explained on p. 16. 'daz weiz er und der *tiuel* wol,' Helbl. 7, 125. Curiously in Renner 1745: 'dem *tiuel* von êrst und darnâch *Gote*,' the d. first, and then God.

495).¹ For elves to steal men's children, and put their own changelings in their place, is heathenish (p. 468); for the Devil to lie hid in the changeling, is not (Zeno 58 seq.). Again, the *devil-possessed* are like those houses and tenements where ricketing sprites have made themselves fixtures (pp. 514. 892).² An early instance of this is that Grendel in Beowulf, who disturbs the royal hall by his nightly visits. For 'possessed' (arreptitius, daemonicus), having the devil in one's body, the OHG. has the following terms: *firnoman*, taken up, O. iii. 14, 107 (MHG. 'vil gar vernomen ich dô lac,' I lay insensible, Fragm. 46^b); 'ther diufal ist iru inne,' O. iii. 10, 12; 'gramon in-giwitun,' p. 991 (O. Fr. 'maus esperis li est el cors entrés,' Garin p. 280); *tiuvol-winnic*, *tiuvolwinnanti*, Gl. mons. 337. 391. Doc. 239, as well as *tiuvolsioh*, AS. *deofolseoc* (-sick); in O. iii. 14, 63 'thie mit diufele wunnun,' who had to contend with the devil; and that is the meaning of H. Sachs's 'wütig und winnig' I, 481^b. iv. 3, 16^a. In the 13th cent. our 'possessed' was already a current phrase: 'besaz sie der vâlant,' Uolrich 1510. 'nu var hin, daz hiute der tievel ûz dir kal!' holla out of thee, Ben. 440. 'der tiuvel var im in den munt!' pop into his mouth, Reinh. 1642. 'var du dem tievel in die hant!' 852. 'der tiuvel var dir in den balc!' into thy skin, Morolt 1210. 'der tufil muez im durch daz herze varn!' Grundr. 314. 'tûsent tiuvel ûz dir bellen!' bark, MsH. 3, 259^b (we still say, 'an evil spirit spoke out of him'). 'ich wæn der tiuvel ûz beiden lûge,' Reinh. 309. 520 (see Suppl.).

The words last quoted bring us to his mendacity. The Scripture calls him a 'father of lies'; 'tievellîchen *geloegen*,' lied like

¹ Vita S. Godehardi (d. 1038): In civitate Ratisbona quodam tempore sanctus Godehardus morabatur, pro negotio forsan sui monasterii; ubi quaedam *obsessa a daemonio* ad eum ducebatur, ut sanaretur ab eo. Quam vir Dei inspicens ait: 'responde mihi, immunde spiritus, ad ea quae a te quaero. quid hic agis in creatura Dei?' At *daemon* ait: 'pleno jure est anima ipsius mea, quod *incantatrix* est, et per eam multas animas lucratus sum.' Et ait vir sanctus: 'quare propter *incantationem* tua est?' Et *daemon* ait: 'nonne legisti quia Dominus *pitihones*, *divinos* et *incantatores* jussit exterminari? quid enim tales faciunt, nisi quod mihi meisque principibus deserviunt? *idololatrae* enim sunt, vix enim aliquos tanto jure possidere possumus quanto hujusmodi vitii irretitos; numquid ignoras quod inter mille *incantatrices* aut *divinos* vix una invenitur quae vel qui velit hoc vitium confiteri? sic enim ora ipsorum claudimus, ut de talibus loqui nihil valeant quovis modo.' The bishop casts out the demon. Et sic spiritus ille malignus abscessit, et mulier ut mortua cecidit. Sed vir sanctus subito eam erexit, erecta vero publice vitium *incantationis*, quod dudum *multoties* *perfecerat*, cum lacrymis est confessa, quam et vir sanctus solvit.

² A deserted castle possessed by the devil, Greg. Mag. dial. 3, 4. Like tormenting sprites, the devil *throws stones*, conf. Greg. Tur. vitae patr. 1, vita Heimeradi cap. 21.

a devil, says Nib. 2167, 3. What if the corrupt Dan. 'Locke löjemand, lovmand' p. 246 had an allusion to lyve (mentiri) pret. löi, or if a kinship could even be established between lüge (mendacium) and logi (blaze, blast)? Wind means to us a false allegation, windbag a humbug, liar. A Dan. proverb says: 'lögn er et skadeligt uveir' (mendacium est tempestas nociva), Saxo Gram., ed. Müll. p. 200. A liar is also a mocker, hence 'des tievels spot,' Nib. 2182, 2. 'daz sînen spot der tuvel mit den sînen habe,' Gr. Rud. 1, 9. In Mod. Nethl. 'de vyand heeft my beet gehad,' hostis me ludibrio habuit (see Suppl.).

Grendel's diabolic nature resembles that of bloodthirsty water-sprites (p. 494); he lives too in *moors* and *fens*, and comes up at night to haunt sleeping mortals: 'com of môre gangan,' Beow. 1413; he flies 'under fen-hleoðu' 1632. He *drinks* men's blood out of their veins 1478, like vampires whose lips are moist with fresh blood. An ON. saga has a similar demon, called *Grímur ægir* because he can walk in water as on land, he spits fire and poison, *sucks* the blood out of man and beast (Fornald. sög. 3, 241-2).

About when in the Mid. Ages did the idea spring up of formal *covenants* and *treaties* which the Devil concludes with men? To the unfortunate, the desperate, he promises temporal blessings for a number of years, but bargains for their souls at the expiration of the term, and insists on a written bond usually signed with the men's blood. This sounds not heathen, but rather as if invented after the Roman mode of writing had become general in Europe. The Norse devil¹ tries to strike profitable bargains too, but never in writing. The most famous and variously told² tale is that of the vicedominus Theophilus. It is known that Gerbert, afterwards pope Silvester 2 (d. 1003), was said to have

¹ The iötunn p. 547. The transaction is called a *purchase*.

² The event itself is placed at the beginn. of the 6th cent.; the oldest work I know of, that relates it, is Hroswitha's poem *Lapsus et conversio Theophili vicedomini* (Opp. ed. Schurzfleisch pp. 132-145), of the latter half of the 10th cent. Not long after comes the mention of it by Fulbertus Carnotensis (d. 1029), Opp. Paris 1608, p. 136. A *Historia Theophili metrica* is attrib. to Marbod (d. 1123), and stands in his Works (ed. Beaugendre pp. 1507-16). The story occurs in Hartmann's poem (12th cent.) *Von dem gelouben*, ll. 1927-98. Berceo (d. 1268) merely alludes to it in *Milagros de Maria* str. 276, and in *Duelo de Maria* str. 194; so does a MHG. poet, *Ald. bl.* 1, 79. Widest diffusion given it by Vincentius Bellovac. in *Spec. hist.* 22, 69. Dramatized by Rutebeuf (*Legrand* 1, 333; now publ. in *Jubinal's* ed. 2, 79-105, and Michel's *Théâtre Franç.* 136-156 with notes on its liter. history); and aft. by a Low Germ. poet (*Brunns* p. 339).

sold himself to the devil (Anon. Leobiens. in Pez 1, 763). In the Annolied str. 46-7 is the story of one Volprecht, who gives himself to the devil; another in Ottocar cap. 335. In most legends of this kind the Devil misses his prey after all, and is made to give up the damning document. The man may have denied God, but has never renounced the heavenly Virgin, so she lends a helping hand. In a Swiss folktale the devil bargains that the contracting party shall never *say* the gospel of John any more (de Hänseler uf der lälle ummedrüllen), but he comes to grief nevertheless, for the poor shepherd lad *whistles* it from beginning to end. Another time the Evil one is promised payment of the sum advanced, at the falling of the leaf; but when at fall-time he presents himself, and presses the bargain, he is shown trees in the church, that were cut with the leaves on (Kinderm. no. 148), or else firs and pines (Woycicki's Klechdy 1, 149). On the whole there are ways more than one, to cheat the poor devil of his legal due. One who has bound himself to him, but who for seven years long *neither washes nor combs*, is rid of him again; or he need only have demanded that the devil shall make a sapling grow, a thing beyond his power (Superst. I, no. 626). The former is the story of Bearskin (Simplic. 3, 896. Kinderm. no. 101), and of Brother Sooty (KM. no. 100): Bearskin has to remain seven years in the devil's service, wrapt in a *bear's hide* by way of cloak, i.e. leading a lazy inactive life (conf. p. 1010, the *bearskin* offered to the devil). Almost every case contains this stipulation of *seven years* to be spent in his service and lore.¹

What has a more direct bearing on our investigation is, that some of the ON. legends speak of a *gefaz Oðni* (giving oneself to O.) exactly as the christian Mid. Ages do of writing or vowing oneself into the *Devil's* hands. Indeed 'gefa' seems the most genuine expression, because the free man, who of his own accord enters into service and bondage, gives, yields himself: *gíafþræl*, *servus dedititius* (RA. 327); 'begeben' is used in MHG. of maidens giving themselves up to the church. The Olaf Tryggvas. saga tells how king Eiríkr of Sweden gave himself to

¹ Mone's Anz. 5, 176. In a MHG. poem (Fragm. 20^c) an old man is addressed: 'dín hundert jár sint nu komen zuo *siben jâren* úz erwegen, daz dín der *tiufel* mûeze pflegen.'

Oðinn (at hann gafsc Oðni) in return for his *lending him victory for ten years long*, Fornm. sög. 5, 250 and 10, 283; and this last account calls Oddiner a *devil* (so in 10, 303 a '*diöfull með ásiðnu Oðins*,' looking like O.). That the ancient god of victory here sinks into the Enemy of good, is, from the legend's point of view, quite in order. The only question is, whether the loan for ten years, and after that, the king's forfeiture to the god, were taken over from christian stories of the devil, or had their ground in heathen opinion itself. In the latter case it may have been these heathen traditions that first suggested to christians the wild fiction of a league with the devil. It is true the Norse authorities say nothing about a bond signed in blood, nor about fetching away upon forfeiture (see Suppl.).

How to *call to the Devil*, when one wishes to have dealings with him, we learn from a Dan. superstition (no. 148): Walk three times round the church, and the third time stand still in front of the church-door, and cry 'come out!' or whistle to him through the keyhole. That is exactly how spirits of the dead are summoned up (Superst. G, line 206 seq.). The *kiss*, by which homage was rendered to the devil, does not occur till we come to heretics and the later witches; it seems either copied from the secular homagium, or a parody of the christian kiss of peace during Adoration.

The devil in some stories, who *brings money or corn* to his friends and favourites, approximates to good-natured homesprites or elves; and in such cases nothing is said about a bond or about abjuring God. He is usually seen as a fiery *dragon* rushing through the air and into chimneys (Superst. I, nos. 6. 253. 520-2-3. 858). The Esthonians say, red streaks of cloud shew the dragon is flying out, the dark that he is returning with booty (Superst. M, no. 102); so the Lithuanians about the red *alb* and the blue (N, no. 1). In Lausitz they tell of a *corn-dragon* (*žitny smij*) who fills his friend's thrashing floor, a *milk-dragon* (*mlokowy smij*) who purveys for the goodwife's dairy, and a *penny-dragon* (*penezny smij*) who brings wealth. The way to get hold of such a one is the following: you find a threepenny piece lying somewhere to-day; if you pick it up, there'll be a sixpenny piece in the same place to-morrow, and so the value of what you find will keep rising till you come to a dollar. If you are so greedy as to

take the dollar too, you get the *dragon* into your house. He demands respectful treatment and good fare (like a homesprite) ; if goodman or goodwife neglect it, he sets the house on fire over their heads. The only way to get rid of him is to sell the dollar, but below its price, and so that the buyer is aware and silently consents.¹ It is the same with the *alraun* and the *gallows-mannikin* (p. 513 n.). If given away, these *breeding-dollars* always come back (Superst. I, no. 781).

But nowhere does the *Devil* savour so much of heathenism as where he has stepped into the place of the old *giant* (pp. 999. 1005. 1023-4). Both of them the thunder-god pursues with his hammer; as the sleeping giant is struck by Thôr's *miölnir*, so is the devil by the blacksmith's hammer (p. 1011);² the *devil* with three golden hairs (KM. no. 29) has already been likened to the ON. *Ugarthilocus* (p. 244). And more especially is he giant-like, where the people credit him with stupendous feats of *building* and *stone-throwing* : here he puts on completely the burly, wrathful, spiteful and loutish nature of the *iötunn* (pp. 534. 543-54) ; *stupid* devil is used like *stupid* giant (p. 528). The building of christian churches is hateful to him, and he tries to reduce them to ruins ; but his schemes are sure to be foiled by some higher power or by the superior craft of man. Like the giant, he often shews himself a skilful architect, and undertakes to build a castle, bridge or church, only bargaining for the soul of him who shall first set foot in the new building.

What was once told of the giant is now told of the devil, but a harsher crueller motive usually takes the place of milder ones. The giant in building has commonly some sociable neighbourly purpose (pp. 535-54), the devil wishes merely to do mischief and entrap souls. Norway has many legends of *giant's bridges*. The *jutul* loves a *huldra* on the other side of the water ; to be able to visit her dryshod, he sets about building a bridge, but the rising sun hinders its completion (Faye 15. 16). Another time two *jutuls* undertake the work to facilitate their mutual visits. Over

¹ Lausitz. monatsschr. 1797, p. 755-6. Conf. the Flem. *oorem*, Haupt's Zeitschr. 7, 532.

² It is no contradiction, that in other stories the Devil has the opposite part of *Donar* with his hammer and bolt handed over to him, or again that of the *smith*, the limping Hephaestus. A preacher of the 14th cent. (Leyser 77, 10) speaks of the evil devil's *blow-bellows*.

the Main too the *giants* propose to build a bridge (p. 547), though the motive is no longer told. When the *Devil* builds the bridge, he is either under compulsion from men (Thiele 1, 18), or is hunting for a soul (Deut. sag. nos. 185. 336); but he has to put up with the *cock* or *chamois* which is purposely made to *run first across the new bridge*.¹ A Swiss shepherd in a narrow glen, finding he could not drive his flock over the brook, wished the devil would bridge it over for him; instantly the fiend appeared, and offered to do the work on condition that the first thing that crossed should be his: it was a goat that led the way (Tobler 214^a). In one French story, having reserved for himself every thirteenth creature that should cross the bridge, he has already clutched numbers of men and beasts, when a holy man, being a thirteenth, confronts and conquers him (Mém. de l'acad. celt. 5, 384).² The *church-building devil* also having bargained for the soul of the first that should enter, they make a wolf scamper through the door (Deut. sag. no. 186); he in a rage flies up through the roof, and leaves a gap that no mason can fill up (the last incident is in nos. 181-2). On mountains he builds *mills*, and destroys them again (nos. 183. 195).³ His *wager* with the architect of Cologne cathedral is remarkable: that he will lead a rivulet from Treves to Cologne,⁴ before the other can finish his church (no. 204). In the same way a giantess *wagers* to throw a stone bridge over a strait of the sea, before St. Olaf shall have brought his church-building to an end; but the bridge was not half done, when the bells pealed out from the sacred pile. She in vexation hurled the stones she was building with at the church-tower, but never once could she hit it; then she tore off one of her legs, and flung it at the steeple. Some accounts say she knocked it down, others that she missed; the leg fell in a bog,

¹ Before entering a new house, it is safest to let a cat or dog run in first, Superst. I, 499.

² The devil is shut up in a tower, where he may get out at the top, but only by mounting one stair a day, and there being 365 of them, the journey takes him a whole year.

³ A mountain called *Teufelsmulin* at the source of the rivulet Alp is ment. in Dumbek's Geogr. pagor. p. 79; and a mill *Duvelmolen* near Soest in Seibertz 1, 622. Bechst. Franken p. 107. Baader's Bad. sag. no. 487.

⁴ By this was meant the old Roman aqueduct (Gelenius de admir. Col. p. 254), of which an equally fabulous account stands in the Annolied 510: 'Triere was ein burg alt, si zierte Rômâre gewalt, dannin man undir der erdin den win santi verre, mit steinin rinnin, den hêrrin al ei minuin, di ei Colne wârin sedilhaft.'

which is still named Giögraputten (Faye p. 119). *Bell-ringing* is hated by dwarfs (p. 459), giants (Faye p. 7. 17. Thiele 1, 42), and devils,¹ who keep retiring before it: these legends all signalize the triumph of Christianity. Out of some churches the devil drags the bells away (Deut. sag. 202): at first he does not know what the new structure is for, and is pacified by evasive answers (no. 181); but when it stands complete, he tries to batter it down with stones. *Devil's stones* are either those he has dropt as he bore them through the air for building, or those he carried up the hills when undoing some work he had begun, or those he has thrown at a church (nos. 196-8-9. 200. 477). Scandinavian stories of stones hurled by the *giant race* at the first christian church are in Thiele 2, 20. 126-7. Faye pp. 16. 18; a Shetland one in Hilbert p. 433. Frequently such fragments of rock have the fingers of the devil's hands imprinted on them; a stone on which he has slept shews the mark of his ear, Deut. sag. 191. At Limburg near Türkheim in the Palatinate is a stone, which the Evil one was bringing to fling at the church; but being only a young devil, he tired of the heavy load, and lay down to sleep on it; his figure printed itself on the rock, and he overslept the time during which the throw ought to have been made. In the vale of Durbach, on a hill of the Stollenwald, stand eleven large stones; the twelfth and largest one the devil was carrying off, to batter down the Wendels-kirk with; he had got across the Rappenloch with it, and halfway up the Schiehdald, when he laid his burden down, and had a rest. But after that he could no longer lift the heavy stone, its pointed end stuck fast in the mountain, and you may still see the round hole made in it by the devil's shoulder-bone. So the church was spared, but the devil still drives about the place now and then with six he-goats, and at midnight you hear the crack of his whip (Mone's Anz. 3, 91).—*Devil's Dikes*² are explained by the people as built by the Devil to mark the boundary of his kingdom (Deut. sag. 188); he is imagined then as the ruler of a neighbouring and hostile kingdom (a Iötunheimr), nay, as disputing with God the possession

¹ In the Mid. Ages bells were rung to keep off lightning (the heathen Donar) and the devil.

² *Dike* has the double sense of ditch and earth-wall, both being made by digging; hence also any wall. The Germ. *graben*, ditch, has in some old words the meaning of wall.—TRANS.

of the earth, till at last they agree to divide it, and the Devil builds the boundary-wall (no. 189). But these *devil's walls* and *devil's ditches* alike gather additional significance for us. The people call the Roman fortifications in Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia and the Wetterau, not only devil's walls, but *pfalgraben*, *pohlgraben*, *pfahlhöbel* (-mounds), and even simply *pfal*, pl. *pfäle*, which is explained as our *pfahl*, pale or stake, a word early borrowed from Lat. *pālus* (Graff 3, 331). But these walls have no stakes in them, only stones and bricks; it seems more correct to trace the name to our old friend *Phol*; the form *Wulsg Graben*, which occurs in the Wetterau (Dieffenb. Wett. p. 142) and is merely a softened pronunciation of *Phulsg Graben*, is clearly in favour of it; and we have seen several instances in which *Phol*, *Pfal*, *Pful* interchange. What is more, in various places the devil's wall is also called the *schweingraben* (swinedike), and a remarkable Swabian folktale says it was scratched up and rooted up out of the ground in the night by a *chanticleer* and a *hog*.¹ Does not that unmistakably point to *pfol* the boar (p. 996)? I have scarcely a doubt that popular tradition and local names will yield some further confirmations. On this devil's wall the devil is said to come driving on Christmas night (Abh. der Münchn. acad. 1, 23, conf. 38), as nearly all the heathen gods are astir from then to Twelfthday. Nor ought we to overlook, that in such districts we also come across *teufelsgraben*, *dükersgraben*, e.g. in Lower Hesse, where Roman walls never came: any rocks and walls that strike the eye are traced back by popular imagination either to giants and devils, or to Romans (p. 85) and Hellenes (p. 534). One piece of rock the Devil puts on as a hat, to shew his enormous strength; then comes the Saviour, and slips the same on his little finger (Deut. sag. no. 205), just as Thórr keeps outdoing the giant (p. 545): doubtless a fiction of primitive times. But when footprints of the Saviour and the Devil are pointed out on high cliffs, from which the tempter shewed and offered to his Lord the landscape invitingly spread out below (DS. 184. 192), that seems to be founded on the Bible.² Pro-

¹ Prescher's Hist. bl., Stuttg. 1818, p. 67. Where the wall runs over the Kochersberg to the R. Murr, the country people all call it *schweingraben*.

² Ulrichs in his Journey through Greece 1, 44 gives the story of a devil's stone (*logári*) from which the Devil preached (*λόγος*).

jecting crags are called *devil's pulpits* (Stald. 2, 85, känzeli, fluhkänzel), whence he is said to have preached to the assembled people (DS. 190. Bechst. 3, 222); perhaps in olden times a heathen priest stood there, or a divine image? or are they simply ancient *Woden's hills*? The *devil's beds* may be placed by the side of the Brunhilde beds and the like (see Suppl.).

Here I will make room for a few detailed narratives. The Devil is represented as a masterful giant who will have his tithe and toll: sometimes he appropriates the *first* who crosses the bridge, at other times the *last*. So from the wheel of fortune (p. 868) he every year made the last pupil drop off,¹ and took him to himself. A Spanish legend has it, that there was a cave at Salamanca, where he constantly maintained seven scholars, on condition that when they had finished their studies, the seventh should pay the lawing. Once, when a set of students were taking their leave, and the last was ordered to stay, he pointed to his shadow, saying 'he is the last!' So the devil had to *take the shadow*, and the pupil escaping remained without a shadow all his life. Jamieson gives the details of a Scotch superstition: 'Losing one's shadow arrives to such as are studying the art of necromancy. When a class of students have made a certain progress in their mystic studies, they are obliged to run through a subterraneous hall, where the devil literally catches *the hindmost* in the race, unless he crosses the hall so speedily that the Arch-enemy can only *apprehend his shadow*. In the latter case the person of the sage never after throws any shade, and those who have thus lost their shadow always prove the best magicians.' The devil is cheated of his prey, and has to put up with the bare shadow, like the dishonest man in the sham penance (RA. 678)² (see Suppl.).

That significant Norrland story of the *giant Wind and Weather* (p. 548), whose connexion with the *Devil* is placed beyond a doubt by the observations on pp. 1000-14, is related by Thiele 1, 45 in the following shape. Esbern Snare wished to build Kallundborg church, but his means not sufficing, a *troll*

¹ 'Da nu einer ins teufels reder sesse, oder gar in sumpf gefallen were, oder des tods schwaden hette ihn ergriffen,' Mathesius 140^b.

² Chamisso's Peter Schlemihl rests, no doubt, on a legend substantially the same. Of the homesprite Vollmar, on the contrary, nothing was seen but the shadow, p. 509.

offered his assistance on condition that, when the church was finished, Esbern should be able to tell the trolld's name, or else forfeit to him his heart and eyes. The work went rapidly forward, and only half a pillar was wanting, when Esbern began to be alarmed, because he knew not yet the trolld's name. Anxious and sad he wandered in the fields, when at the top of a rock he heard the voice of a trolld-wife: 'hush, hush, my child, to-morrow comes thy father *Fin* bringing thee Esbern Snare's heart and eyes to play with.' Esbern came home comforted; he stept into the church, the trolld was just bringing up the stone shaft that was still wanting, when Esbern hailed him by the name of *Fin*! In a rage the trolld shot up into the air with the half-pillar: that is why the church stands on three pillars and a half only. *Finnr* is the name of a dwarf in the Edda.—The German legend on p. 549 is told thus in Lower Hesse: A peasant on the Ellenbach (by the Sandershäuser mt. near Cassel) had so much corn to gather in, that he knew not how to house it all: his barn was too small, and he had not the money to build a larger. As, thoughtful and anxious, he paced his fields, a *gray old mannikin* stept up to him, and asked the reason of his sadness. When the peasant had told him the plight he was in, *Graymannikin* smiled and said: 'a barn I would doubtless build for thee, so roomy that thou canst garner all thy crop therein, and *ere to-morrow's dawn* shall it stand ready in thy yard, if thou wilt make over to me *whatsoever hidden property thou ownest*.'¹ The peasant thought of treasures underground, which could do him no good till they were lifted, and he closed with the stranger's offer: not till he turned to leave did he notice a *cow's foot* and *horse's foot* peep out from under the gray coat. He went home, and told his wife what had happened to him in the field: 'my God! what hast thou done? I have a child unborn, and thou hast signed it away to the Evil one.' The moment it was dark, a tremendous din arose in the farmyard, carters, carpenters, masons working away together, the Devil as architect directing the whole business, which advanced with incredible speed: a few hours more, and the barn

¹ *Höttr* (hat, gray hat), i.e. *Oðinn* (p. 146), after giving Geirhildr his spittle to be the barm of the ale she was brewing (conf. p. 902), demands what is *between her and the vat*, viz. her unborn child, Fornald. sög. 2, 26. The *wilde walrabe* (p. 997) requires of the queen 'det du haver *under belle dit*,' DV. 1, 187. If only for this one incident, I hold the Hessian tale to be of heathen origin.

stood ready built, the roof was thatched, the walls filled up, only a square or two stood open in the gable. Then the cunning wife, dressed in her husband's clothes, crept across the yard to the henhouse, *clapt her hands*,¹ and mimicked the *crow of a cock*, and all the cocks set up a crowing one after the other. The evil spirits scuttled away with a great uproar, leaving but one gable-square of the new barn empty: one carter had just come up with a large stone drawn by four chestnuts, when the Devil caught him up and smashed him, cart and steeds and all, against the barn; his figure was printed on that same stone for a remembrance, and may be seen there now. The barn-gable no human hand has ever been able to close up; what was built in by day would always fall out again at night.² The hill where the *gray man* first appeared to the peasant is called *Teufelsberg*.—Not far from Römheld stand the Gleichberge, high basaltic hills, one of which has its top encircled by a double ring of stones irregularly piled. Here the Devil once carried a wall round the castle of a knight, having bargained for the hand of his lordship's daughter. But before daybreak the young lady's nurse slapped her *knees loudly with her hands*, the *cocks began to crow*, and the devil lost his bet. Exasperated he destroyed his own work, therefore you see only ruins of the wall. Another version of the story (Bechst. Franken p. 261) is, that the nurse, having overheard the compact, stole out at early morn with a dark lantern to the hen-roost; the cock, suddenly seeing the light, thought it was day, and *crowed with all his might*.³—A mill at Coslitz being badly off for water, the Devil undertook to provide it with plenty by daybreak, *before the cock should crow*; the miller in return bound himself to give up his handsome daughter. In one night therefore the devil had nearly finished cutting the conduit from the Elbe to Coslitz, when the miller repented, and, some say by imitating the cock's cry, others by knocking his leather apron, made the cock crow before his time, whereupon the devil departed in anger, and the trench remained unfinished, Mitth. des Sächs. vereins,

¹ Clapping of hands avails in enchantments. Wolfdietr. 1372 says of the heatheness Marpalie: 'sie *sluog ir hend ze samen*,' and immediately turned into a crow.

² In any church the hole at which the devil has flown out can never be closed.

³ Same incident in a Thuringian story, Bechst. 3, 224.

Dresd. 1835. 1, 11.—At Geertsbergen in W. Flanders there goes a similar story of a *devil's barn* (duivelschuer), and here too the farmer is saved by the cunning of his wife: lang voor dat de haen gewoon is te kraeyen, sprong zy het bed uit, en liep naer buiten, waer zy een onnoemlyk getal werklieden bezig zag met de schuer op te maken, aen dewelke nog slechts een gedeelte van den zymuer ontbrak. *Zy plaetste haren mond tusschen hare handen*, en schreeuwde zoo schel als zy maer kon: '*koekeloren haen!*' en alle de hanen in de rondte lieten hun eerste morgen-geschrei hooren. Het werkvolk was verdwenen, en de schuer stond er, doch met dien onvoltrokken gevel; men heft herhaelde malen beproefd het gat te stoppen: telkens komt Satan het's nachts openbreken, uit weerwraek dat de ziel van den boer hem zoo loos ontsnapt is.¹

The Esthonians call a farm-servant who has charge of the barns and grains 'riegenkerl.' Once a riegenkerl sat casting metal buttons, when the *Devil* walked up to him, said good day, and asked, 'what are you doing there?' 'I am casting eyes.' 'Eyes? could you cast me a new pair?' 'Oh yes, but I've no more left just now.' 'But will you another time?' 'Yes, I can,' said the riegenkerl. 'When shall I come again?' 'When you please.' So the devil came next day to have eyes cast for him. The riegenkerl said, 'Do you want them large or small?' 'Very large indeed.' Then the man put plenty of lead over the fire to melt, and said, 'I can't put them in as you are, you must let me tie you down.' He told him to lie down on his back on the bench, took some stout cords, and bound him very tight. Then the devil asked, 'what name do you go by?' '*Issi* (self) is my name.' 'A good name that, I never heard a better.' By this time the lead was melted, and the devil opened his eyes wide, waiting for the new ones. 'Now for it!' said the riegenkerl, and poured the *hot lead into the devil's eyes*; the devil sprang up with the bench on his back, and ran away. He was running past some ploughmen in the fields, who asked him, 'who's done that to you?' He answered, '*issi teggi*' (self did it). The men laughed and said, 'self done, self have.' But he died of his new

¹ Kunst en letterblad, Ghent 1840. p. 7; and from it Wolf no. 187, who gives similar stories in no. 186 and note p. 686.

eyes, and nobody has ever seen the devil since.¹ In this tale the Devil is more a blundering giant than the malignant Foe of mankind; his blinding and the name Issi reminds us of Homer's Polyphemus and *Oûris*, as well as of the oriental Depêghöz (p. 554). In our nursery-tale (KM. 2, 481, conf. Altd. bl. 1, 122) the giant's eyes are scalded out with oil, and in Lith. the devil is called *aklatis*, the blind, blinded. When other Esthonian tales explain *thunder* by saying the devil is pursued by God, and fleeing for refuge to the rocks, is smitten down (Superst. M, 61. 64); here also God resembles the Scand. Thôrr, and the *Devil* a *iötunn* whom he slays (see Suppl.).

It is a vital part of the machinery of medieval poetry, for heroes to be *transported by the Devil through the air* from distant countries to their home, when there is urgent need of their presence there: some marriage is contemplated, that would rob them of wife or lover. Thus king Charles (in the Spagna, canto xxi) rides a devil, converted into a horse, from the East to France in *one night*; later legends make an angel appear to him instead, and shew him a strong horse, DS. no. 439. The angel visits the gentle Möringer in like distress (no. 523). But Henry the Lion and Gerhart (Caes. Heisterb. 8, 59) travel with the devil's aid. The mere fact that angel and devil can change places here, shews that no evil spirit was originally meant; it is no other than *Wuotan* carrying through the clouds his foster-son (p. 146); and so we get at the real meaning of the question, what devil brings you here? A devil carries a belated canon from Bayeux to Rome in time for pontifical mass; and by the same magic Klinsor and Ofterdingen get from Hungary to the Wartburg.

There is no surer test of the mythic element having a deep foundation, than its passing into the Beast-fable. The Esthonian tale of the man and the bear going halves in the cultivation and produce of a field (Reinh. cclxxxviii), which turns on the same distinction of upper and under growth that we saw at p. 715, is told in our KM. no. 189 of a peasant and the devil, and in this form we find it as early as Rabelais bk 4, cap. 45—47. Rückert's Poems p. 75 (Gödeke 2, 416) give it from an Arabian tradition, the source of which I should like to learn; while the Dan. story

¹ Rosenplänter's Beiträge, part 6, p. 61. The devil's being buried by beasts is not in point here.

in Thiele 4, 122 relates it of a peasant and a trolld. The common folk in Normandy have to this day a legend of their Mont St. Michel, how Michael and the Devil disputed which could build the finer church. The devil builds one of stone, Michael constructs a handsomer one of ice; when that melts, they both agree to till the soil, the devil choosing the upper herbs, and Michael keeping what hides in the ground. In all these tales, the bear, giant, troll or devil is the party outwitted, like the giant who built the castle for the gods (see Suppl.).

Lastly, the old-heathen nature of the Devil is proved by animals and plants being named after him, as they are after gods and giants (p. 532). The libellula grandis, dragonfly, a delicate slender-limbed insect, is called both enchanted maid and *devil's horse*, *devil's bride*, *devil's nag*, Dan. *fandens ridehest*; in the I. of Mors a beetle, meloe proscarabaeus, *fannens rihejst* (Schade p. 215); in Switz. the libellula, *devil's needle*, *devil's hairpin*, and the caterpillar *devil's cat*.¹ In the vale of Rimella the black snail, *tiufulsnakke*, and a tiny black beetle *s' bözios ajo*, the evil one's mother, Albr. Schott pp. 275. 334, a counterpart to the Marienkäfer, p. 694, but also suggestive both of 'devil's needle' and of Loki's mother *Nál*, p. 246; so that *Dona-nadel* (p. 490 n.) may be correct, as the name of an evil river-sprite. In Holland some herb, I know not which, is called *duivels naai-garen* (sewing yarn). The alcyonium digitatum or palmatum is *devil's hand*, *manus diaboli*, thief's hand, Engl. *devil's hand*. or deadman's hand, Nethl. doode mans hand, oude mans hand, Fr. *main de diable*, main de ladre, de larron, conf. Forneotes folme, p. 240. Lycopodium clavatum, *devil's claw*; euphorbia, *devil's milk*; clematis vitalba, *devil's thread*; scabiosa succisa, *devil's bite*, Boh. *čert-kus*; adonis, *devil's eye*; convolvulus arvensis, *devil's gut*, etc., etc.² Probably the folktales of an earlier time knew the exact reasons of such names, conf. Superst. I, nos. 189. 190. 476. The thunderbolt, the elf-shot, was also called *devil's finger*, pp. 179. 187 (see Suppl.).

¹ Caterpillars, through shedding their skins, becoming pupæ, and gradually changing from creeping and dead-like creatures into flying ones, have something uncanny, ghostly in them.

² Hypericum perforatum, *devil's flight*, because it drives him away: 'dosten, harthun, weisse heid, thun dem teufel vieles leid.'

In such various ways has a Being who, taken altogether, was unknown to the heathen, pushed himself into the place of their gods, spirits and giants, and united in himself a number of similar or conflicting attributes. He resembles Wuotan as the grayman and the cloaked wild hunter, who rides and carries through the air; as sowing discord, playing dice, and taking into his service men that vow themselves to him. His red beard, his hammer and bolt recall Donar. Phol and Zio are connected with the storm-wind, and the former with devil's buildings. As for giants, their whole being has most things in common with that of the Devil.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

MAGIC.

Miracle (wundern)¹ is the salutary, *magic* (zaubern) the hurtful or unlawful, use of supernatural powers: miracle is divine, magic devilish; not till the gods were degraded and despised was magic imputed to them.² Beings midway betwixt them and man, sage giants, artful elves and dwarfs practise magic; only their skill seems more innate, stationary, not an acquired art. Man can heal or poison, by directing natural forces to good or to evil; sometimes he even shares the gift of miracle, but when he pushes the beneficent exercise of his powers to the supernatural point, he learns to conjure. Miracle is wrought by honest means, magic by unlawful; the one is geheuer (blessed, wholesome, p. 914), the other ungeheuer. At the same time the origin of all conjuring must be traced directly to the most sacred callings, which contained in themselves all the wisdom of heathendom, viz. religious worship and the art of song. Sacrificing and singing came to mean conjuring; the priest and the poet, confidants of the gods and participants of divine inspiration, stand next-door to the fortune-teller and magician (see Suppl.).

It is so with all nations, and was so with our ancestors: by the side of divine worship, practices of dark sorcery, by way of exception, not of contrast. The ancient Germans knew magic and magicians; on this foundation first do all the later fancies rest. And the belief was necessarily strengthened and complicated when, upon the introduction of christianity, all heathen

¹ I here use the verb *wundern* transitively (= to do wonders, in which sense its derivative *wunderer* meant a wonder-worker. Reinmar says, Ms. 2, 154^b: 'wol dem wunder, daz der wunderære gewundert hät an der vil süezen.' God is the true *wunderære*, Ms. 2, 171^b. Trist. 10013, who of all wonders hath control, Parz. 43, 9; mirabilis Deus, Helbl. 7, 12. But also a hero doing godlike deeds, e.g. Erek, earns the name of *wunderære*; in Eitzels hofhaltung it is even applied, less fitly, to a savage devilish man, p. 943.

² And a human origin for the same reason, p. 384n. Snorri calls Oðinn 'forspár, fiólkunnigr,' and makes him 'galdr qveða,' Yngl. saga cap. 4. 5. 7. Saxo Gram. p. 13 ascribes to him 'praestigia,' and curiously divides all magicians (mathematici; see Forcellini sub v.) into three kinds, viz. giants, magi and deities (p. 9); conf. his statements (p. 103) on Thor and Othin 'magicæ artis imbuti.' So the Chronicon Eriici (circ. 1288) represents Odin as 'incantator et magus.'

notions and practices were declared to be deceit and sinful delusion: the old gods fell back and changed into devils, and all that pertained to their worship into devilish jugglery. Presently there sprang up tales of the Evil one's immediate connexion with sorcery; and out of this proceeded the most incredible, most cruel jumbling up of imagination and reality. Magic tricks performed, and those merely imagined, so ran into one another, that they could no longer be distinguished either in punishing or even in perpetrating them.

Before proceeding with our inquiry, we have to examine the several terms that designated witchcraft in olden times. It seems worth noting, that several of the more general names have simply the sense of *doing* or *preparing*, and therefore mark an imperceptible lapse of right doing into wrong. The OHG. *karawan*, AS. *gearwian*, had only the meaning of *facere*, *parare*, *praeparare*, *ornare*, but the same word in ON. *göra* approximates to that of conjuring, Dan. *forgiöre*; *görnning* is maleficium, *görnningar artes magicae*, much in the same way as *facinus* is both deed and misdeed. Our *thun*, to do, passes into *anthun*, to inflict (by sorcery); and the ON. *fordæða* (malefica), Sæm. 64^a. 197^b comes from *dáð* (*facinus*).¹ Now the Greek and Latin words *ἔρδειν*, *ῥέζειν*, *facere* (p. 41n.), mean not only to do, but to sacrifice, without requiring the addition of *ἱερά* or *sacra*, and *ἔρδειν τιλί τι* is to bewitch; the ON. *blóta*, beside its usual sense of *sacrificare*, *consecrare*, has that of *maledicere*; whether *fornæskja*, sorcery, can be connected with *förn*, sacrifice, has been discussed, p. 41.—A difficult word to explain is the OHG. *zoupar* *divinatio*, *maleficium*, *zouparari hariolus*, *zouparôn hariolari*; Notker spells *zoufer* in Ps. 57, 6, *zoufer* in Boeth. 29, *zouferlih*, *zouferlih* in Cap. 45. 99; the MHG. *zouber*, *zoubern* answers exactly to the strict OHG. forms with *p*, to LG. *tover*, *toveren*, and the same in Nethl. both Mid. and Mod. (conf. *toverie*, Maerl. 1, 260-3, *toverare* 1, 266. 2, 176-7, *toverie* is a faulty spelling); O. Fris. *tawerie*, Richth. 401. 21. The Icelandic has *töfur* *instrumenta magica*, *töfrar* *incantamenta*, *töfra* *fascinare*,

¹ M. Lat. *factura* (*sortilegium*), *facturare* (*fascinare*), *affacturatrix* (*incantatrix*); Ital. *fattura* (*incantatio*), *fattucchio*, *-ra*, *sorcerer*, *-ress*; Prov. *fachurar*, *faiturar*, to conjure, *fachilieira*, *faitileira*, *sorceress*; O. Fr. *faiture*, *faiturerie*, *soerery*; Span. *hecho* (*facinus*), *hechizo* (*incantatio*), *hechizar* *conjure*, *hechicero*, *-ra*, *sorcerer*, *-ress*.

töfrari magus, *töfranorn* saga, Fornald. sög. 3, 205; with which the Norw. *tougre* fascinare (Hallager 131^b) and Swed. *tofver* incantatio, *tofverhäxa* saga, agree; we may safely suppose a modern importation of all these Scand. words from Germany, as they do not occur in ON. writings.¹ I am in doubt whether an AS. *teáfor* is to be connected with *zoupar*; it signifies minium, color coccineus, and Lye gives (without ref.) *tifran* depingere, which ought perhaps to be *týfrian*. The addition of the adj. red in *reúd teáfor* (rubrica) favours the conjecture that *teáfor* was a general term for the colours employed in illuminating manuscripts, and thus may stand for rune, mystic writing, hence our *zauber* (magic).² To identify *zoupar* with *zëpar* (p. 40), AS. *teáfor* with *tiber*, is forbidden by the difference of vowel, though it would bring the notion of magic very near that of sacrifice again. One would much rather trace *zoupar* to *zouwan*, Goth. *táujan*, AS. *tawian* (facere, parare), and assume the operation of some anomalous change of the *w* into *v*, *b*, *p*.³ Even the Lith. *daryti*, Lett. *darriht* (facere), and the Slav. *tvoríti* (facere, creare, fingere) are worth considering.—Another term no less perplexing is one peculiar to the Saxon branch of our race. In L. Saxony they still say for conjuring or soothsaying, *wikhen*, *wicken* (Sp. 2, 13. Homeyer p. 117 var. x) and *wigelen* (wichelen), for fortune-teller *wikker*, *wichler*, for witch *wikkerske*, for sorcery *wichelie*. So in Nethl. both *wikken* and *wichelen*, *wikkerij* and *wichelarij*; M. Nethl. *wikelare* ariolus, Maerl. 2, 323. 348, *wigelare*, Kästner's Bruchst. 42^b, *wigelinge* vaticinium 12^b. The AS. also has the two forms: both *wiccian* fascinare, *wicce* saga, *wiccungdóm* (Cædm. 223, 17) or *wiccancræft* ars magica; and *wiglian* ariolari, *wigelere* augur, *wigelung* augurium, incantatio; while the Fris. transposes the letters, *wiliga* incantatio, Richth. 401, 21. The Engl. has *witch* = *wicce*; from the AS. verb has survived its partic. *wicked* (perversus, maledictus), and O. Engl. had an adj. *wikke* meaning the same; add *wizard*, but all the L-forms have

¹ So the Lüneburg Wendic *töblatsch* sorcerer (Eccard p. 291), *tobalar* sorcerer, *towlatza*, *toblarska* sorceress (Jugler's Wtb.), seem borrowed from German, as other Slavic dialects have nothing similar; for the Slovén. *zóper* magic, *zóprati* to conjure, *zopernik*, *nítza* sorcerer, -ress, are certainly the Germ. *zauber*, etc.

² Is the derivation of our *ziffer*, Engl. *cipher*, Fr. *chiffre*, It. *cifra*, *cifera* (secret writing) from an Arabic word a certainty? Ducange sub *v. cifrae* has examples from the 12th cent. The AS. word has a striking resemblance.

³ Our *gelb*, *farbe*, *gerben*, *mürbe*, all have *w* in MHG.

disappeared. The word is unknown to any HG. dialect, old or new;¹ yet I believe it springs from a root common to all Teutonic tongues, viz. *veihan* (no. 201), which again had originally the sense of *facere*, *conficere*, *sacrare*, and from which came the adj. *veih*s (sacer), OHG. *wih*, and the noun *vahts* (res), conf. Slav. *tvár*, *tvor* (creatura, *κτίσις*). We know that *vahts*, *wight*, acquired the sense of *dæmon* (p.440-1), and the ON. *vættr* (örm *vættr*, poor *wight*) means a witch in *Sæm.* 214^b. I treat the *kk* in *wikken* as I did that in *Ecke* from the root *agan* (p. 237), and this is supported by the *g* in *wigelen* and *ch* in *wichelen* (evidently a *ch=h*).—Near in meaning, though unrelated in origin, seems the OHG. *wîzago*, AS. *wîtega*, *wîtga*, *Cædm.* 218, 18. 224, 13, our *weissage*, prophet, soothsayer, but in a good, not in a bad sense; the ON. form *vitki*, *Sæm.* 63^a. 118^a, stands for *vitugi* (conf. *vitug* 94^a), as *ecki*, *eitki* does for *eitgi* (*Gramm.* 3, 738), and *vætki* for *vætgi*. This *vitki* has been wrongly identified with AS. *wicce*: never does an AS. *cc* result from *tg*, though it becomes *tch* in English.² The corresponding verb is OHG. *wîzagôn*, AS. *wîtegian*, M. Nethl. *witegen*, *Diut.* 2, 202^b.—Equivalent at first to *wîtega* and *vitki* were the ON. *spâmaðr*, *spâkona*, *spâðis* (pp. 94. 402): but from signifying the gift of wisdom and prediction as it resides in priest and poet,³ they gradually declined into the sense of noxious wizard and witch. Even *Snorri's for-spâr* and *fiöl-kunnigr* (p. 1031 n.) had already acquired the bad secondary sense. *Fiölkunnigr* (multiscius) came to mean magician, and *fiöl-kunnátta fiölkýngi*, and even the simple *kýngi* (=kunnugi) sorcery. This *kýngi* was learnt as a profession: '*Rögnvaldr nam fiölkýngi*,' *Har. Hârf. saga* cap. 36. *Walther* 116, 29 says of a lady wondrous fair: '*daz si iht anders künne* (that she was up to other tricks, knew too much), *daz soll man übergeben* (you are not to imagine).' *Hans Sachs* calls an old sorceress by turns '*die alt unhuld*' and '*die weise frau*' iv. 3, 32-3 (see *Suppl.*).

¹ *Vegius* in the *Lex Burg.* 16, 3 and OHG. 1, 8 has been taken to mean magician; but, as the rubric '*viator*' in the last passage shews, it is one who fetches and carries, index, delator.

² Of like meaning are: *weiser mann*, *weise frau*, *kluge frau*; ON. *visindamaðr*, sage, natural philosopher, *Fornald. sög.* 1, 5; Serv. *vietcht peritus*, *vietchtats*, *-titsa* veneficus, -ca; Pol. *wieszeczka* sorceress, fortune-teller, *wieszczyka* night-hag, lamia; Slovèn. *vezha* witch.

³ Analogous is the O. Fr. *devin*, *divin*, magician, divincr.

Inasmuch as spying is foreseeing and seeing, there is another word for conjuring that I can connect with it. Without any bodily contact, things may be acted upon by mere looking, by the evil eye: this in our older speech was called *entsehen* (p. 461).

But as the vates, beside seeing and knowing, has also to sing the mystic strain and speak the spell, there must from the earliest times have been words to express conjuring, like our present *beschreien, beschwatzen, berufen, überrufen, beschwören* [from cry, call, talk, swear]. The OHG. *kalan*, AS. *galan*, ON. *gala*, was not only canere, but incantare, a recital with binding power, a singing of magic words. Such spoken charm was called in ON. *galdr*, AS. *galdor*, OHG. *kalstar* (not to be confounded with *këlstar*, sacrifice, p. 38-9), MHG. *galsterie*, Schwanr. 813; we find *galsterweiber* for witches even in Mod. German; *galdr* in itself seems not to have meant anything criminal, for *meingaldr* (wicked spell) is particularized, Fornm. sög. 2, 137. ON. *galdra* fascinare, *galdramaðr* incantator, *galdrakona* saga; AS. *galdor-cræft* magia, *galdere* magus; OHG. *kalstarari* incantator, 'Medea diu handega *galsterarâ*,' N. Cap. 100. In like manner the Fr. *charme, charmer* come from *carmen*, and *enchanter* incantare from *cantus, canere*. The M. Lat. *carminare*, to enchant, gave birth to an OHG. *garminari, germinari* incantator, *germinôd* incantatio, Diut. 2, 326^b. Gl. Doc. 213^a. *germenôd*, N. Cap. 100; which afterwards died out of the language. The MHG. already used *segen* [blessing, from *signum*] for a magic formula, *segenærinne* for enchantress. Chap. XXXVIII. will go more deeply into this necessary connexion of magic with the spoken word, with poetic art; but, as the mystery of language easily passes into that of symbol, as word and writing get indissolubly wedded, and in our idiom the time-honoured term *rune* embraces both tendencies; it throws some light on the affinity of *zoupar* with *teáfor* (p. 1033), and also on the method of divination (p. 1037) by *rune-staves*.

The Goth. *afhugjan*, to deprive of one's senses, bewilder, stands in Gal. 3, 1 for *βασκαίνειν* = fascinare; ¹ AS. *dyderian, bedyderian* illudere, incantare, perhaps conn. with our HG. *tattern, dottern* (angi, delirare); we now say *verblenden, daze, dazzle*. That ON. *tröll* (p. 526), which stood for giants and spirits, is also

¹ Is this, or is the Ital. *fasciare*, the source of Fr. *fâcher*, formerly *fascher*, irritare, Span. *enfadar*?

applied to magicians, *tröll-skapr* is sorcery, the Sw. *trolla*, Dan. *trylle* incantare, *trolldom*, *trolldom* witchcraft; the Gulapingslag p. 137 has 'at *vekja tröll*' for conjuring, which reminds us of 'veckja hildi' and 'waking the Sælde,' p. 864. The Frisians say *tsyoene* fascinare, *tsyoen-er*, *-ster* sorcerer, *-ress*, which (as initial *ts* before *i* or *y* often stands for *k*) is no doubt to be explained by the ON. *kyu* in its collateral sense of monstrum, conf. MHG. *kunder*. I cannot satisfactorily account for an O.Sw. *vipskipli*, used in the Vestgötalag for magic, not of the worst kind, but what can be expiated by penance: 'far konä meþ *vipskiplum*,' p. 153; 'värþer taken meþ *vipskipplum*,' p. 228; 'convictus de *widskiplum*,' p. 321; it is plainly the present *vidsksepelse* superstitio; *skipa* is ordinare, facere, and the wrongness must lie in the *vid*; conf. *beginn.* of ch. XXXV.

We find *seiðr* meaning magic already in the Edda: '*seið hon kunni*,' said of a *vala* or *völva*, Sæm. 4; *seiðberendr* 118^a are magicians, who stand on a par with *völur* and *vitkar*; and the word becomes commoner in the sagas. If we might spell it *seyðr* (as one poem has it in Fornald. sög. 2, 130), we should get both an easy derivation from *siðða* to seethe, and another point of contact with Goth. *sáuþs*, p. 40. *Seiðnaðr* is magician, *seiðkona*, *seyðkona* a wise woman, one that skills to seethe and cook magic remedies.¹ Meanwhile *seiðr* occurs clearly as a vowel-change from *síða*, Yngl. saga cap. 16-7, *Loki* reproaches *Oðinn* with having practised sorcery: '*þik síða koðo*,' Sæm. 63^a, and I have never seen *siðða* put for it; so the two words, even if cognate, must remain apart, or find their justification in an exceptional shifting from the 4th to the 5th series of vowel-change.

The OHG. *puozan*, AS. *bétan*, is emendare, but also mederi, to remedy, heal; in Westphalia *böten*² still expresses the action of old-fashioned charms as opposed to scientific medicine, Superst. I, 873; the Teutonista gives *boiten* as synon. with conjuring, and the M. Nethl. *út boeten* is sanare (Reinh. 5394).³

¹ *Seyðr* or *sauðr* is a poetic word for a fire to cook by: '*á seyði bera*,' Sæm. 54^a, to set on the fire, take to cook, make to boil.

² Roth de nomin. vet. Germ. med. p. 139.

³ Foreign terms are less interesting, e.g. AS. *drif* magus, pl. *drifas*, *dryrcraft* magia, whose Celtic origin is betrayed by the familiar name of *Druid*; Ir. *draoi* wizard, *draoidheachd* sorcery. *Nigrómanzie* already in medieval poets, Ms. 2, 10^b; 'der list von *nigrómanzi*,' Parz. 453, 17. 617, 12, list m. answering to ON. *iðrótt*, which Snorri uses of magic; *nigrómanzie*, Maerl. 2, 261. 'der swarzen buoche wis,'

Now, as the concocting of remedies and that of poisons easily fall into one, the OHG. *luppi*, AS. *lyf*, MHG. *luppe*, is used of poisoning and bewitching: 'luppe und zouber trîben,' Berth. 12, and *luppærinne* 58 is sorceress, exactly as *veneficium* and *venefica* stand related in Latin; and the Goth. *lubjaleisei*, Gal. 5, 20 is *φαρμακεία*, sorcery, and *leisei* is like *list* in *zouberlist*, Iw. 1284. Even the Goth. *lêkeis*, OHG. *lâhhi* (leech, medicus in the good honest sense), and *lâhthinôn* (*mederi*), *lâhhan* (*remedium*) lie at the root of the words *lâchenærinne* enchantress, Oberl. *bîhteb.* 46, *lachsnen* quackery, conjuring, *lachsnerin* witch, Stald. 2, 150.

In Hessian witch-trials of the 16th cent., the usual, nay the only term for bewitching is *derren*, prop. *nocere*; as even OHG. *tarôn* acquired, beside *nocere*, the meanings *fraudare*, *officere*, *illudere* (see Suppl.).

A part of the diviner's craft consisted in casting and interpreting lots. Like the Lat. *sortilegium* and *sortilegus* (M. Lat. *sortiarius*, whence Fr. *sorcier*), our old German words *hliozan* (Graff 4, 1122), MHG. *liezen* (*augurari*, Diut. 3, 107-8. Er. 8123), and *hliozari*, *liezære* (*augur*, *divinator*) are applicable to sorcery. Then from the customary phrase 'mittere, jactare sortem' seems to have been borrowed the expression *zouber werfen*, to throw a spell, Wolfd. 515. 520. 533, *jeter un sort*, 'maleficium super jactare,' Lex Sal. 22, 4; *zouber legen*, to lay a spell, Walth. 115, 32. 116, 23-5. The Swed. *tjusa* to conjure is, I think, for *kjusa*, ON. *kiôsa*, choose, spy (Gramm. 4, 848), pick, *eligere sortem*; but also the 'vala,' the wise woman and enchantress, is one that 'wales' or chooses, a *valkyrja*.

One species of divination was performed with the drinking-cup (Genesis 44, 5). From the Lat. *caucus* (for *scyphus*) are supposed to have sprung *cauculator*, Capitul. an. 789, § 63 capit. 1, 62. 6, 373, and *coclearius*, ib. § 18 capit. 5, 69, and from these the OHG. *coucalari scenicus*, *magicus*, Gl. Mons. 377, *gougulari*,

Troj. 7411. 'suoehen an den swarzen buochen,' Martina 20*. 'nû lër etz in sîn swarzez buoch, daz ime der hellemôr hât gegeben,' Walth. 33, 7. *Black art*, black artist, not till a later time. All this came of misunderstanding the Gr. *νεκρομαντεία*. In the Ulm Vocab. of 1475 we read: '*nigramansia* dicitur divinatio facta per nigros, i.e. mortuos, vel super mortuos, vel cum mortuis.' A curious statement in Bit. 79 about Toledo: 'ein *berc* lit nâhen da bî, dâ der list *nigrômanzi* von êrste wart erfinden (first invented);' another opinion propounded in Herbort 9372. Our Mid. Ages saddled the Saracens in Spain and Apulia with its invention: 'ein *püllisch* zouber,' Ms. 2, 133^b.

O. iv. 16, 33, *koukelari*, Georgsl. 25, *goucaltuom* magia, Gl. Mons. 375, *goukel* praestigium, N. ps. 65, 3; MHG. *gougel gougelære*, Walth. 37, 34, our *gaukel*, juggle; ON. *kukl* praestigium, *kuklari* magus; M. Nethl. *cokelere* hariolus, Diut. 2, 217^a. Others derive *gaukler* from *joculator*, and one thing that seems to be in its favour is the mild meaning, of mere sleight-of-hand, which still clings to *gauklerei* (jugglery), i.e. harmless tricks performed by way of game and recreation; conf. *gougel-bühse* (-box), Walth. 38, 6. Renn. 2244. *gougelstok* (-stick), Martina 9^a. *gougel-fuore* (-cart), MsH. 3, 166^a. 186^a. *gougelspil* (-play) 438^a. *goukel-hüetlîn* (-cap), Renn. 16719, conf. Walth. 37, 34. So the Nethl. *guichelen*, *gochelen*, *goghelen*, *guichelaar*: 'gokelt onder den hoet,' Ferg. 2772; the form *guichelen* is very like *wichelen* (p. 1033), and there actually occurs an AS. *hweolere*, *hweohlere* (suggesting *hweohl*, κύκλος, *rota*) as another way of spelling *wigelere*, so that one might really conjecture an O. Frankish *chuigalari*, and from it get *cauculator*, were not everything else against it. I will just mention also the Boh. *kauzlo* magic, *kauzliti* to conjure, Pol. *gusla* magic, *guslarz* conjurer; this *g* form we might be tempted to refer to the Serv. *gusle*, Russ. *gusli*, psaltery, as the bewitching instrument, but that the Pol. *gesle*, Boh. *hausle*, does not agree (see Suppl.).

The various ways of naming magic have led us to the notions of doing, sacrificing,¹ spying, soothsaying, singing, sign-making (secret writing), bewildering, dazzling, cooking, healing, casting lots.

They shew that it was practised by men as well as women. Yet even our earliest antiquities impute it preeminently to *women*. More influential, more expert than the *zouparari*, *wigelere*, *spâmaďr*, *galdramaďr*, appears the *zoupararâ*, *wicce*, *wilkerske*, *kalstararâ*, *galdrakona*, *spâkona*; and to these must be added some appellations hardly applicable to any but female witchery.

For the reason of this I look to all the circumstances external and internal. To woman, not to man, was assigned the culling and concocting of powerful remedies, as well as the cooking of food. Her lithe soft hand could best prepare the salve, weave the lint and dress the wound; the art of writing and reading is in

¹ Even where the vowel resists, the coincidence is remarkable: *förn* and *forn*, *gëlstar* and *galstar*, *sauď* and *seiď*, *zëpar* and *zoupar*.

the Mid. Ages ascribed chiefly to women. The restless lives of men were filled up with war, hunting, agriculture and handicrafts; to women experience and convenient leisure lent every qualification for secret sorcery. Woman's imagination is warmer and more susceptible, and at all times an inner sacred power of divination was revered in her (pp. 95. 397). Women were priestesses, prophetesses (56n. 94—8), their names and fame are embalmed alike in Old-German and Norse tradition; and the faculty of somnambulism still shews itself most of all in women. Then again, looked at from one side, the art of magic must have been chiefly monopolized by *old women*, who, dead to love and labour, fixed all their thoughts and endeavours on hidden science.¹ Snorri in his curious account of the origin of magic (Yngl. s. cap. 7) says, that to males (*karlmönnum*) it seemed undignified to dabble in a doubtful art, so they taught it the *goddesses* or *priestesses*, for *gyðjur* can mean either. According to differences of national sentiment, the *norns* and *völvas* (p. 403), the *valkyrs* and *swan-maids* approximate to divine beings or sorceresses. On all this put together, on a mixture of natural, legendary and imagined facts, rest the medieval notions about witchcraft. Fancy, tradition, knowledge of drugs, poverty and idleness turned women into witches, and the last three causes also shepherds into wizards (see Suppl.).

To the Latin words *saga*,² *strix*, *striga*,³ *venefica*, *lamia*, *furia* answers our *hexe*, by which is meant sometimes an old, sometimes a young woman, and a beauty can be complimented by being called a perfect witch. The OHG. form of the word is *hazus* [pron. hatsus], *hazusa*, *hazasa*, Graff 4, 1091; *hazzuso* (eumeni-

¹ 'Where one man is burnt, there be well ten women burnt' says Keisersp. Om. 46. 'ein wunderaltes wip bescheidet den troum,' unravels the dream, Walth. 95, 8. A '*kerling frôð ok framsjñ*' foretells of a log that is to perish in the fire, Nialssaga 194-9. Very early times impute to *old women* more craft and malice than to the devil himself, as we see by the pretty story of the hag who set a loving couple by the ears when the devil could not, for which he handed her a pair of shoes cautiously on a peeled stick, being afraid of her touch, Morolt 917—1007. Haupt's Altd. bl. 2, 81. H. Sachs ii. 4, 9. Melander's Jocoseria 2, 53. Conde Lucanor cap. 48. No witchcraft comes into the story, though the first account calls her a *zouberin*.

² '*Sagire* sentire acute est; ex quo *sagae* anus, quia multa scire volunt,' Cic. de Divin. 1, 31.

³ Lex Sal. 22. 67. Lex Alam. add. 22 *stria*; O.Fr. *estrie* (see p. 287 *dame Habonde*); Ital. *strega*, *stregona* (whence perh. the Swiss *strüggele* p. 934), a wizard being *stregone*. Orig. *strix*, *σρῖτυξ*, was bird of night, owl: '*striges* ab avibus ejusdem nominis, quia maleficae mulieres volaticae dicuntur,' Festus sub v.

dum), Diut. 2, 350^a, is gen. pl. of hazus, hazes 2, 346^a; *hezesusun* (furiis) 2, 337^b apparently a corruption of hegezusun? The Gl. Flor. 21 give *hegezisse*, and that the genuine form in full was *hagazus* or *hagazusa* (p. 1045n.) we are assured by the AS. *hægtesse*, M. Nethl. *hagetisse*, Diut. 2, 229^b, *haghedisse*, Hor. Belg. 1, 119: the contraction of the first two syll. (as in *tâlanc* for *taga-lank*) speaks for its age and frequent use; we must therefore prefer the spelling *hâzus* with long *a*, and in N. Cap. 105 it does seem to be *hâzessa*, Wackern. lb. 153, 36 in spite of Graff's *hazessa*. Rarely do we find a MHG. *hegxæse*, *hexse*, Martina 90^c. 106^b, *hecse*, Oberl. bîhteb. 46; the Swiss say *hagsch*, *haagsch*, Stald. 2, 10; at Ulm, says Schmid's Schwâb. id. 156, they call a stingy old woman *hekkäs*, only another way of writing *hexe*. But as the AS., beside *hægtesse*, has also *hægesse*, Engl. *hag*, MHG. *hâchel*, Ls. 2, 638, Swiss *häggele* (conf. *sträggele*), the suffixed letters seem to have added little to the simple root *hag*. The ON. adj. *hagr* means dexter, artificiosus, and might have had the full sense of *sagus*: our *hexe* is a deep sly woman. Still the ON. never does use a masc. noun *hagr* or a fem. *hög* in such a way; and the Swed. *hexa*, Dan. *hex*, in their very spelling betray their Mod. German extraction. For *hexen*, to bewitch, Up. German dialects furnish *hechsnen*, which agrees with an O. Fris. verb *hexna* (Richth. 159, 25, one MS. has *hoxna*); the Dalecarlian is *hågsa*, *hugsä* [*hoax*, *hocus*?]. Down to the 16-17th cent., instead of the rare MHG. forms given above, the preference was given to *unholde* (which properly means she-devil, p. 266), as *diu unholde* in Martina 170^c. 172^c, occasionally backed by a masc. *unholdære*; in Keisersberg and Sachs *unholde* is still the usual word, not till the 17-18th cent. did *hexe* become general instead of it. Here and there the people use a masc. *hex* for conjurer; in Swabia *der hengst* (Schmid 273), in Switz. *haagg*, *hagg*, *hak* for cheat, juggler; even the OHG. *hâzus strio* (masc. to *stria*? hardly for *histrío*?) might mean a male. Many have been caught by the obvious resemblance of the Gr. *Hecate*, Ἑκάτη, but the letters agree too closely, contrary to the laws of change, and the Mid. Ages would surely have had an unaspirated *Ecate* handed down to them; no *Ecate* or *Hecate* appears in M. Lat. or Romance writings in the sense of witch, and how should the word have spread through all German lands? About the M. Nethl. *haghe-*

disse, *strix*, there is this to be said, that the Mod. Nethl. *eghdisse*, *egdisse*, *haagdisse* is *lacerta*, our *eidechse*, OHG. *egidehsa*, AS. *âðexe*: the lizard does seem to have played a part in magic, and witch-trials actually speak of witches giving birth to a lizard instead of the traditional elf, Märk. *forsch.* 1, 260 (see *Suppl.*). In the Span. *hechicero*, *-ra* I see again only an accidental likeness (p. 1032 n.); the Span. *bruza*, South Fr. *bruesche*, means a baneful nightbird, but, like *strix*, it has passed into the sense of witch. *Drut*, *drude* is often found as an equivalent for witch, though strictly it denotes the tormenting oppressive nightmare; out of what heathen being this *drut* arose, was shown on p. 423, it was so easy for elvish sprites of the olden time to be afterwards mixt up with human sorceresses; in the same way *bilwiz*, *belewitte* (p. 473) will now and then occur in witch-affairs.

Another set of names, presented to us in the ON. remains, merits particular attention: here we see the notion of magic women stand next door to that of giantesses. *Tröll* is the general term including at once beings of the elf or giant brood and those of magic kind (p. 526), yet so that at first the giant character predominates, and afterwards the diabolic. *Tröllaháls*, *tröllaskögr*, *tröllatúnga* occur in the *Landnámabók*; *tröllskapr* may be taken to mean, first the *iötunmôðr* p. 530, secondly our witchcraft and magic. But while scarcely any mention is made of a *tröllmaðr*, there is plenty about the *tröllkona*, and names for a giantess like *flagð*, *skass*, *skessa* (p. 526) are applied without scruple to witches. Snorri 210 gives a long string of names, some hard to interpret, which will be a task to the student for some time to come. Others, archaic and poetically conceived, are told by one who is a *tröllkona* to Bragi, who meets her at eventide, Sn. 175. The copiousness of this nomenclature implies the great antiquity of magic in the North, and its deep-rooted oneness with the systems of magic all over Europe: the most significant of these names I shall take up and explain in the course of discussion.

On such etymological groundwork, of the more general terms that come under question, may now follow an examination of the subject itself.

And this time I will commence with Scandinavian sorcery,

whose more antiquated and to my thinking unadulterated character proves above all things that the leading part in it was taken by women, not by men.

It is true the Edda classifies magicians as *völur*, *vitkar* and *seiðberendr*, Sæm. 118^a, of whom only the first are female, the other two male; nay, all three are traced up to *Viðólfr*, *Vilmeiðr* and *Svarthöfði*, alleged inventors of magic, about whom there is nothing conclusive to be said. *Svart-höfði*, Blackhead, may come of the *black* art, and *black* as the fiendish colour in general (p. 993). *Vilmeiðr*, compounded of *vil* (favor, beneplacitum) and *meiðr* (arbor), ought rather to claim kinship with the pleasing art of poesy (p. 901). *Viðólfr* would seem to be the '*Vitolfus mendendi peritus*' mentioned in Saxo Gram. 122. To me however the first named, the *völur*, seem to throw the rest into the shade: that poetic dialogue with Bragi gives the witch a *vilsinn völva* (better perh. *vilsinni*, acc. *vilsinna*), i.e. a friend and comrade of the *vala*. *Vitkar*, *vitkar*, are the OHG. *wizagon*, soothsayers, vates, which supports my interpretation of *Vilmeiðr*. *Seiðr* has no right to be monopolized by men: we saw above (p. 1036), and shall soon make out more exactly, that it pertains to women too, that *seiðkonor* shew themselves no less than *seiðberendr*. Both must have been forthcoming in great numbers in some districts: in Harald hárf. saga cap. 36, king Eiríkr causes his brother Rögnvald and 80 *seiðmenn* to be burnt. The *vala* or *völva* is a prophetess, priestess, norn, a most holy being of the olden time (pp. 97. 408), and at the same time a *seiðkona*. Even of the Eddic *vala* it is said: '*seið hon kunni*,' Sæm. 4^b. Such magic women are *Heiðr*, *Hamglöm*, *Skuld*, etc., all originally *air-riding* valkyrs (p. 421); in Sæm. 154^b *völva*, *skass*, *valkyrja* stand side by side. Weighty evidence shall be brought by and by of their wanderings in the wood at even and by night. They *roam through the country with their retinue* (*með sitt lið*), are reverently invited in by men, entertained, and called upon to say sooth. This they do, sitting on a four-legged stool, the *seiðhiallr*. The performance is called *efla seið* (fixing, instituting magic), Fornald. sög. 2, 72. 3, 318; *setja seið* 1, 97; '*seiðrinn verðr erfiðr*,' is wrought 1, 12; *færa á hiallinn* is to conduct to the stool 2, 72. The later sagas evidently throw in contemptible features. In the company of *Skuld*, says Fornald. sög. 1, 97, might be seen elves,

norns and other such fry (álfar ok nornir ok annat ill-þýði). *Heiðr* may still come riding with 15 youths and 15 maids (2, 165. 506), but Oddr sets little store by her, addresses her as ‘allra kellinga örmust,’ poorest (wretchedest) of old women 168. 508. So when the Fornm. 3, 212 mentions these vagrants, who tell people’s fortunes, the same word is used 214 : ‘völván *arma*,’ miserable witch, like ‘*usle havfrue*’ in the Dan. folksong (DV. 1, 110).¹ King Fróði wished to get a prophecy out of the völva *Heiðr*, Fornald. sög. 1, 10 : ‘giörði hann þá gilda veizlu í môtí henni, ok setti hana á seiðhíall einn háan . . . ok svara mer sem skiotast, *seiðkona!*’ When she falters, and will not say all, he threatens to use force : ‘þik skal *pína til sagna*’ (11. 12).² It is worth noting, that the seiðr is performed *at night*, when men are asleep, by the völvás, who *sally out with their company* : ‘menn fóru at sofa, en völva fór til náttfars seiðs með sitt lið’ 2, 166 ; and the parallel passage 2, 507 says : ‘gekk hun þá út með liði sínu, er aðrir gengu til svefns, ok *efldi seið*.’ Ketill was roused at night by a great uproar in the wood, he ran out and saw a sorceress with *streaming hair* (sá tröllkonu, ok féll fax á herðar henni) ; being questioned, she begged him not to balk her, she was bound for a *magic note*, to which were coming Skelking king of sprites from Dumbshaf, Ofóti (unfoot) from Ofótansfirð, Thorgerðr Hörgatröll and other mighty ghosts from the northland (ek skal till tröllapings, þar kemr Skelkingr, norðan or Dumbshafi, konungr trölla, ok Ofóti ur Ofótansfirði, Thórgerðr Hörgatröll ok aðrar stór-vættir norðan ur landi), Fornm. sög. 1, 131, conf. 3, 222. The riding out by night to do magic was called *sitja úti* (Biörn 2, 251^a explains it : sub dio nocturnis incantationibus operam dare) ; the Norw. Laws name these jaunts *úti-setor* to wake up the magic-working sprites : ‘spáfarar allar oc *úti-setor* at vekja tröll upp, oc fremja með því heidni,’ Gulath. p. 137. Of the objects of Scand. sorcery I will give a specimen or two. Fees were given to sorceresses, to raise up storms : ‘sendu eptir seiðkonum, tveimr, Heiði ok Hamglöm, ok gáfu þeim fé til, at þær sendi veðr . . . þær

¹ *Arm* poor, slight, miserable. I named *poverty* as a cause of sorcery, p. 1039 : ‘*armer* wársage, wissage,’ Freidank 124, 1. Ms. 2, 176*, and note to Freid. p. 372. ‘*armer bleicher* (wan) wissage!’ Herb. 2266.

² ‘þa lét hann taka Finn, einn er margfróðr var, oc vildi neyða hann til aðrar sögu (force him to a sooth saw), oc *pindi hann*, oc feck þó ecki af hönum,’ Saga Hálfðanar svartá cap. 8.

efldu seiðinn, ok færðust á hiallinn með göldrum ok giörnîngum,' Fornald. sög. 2, 72. Magic made men proof against weapons, invulnerable: 'var seiðt at Haraldi, at hann skyldi *eigi bíta iarn*,' iron should not bite him 1, 374. 'þeir létu seiða at Ögmundi, svá at hann skyldi *engi iarn bíta atkvæðalaus*' 2, 241.

Certain features, that agree with the descriptions to be given by and by of witches' doings, might be thought plagiarisms. I doubt it. True, the nocturnal gathering before Skelking, Ofôti and Thôrgerð is not altogether in the spirit of ON. religion, but it may have arisen in Scandinavia itself by the gradual deterioration of older beliefs. Nowhere is the Devil mentioned, though the 'footless one' may remind us of the horse-footed. This Norse *trölla-bîng* is more like the meetings of our *night-women*, whom I take to have sprung out of wise-women and *völvas*; and this is fully borne out by the nightly excursion of Heiðr with her party of 30 persons, and that of Skuld with elves and norns. Thôrgerð, Skuld and Heið are, like Hulda and Berhta, purely pagan half-goddesses, round whom gathers the magic ring-dance; they stir up storm and tempest, they make invulnerable, they prophesy. Their *seið-hiallr* with *four props* or *prongs* (*stólpar*, *stiklar*), Fornald. sög. 1, 12. 3, 319 (see Suppl.), finds nothing to match it in the German witch-world; it does remind us of the Delphian pythia's *tripod*, and possibly further inquiry may allot a *three-legged stool* to German night-excursionists as well, especially as that article has a sacredness belonging to it from of old, RA. 80. 189. 208; conf. in Superst. F, 59. 60 the sitting on the *tripod*, and I, 111 the caution against setting an empty *trivet* on the fire. Skuld queens it here, does her spiriting in a black tent, sits on her magic stool: 'sat î sinu svarta tialdi â seiðhialli sînum, skip-tir nû svá um, sem dimm nôtt komi eptir biartan dag,' Fornald. 1, 105. With the Norse enchantresses the power and obligation to *prophesy* is still predominant, which in German witches and night-women falls into the background. Other features of the Norse faith in magic I can better weave into the account, now to follow, of our own antiquities.

Christianity found a heathen belief in magic-wielding women existing among Celts and Germans as well as Greeks and Romans, but has largely modified it; views held by heretics or imputed to

them got mixt up with it, and out of everything put together witchcraft has to be explained. Down to the latest period we perceive in the whole witch-business a *clear connexion with the sacrifices and spirit-world of the ancient Germans*. This of itself proves the gross unfairness and grotesque absurdity of witch-burning in later times.

A world-old fancy, that has penetrated all nations, finds in sorcery the power to *hide or change one's figure*. Enchanters would turn into wolves, enchantresses into cats; the wolf was the sacred beast of Wuotan, the cat of Frouwa, two deities that had most to do with souls and spirits. The adept in magic assumed a mask, *grîma* (p. 238),¹ a trölls-ham, by which he made himself unrecognisable, and went rushing through the air, as spirits also put on grîmhelms, helidhelms (p. 463); often we see the notion of sorceress and that of *mask*² meet in one, thus the Leges Roth. 197. 379 have '*striga, quod est masca,*' '*striga, quae dicitur masca.*' On this last term I shall have more to say by and by (see Suppl.).

But sorceresses have also at their command a bird's shape, a feather-garment, especially that of the goose, which stands for the more ancient swan, and they are like swan-wives, valkyrs, who traverse the breezes and troop to the battle. Inseparable from the notion of magic is that of *flying* and *riding* through air (p. 427), and the ancient Thrûðr becomes a *drut* (p. 423), and Holda an *unholdin*. Like the 'holde' sprites, 'unholde' now float in the air with the Furious Host. They *assemble in troops* to fulfil a common function.

From this subject, then, heathen sacrificial rites are by no means to be excluded. Our very oldest Laws, esp. the Salic, mention *gatherings* of witches for *cooking*, and I remind the reader of those Gothland *suðnautar* (p. 56) at a sacrifice. The Lex Sal. cap. 67 specifies it as the grossest insult to call a man *witches' kettle-bearer*: '*si quis alterum chervioburgum, hoc est strioportium clamaverit, aut illum qui inium dicitur portasse ubi*

¹ ON. *Grîma*, name of a sorceress; also *Grîla* (horrific), Sn. 210^a.

² Can *hagebart*, larva, Gl. Herrad. 189^a be conn. with hag in *hagezusa*? A mask is sometimes called *schembart*, of which more hereafter: bearded masks were worn in masquerades. I am even tempted to explain the latter half of *hagazusa* by *zussa* (*lodix*), or *zusa* (*cingulum, strophium*), Graf 5, 711; conf. MHG. *zûse* (*cirrus*), Diut. 1, 458-9. 460.

strias (for *striae*) *cocinant.*¹ In my RA. 645 I have tried to explain *chervioburgus*.¹ He that demeans himself to carry witches' utensils becomes contemptible to men; he may also be called simply *strioportius*, witches' carrier, being hired by them to do it. Now this *kettle-bearer* is never named in the later stories of witches, but these often take a *piper* to their meetings, whose business is to play to their feasting and dancing, without being exactly an accomplice in the conjuring; and he may be likened to that menial. The words *ubi striae cocinant* (some MSS. *coquant*, *cucinant*; Lex. emend. incorrectly *concinunt*) imply a *cooking* and *seething* (*seyðr* p. 1036) by several witches *in common*. In *Macbeth* three witches—but they are 'weird-sisters' too (p. 407), and so suggest the old meaning of *drût*—meet on a heath and in a cave, to boil their *cauldron*. They are not so much enchantresses in league with the Devil, as fate-announcing wise-women or priestesses, who prophesy by their cauldron, p. 56 (see *Suppl.*).

It may seem over-bold to name Shakspeare's witches in the same breath with ancient Cimbrian prophetesses, with *strigas* of the Salic Law; but here we have other links between the oldest times and the recent.

Speaking of *heilawâc* (healing waters) in chap. XX, I on purpose omitted all mention of *salt springs*, that I might here bring their sacredness into immediate connexion with the witchcraft of a later time. Tacitus, in a passage of importance in many ways, *Annals* 13, 57, tells us: 'Eadem aestate inter Hermunduros Chattosque certatum magno praelio, dum flumen gignendo sale foecundum et conterminum vi trahunt; super libidinem cuncta armis agendi *religione insita*, eos maxime *locos propinquare coelo*, precesque mortalium a deis nusquam propius audiri. Inde indulgentia numinum illo in amne illisque silvis *salem provenire*, non ut alias apud gentes eluvie maris arescente, sed unda super ardentem arborum struem fusa, ex contrariis inter se elementis, igne atque aquis, concretum.'² Burgundians and

¹ Leo now explains from the Celtic, that *burgius* is the trusty, watchful, hence attendant, and *chervio* wise-woman, from gear shrewd, and bhith, bhe, woman: 'sagae minister.' Also, that *strioportius* may be the Welsh *ystryws* wise, and *porthi* helping, serving. All this is still very doubtful.

² 'Sed bellum Hermunduribus prosperum, Chattibus exitio fuit, quia victores diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacravere: quo voto equi, viri, *cuncta victa* occidioni dantur. Et minae quidem hostiles in ipsos vertebant.' The sense of these remark-

Alamanns also fought for salt-springs: 'Burgundii salinarum finiumque causa Alamannis saepe jurgabant,' Amm. Marc. 28, 5. That not only in Germany, but in Gaul, salt was obtained by pouring water on burning wood, we know from Pliny 31. 7, 39: 'Galliae Germaniaeque ardentibus lignis aquam salsam infundunt;' hence the ritual that hallowed it may have been common to Celts and Teutons. Now of streams charged with salt there was doubtless a good number in Germany, then as now, and it is hardly possible to say which in particular was meant by Tacitus.¹ They rose on mountains, in sacred woods, their produce was deemed the direct gift of a near divinity, possession of the spot seemed worth a bloody war, the getting and distributing of salt was a holy office; would not there be very likely sacrifices and festivals connected with salt-boiling? (see Suppl.).

Suppose now that the preparation of salt was managed by women, by priestesses, that the *salt-kettle*, saltpan, was under their care and supervision; there would be a connexion established between salt-boiling and the later vulgar opinion about witchcraft: the witches gather, say on certain high days, in the holy wood, on the mountain, where the salt springs bubble, carrying

able words (pp. 44. 120-1) is: the Chatti in case of victory had devoted the hostile army (div. ac.) to Mars and Mercury; such vow binds one to sacrifice horses, men, every live thing of the defeated. The Chatti had used the vow as a threat, the victorious foe fulfilled it as his own. We need not suppose that both sides vowed, least of all that the Hermunduri vowed to Mars, the Chatti to Mercury; for then the closing words would have no point. Besides, I think the very peculiarity of this cruel vow consists in its being made to *both dispensers of victory* (pp. 134. 197-8) at once, the men falling, may be, to Wuotan's share, the women, children and animals to Zio's; none were to escape alive. Had the vow been to one god alone, he would have been content with part of the spoils; that is why Tacitus remarks that such a vow was ruin to the Chatti. The passage proves that Zio and Wuotan were worshipped by Chatti and Hermunduri; the Roman conceptions of Mars and Mercury are out of the question. Can it be, that the *horses* are named before the *men*, to shew which fell to Zio, which to Wuotan? *Beasts*, we know, were sacrificed to Mars, Germ. 9. That it was the custom to *devote* those who fell in battle to the god, is witnessed by Hervar. saga 454: 'Heiðrekr fal (set apart) Oðni allan þann val er þar hafð'i fallt til árþótar.'

¹ Surprising how commonly, in names of rivers and towns that produce salt, the roots *hal* and *sal* occur, both originally signifying the same wholesome holy material (ἅλς, ἄλς, sal, salis; in the alternation of *h* and *s*, the former often seems more archaic, or more German, e.g. the particle ham, sam; haso, sasa; hveits, svétas). 'In pago Salagewe, in illo fonte ubi nascitur sal,' Trad. Fuld. 1, 88; *Halle* on the *Sale* in Saxony, *Halle* in Ravensberg county, *Hall* on the Kocher (boiler?) in Swabia, *Hallein* on the *Salza* in Bavaria, *Hall* and *Hallstadt* in Austria, *Hall* in the vale of Inn (Tirol), *Allendorf* (for *Hall*.) in Hesse, and so forth, all have salt-springs, salt works; *Halle* as much as *Sala*, *Salzaha* refers to the salt, but why do the rivers have *s*, and the towns *h*? If *halle* meant merely the hut or shed (taberna) in which the salt works are carried on (Frisch 1, 401), such a general meaning would suit almost any village that has work-sheds.

with them cooking-vessels, ladles and forks; and at night their saltpan is a-glow.¹ These conjectures are countenanced by a poem in the Vienna MS. 428, 154^b either by Stricker or one of his countrymen and contemporaries, which I quote in full :

Ich bin gewesen ze Portigâl
 und ze Dolêt sunder twâl (Toledo, I assure you),
 mir ist kunt (ken'd) Kalatrâ daz lant,
 dâ man di besten meister vant (found) ;
 ze Chohn (Cologne) und ze Parîs,
 dâ sint di pffaffen harte wis (exceeding wise),
 di besten vor allen rîchen (realms).
 Dar fuor ich wêrlîchen (travelled I truly)
 niwan durch diu mære (merely to ascertain)
 waz ein *unholde* wære (what a witch was) ?
 Daz gehôrt ich nie gelesen (never heard it read),
 waz ein *unholde* mûge wesen (might be).
 Daz ein wîp ein chalp rite (should ride a calf),
 daz wære'n wunderlîche site (fashion),
 ode rit ûf einer dehsen (wand),
 ode ûf einem hûspesem (besom, broom)
nâch salze ze Halle füere (fare to H. for salt) ;
 ob des al diu welt swüere (if all the world swore it),
 doch wolde ich sîn nimmer gegehen (say yea to it),
 ich en-hete (unless I had) ez mit mînen ougen gesehen
 wand (for) *sô würde uns nimmer tiure* (dear, scarce)
daz salz von dem ungehiure.
 Ob ein wîp einen ovenstap über schrite (bestride)
 und den *gegen Halle rite*
 über berge und über tal,
 daz si tete deheinen val (make no fall),
 daz geloube ich niht, swer daz seit (whoever says it),
 und ist ein verlorniu arbeit (lost labour) ;
 und daz ein wîp ein sib tribe (drive a sieve)
 sunder vleisch und sunder ribe,
 dâ niht inne wære (wherein was nought),
 daz sint allez gelogniu mære (all a lying tale).
 Daz ein wîp ein man über schrite
 und im sîn herze ûz snite (cut out his heart),
 wie zæme daz (how were that possible) einem wibe,
 daz si snite ûz einem lîbe (body)
 ein herze, und stieze dar in strô (stuff straw therein),
 wie môht' er (how could he) leben ode werden frô ?
 ein mensche muoz ein herze haben,
 ez habe saf od sî beschaben.
 Ich wil iu sagen mære (give you information),
 waz sîn rehte *unholdære* (who real sorcerers are) :

¹ OHG. salzsuti (salina), salzsôt, AS. sealtseáð (salt spring). A passage in Ihre sub v. *seið* would make this word (see p. 1036) directly applicable to salt-boiling; but, for '*salis coctura*,' read '*talis coctura*.'

daz sint der herren râtgeben (counsellors of lords)
 di ir êre furdern solden und leben,
 di siflent in zuo den ôren (whisper in their ears)
 und machent sie ze tôren (make fools of them),
 si niezent (profit by) ir erbe und ir lant
 und lâzent och si ze hant (make them very soon)
 scheiden von êren (part with their honour) und von guote,
 von vrôuden (joy) und hôhem muote.
 Ditz ist ein wârez mære (true tale) :
 di selben (these same) *unholdære*
 die sougent ûz (suck out) herze und bluot,
 daz vil mangem (ftill many a) herren schaden tuot.

This Halle is probably the one in Austria or Bavaria, so that in those parts there still prevailed at that time the vulgar belief that the 'unholden' rode on broomstick, oven-stick or twig (Schm. sub. v. dâchsen, conf. diesse p. 270 n.) over hill and dale to Halle. Was it imagined that they fetched their supply of salt home from there? which seems almost to be implied in the words, 'were it so, they would not make salt scarce to their neighbours (abstract it).' As Christians equally recognised salt as a good and needful thing, it is conceivable how they might now, inverting the matter, deny the use of wholesome salt at witches' meetings, and come to look upon it as a safeguard against every kind of sorcery (Superst. I, no. 182). For it is *precisely salt* that is *lacking*¹ in the witches' kitchen and at devil's feasts, the Church having now taken upon herself the hallowing and dedication of salt. Infants unbaptized, and so exposed, had *salt* placed beside them for safety, RA. 457. The emigrants from Salzburg dipped a wetted finger in *salt*, and swore. Wizards and witches were charged with the *misuse of salt* in baptizing beasts. I think it worth mentioning here, that the magic-endowed giantesses in the Edda knew how to grind, not only *gold*, but *salt*, Sn. 146-7: the one brought peace and prosperity, the other a tempest and foul weather.

Equally significant seems to me the use of *horseflesh* and of the *horse* altogether among wizards and witches. It was shewn, p. 47, that the heathen sacrificed horses to their gods, and any inclination to eat their flesh was denounced for a long time as a hankering after heathen ways; it is only in these days

¹ Also *bread*, another necessary of life; yet of course the heathen baked for their banquets and sacrifices exactly as the christians did.

that the prejudice against eating so clean an animal begins to give way. Well, the witches were accused of indulging in this food at their assemblies, i.e. of still keeping up heathen sacrifices. Henry Boguet in his *Discours execrable des Sorciers*, Rouen 1603, p. 82-3 asserts, not only 'qu'il y avoit une *grande chaudiere* sur le feu, dans laquelle chacun alloit prendre de la chair,' and 'mais il n'y a *iamais du sel*,' but also expressly 'que la chair n'est autre *chair que de cheual*.' If to this we add, that the *nailing up of horses' heads* (p. 47)¹ must be identified with those sacrifices, that horses' heads are thrown into Midsummer fires (p. 618), that the piper at witches' meetings (p. 1046) or other ghostly beings (p. 849) *play on horses' heads*,² that the devil appears with *horse's feet*, and drinking is done out of *horse-hoofs*; the whole thing assumes a still more antique appearance of heathen sacrificial rites (see Suppl.).

But if in heathen times the preparation and distribution of hallowed salt, and the eating of horseflesh stood connected with sacrifices and popular assemblies (and these were often combined), such connexion is equally proved or confirmed by all the remaining characteristics of witches' jaunts. Their Times and Places can in no other way be accounted for.

We know that all over Germany a grand annual excursion of witches is placed on the *first night in May* (Walpurgis), i.e. on the date of a sacrificial feast and the old May-gathering of the people. On the first of May, of all days, the periodical assizes continued for many centuries to be held, RA. 822-4; on that day came the merry May-ridings, p. 775, and the kindling of the sacred fire, p. 603: it was one of the highest days in all heathenism.³ Or if two or three witch-

¹ On this fixing-up Festus has passages in striking accord: '*October equus appellatur, qui in Campo Martio mense Oct. immolatur. De cujus capite non levis contentio solebat esse inter Suburanenses et Sacravenses, ut hi in regiae pariete, illi ad turrin Mamiliam id figerent; ejusdemque coda tanta celeritate perfertur in regiam, ut ex ea sanguis destillet in focum participandae rei divini gratia.*' And: '*Panibus redimabant caput equi immolati idibus Oct. in Campo Martio, quia id sacrificium fiebat ob frugum eventum, et equus potius quam bos immolabatur, quod hic bello, bos frugibus parientis est aptus.*'

² Musicians piping or fiddling on a *horse's head*, Trierer aeten p. 203. Siegburger pp. 228. 239. Death's head for cithern, Remigius 145.

³ A comparison of our witches' dances on May-night with the *Floralia*, which lasted from April 28 to May 1 (Hartung's *Relig. d. Röm.* 2, 142), and from which all men were excluded (Creuzer's *Symb.* 4, 608), may be allowed, provided no borrowing of the Teutonic and Celtic custom from the Roman be inferred. Rightly understood, the Greek *Dionysia* also present many points of comparison.

festivals be enumerated, as 'in Whitsuntide and Autumn,' or 'on St Walburg's, St John's and St Bartelemy's,' we have still the usual holidays and assize-days of the Mid. Ages. Danish witch-trials name 'Valdborg aften, S. Hans aften, Mariä besögelsesdags aften.' The people would never have given up their venerated season of justice to the witches, had not these been long in prescriptive possession (see Suppl.).

Still more plainly do the Localities coincide. The witches invariably resort to places where formerly justice was administered, or sacrifices were offered. Their meeting takes place on the *mead*, on the *oak-sward*, under the *lime*, under the *oak*, at the *peartree*; on the boughs of the tree sits that piper whose help they need in the dance. Sometimes they dance at the *place of execution*, under the *gallows-tree*, in the *sand-pit*. But for the most part *mountains* are named as their trysting-places, *hills* (at the three *büheln*, knolls, three *köpchen*, peaks), in fact, the highest points of a neighbourhood. We must not forget how elves and bilweises are housed *in hills* (p. 474), nor that the Servian vilas and Romance fays dwell *on mountains*: a notable passage about magic wrought on a mount (puegau, pueg, puy, Lat. podium) was quoted p. 411. The fame of particular witch-mountains extends over wide kingdoms, in the same way as high mountains are named after gods, sacrifices, courts of justice. Almost all the witch-mountains were once hills of sacrifice (p. 58), boundary-hills (malberge, RA. 801-2), or salt-hills. A *hexenbukel* is pointed out on the Hirschau boundary-line by Rothenburg on Neckar, and an *unholdenberg* near Passau; but most of them have proper names of their own. North Germany knows the *Brocken*, *Brocks-* or *Blocks-berg*,¹ the highest point of the Harz Mts, as the head meeting-place of witches. A confessional of the 15th cent. speaks of sorceresses 'die uf den *Brockisberg* varen,' Hoffm. zeitschr. 753; that is the earliest documentary evidence I know of a superstition that doubtless reaches to a far older time. Seats of justice the Harz must have

¹ 'Mons Bructerus'! Only the Bructeri never lived there, but on the Westphalian Lippe; some without any reason connect the name Melibocus with the Brocken. What is the oldest documentary form of the name? Stieler 160 writes *Brockersb.*; others *Prockelsb.* (Proculus), *Brockelsb.*, *Blockersb.*; *Blocksb.* (Brem. wtb. sub v. blokhsarg) may have arisen by mere softening of r into l, and can hardly have anything to do with the Swed. Bläkulla.

had more than one in the Mid. Ages; a salt spring it has still at Juliusshall in Neustadt domain. But the name seems to cover a much wider area, as several hills in Mecklenburg (and no doubt in other parts of N. Germany) are called *blocksbergs*, Mekl. jahrsber. 2, 114. 3, 189; also in Prussia (Tettau and Temme p. 264). Other trysts of witches I can only enumerate incompletely. The *Huiberg* near Halberstadt is still spoken of; in Thuringia they flock to *Horselberg* by Eisenach, or *Inselberg* by Schmalkalden; in Hesse to *Bechelsberg* or *Bechtelsberg* by Ottrau, an old Ziegenhain seat of justice; in Westphalia to *Köterberg* by Corvei, to *Weckingsstein* (Wedigenstein, where Wittekind or Wittich dwells) by Minden; in Swabia to the *Black Forest*, to *Kandel* in Breisgau, or to *Heuberg*¹ by Balingen, which is noticed as a witches' mount as early as 1506, and resembles the Huiberg above; in Franconia to *Kreidenberg* by Würzburg, and *Staffelstein* by Bamberg; and probably the Fichtelberg and the Silesian Riesengebirge have witches' haunts of their own. In Alsace are named *Bischenberg*, *Büchelberg* (conf. Bechelsb.), *Schauenberg* and *Kniebiss* (knee-biting, from the steepness, elsewhere Kniebrecher); in the Vosges, *Hupella*. The Swedish meeting-places are *Blåkulla* (Ihre says, an island rock between Småland and Öland, liter. black mount, a name it prob. shares with other heights),² and *Nasafjäll* in Norrland. The Norwegian witches also repair to *Blaakolle*, further to *Dovrejfjeld*, *Lyderhorn* by Bergen, *Kiärru* in Tvedsogn, to *Vardö* and *Domen* in Finmarken; all such trysting-places are called *balvolde* (bale-wold, campus malus). In Denmark they say 'fare til *Hekkefjelds*' (p. 1001), i.e. to Mt Hekla in Iceland, Heklufjall; also 'ride til *Trums*, fare til *Troms*,' meaning Trommenfjeld, a mountain on the Norw. island Tromsö, high up off the Finmark. The Neapolitan streghe hold their tryst *under a walnut-tree* near Benevento, which the people call the Beneventine wedding; on that very spot stood the holy tree of the Langobards (pp. 101. 649), so here again witchcraft stands clearly connected with old heathen worship. Witches' hills in Italy are the *Barco di Ferrara*, *Paterno di Bologna*, *Spinato della Mirandola*, *Tossale di Ber-*

¹ *Höwberg*, Paracelsi opera 2, 259. 260.

² Acc. to Joh. Westhovii Praefatio ad vitas sanctor., a wind and weather making merwoman was called *Blåkulla*; Arnkiel 1, 35 sets up a sea-goddess *Blakylle*; Arvidsson 2, 302-5 has *berget blå*, the black mount.

gamo, and one, 'la croce del pasticcio,' whose situation I do not know. In France the *Puy de Dôme* near Clermont in Auvergne is renowned, and other districts have their hills. The Spanish hechizeras hold their dance *on the heath* of Baraona, *in the sand* of Sevilla, *on the plain* of Cirniegola; in Navarre on *Aquelarre*, said to mean in Basque 'goat's meadow.' The Servian witches dance 'na pometno guvno,' on the swept thrashing-floor, probably on a high mountain; those of Hungary on *Kopasz tető* (the bald crown), a peak of the Tokay wine-hills,¹ with which the 'na Łysagore' of the Polish witches (Woycicki 1, 17. 2, 77) agrees. A part of the Carpathians between Hungary and Poland is called in Pol. *babia gora*, old wives' mountain; I cannot say if witch-festivals are placed there. The Kormakssaga pp. 76. 204. 222 has a similar *Spákonufell*, wise-woman's mount. The Lithuanians say, on the eve of St. John all the magicians come flying to Mt *Szatria*, where a mighty sorceress *Jauterita* entertains them.² It is singular, how all over Europe the heathen's pilgrimages to feasts and sacrifices are by christians converted into this uniform sorcery, everywhere alike. Did the notion take shape in each nation by itself? or, what is less credible, was the fashion set in one place, and followed everywhere else?³ (see Suppl.)

That the heathen in old Scandinavia already had the notion of enchantresses *riding* or *driving out at evening* and *night*, is clear from the Edda. As Heðinn roamed the forest alone in the *evening*, he fell in with a *tröllkona*, who offered him her fylgð (attendance, like a guardian valkyrja), but he declined it, Sæm. 146^a. A legend fraught with meaning is but slightly touched upon in Sn. 175: As Bragi the old (p. 1041) drove through a forest *late in the evening*, he met a *tröllkona*, who addressed him in a song and asked, who rideth there? She names to him her tröll names, and he, answering in song, tells her his poetic names. Hence an enchantress is called *qveld-riða*, evening-rider, Sæm.

¹ Szirmai's Notitia comitatus Zempleniensis, Budae 1803. p. 3; and Hungaria in parabolis p. 158-9.

² Courl. Society's Communic., Mitau 1840. 1, 47^b.

³ Nocturnal meetings on mountains can also be conn. with other heathen notions: giants and elves reside on *mountains*. Pliny 5, 1 says of Mt Atlas: 'incolarum neminem interdiu cerni, silere omnia . . . noctibus micare crebris ignibus, Aegipanum Satyrorumque lascivia impleri, tibiarum ac fistularum cantu, tympanorum et cymbalorum sonitu strepere.'

143^b, and *myrk-riða* 77^a, by which monstrous mischievous *giant-women* are meant, wild women, waldminnes, iarnviðjur (p. 483), whom the heroes are bent on putting down: 'hefi ec qvaldar qveldriðor,' I have quelled the witches, says Atli. Their riding is called *gandreid*, vectura magica, Nialss. p. 195; gandr is properly wolf, they are said to have ridden *wolves* and bridled them with *snakes*: 'fann tröllkono, sù reidð vargi ok hafði orma í taumom,' Sæm. 146^a. 'Hyrrokin reidð vargi ok hafði höggorm at taumum,' Sn. 66. A Rune figure (bautil 1157) represents a tröll riding a wolf, using a bent twig for reins. A Swed. folksong makes her ride on a *bear*, and use the *wolf* as a saddle, the snake as a whip: 'björnen den så red hon uppå, ulfven den hade hon till sadel derpå, och ormen den hade hon till piska,' Sv. vis. 1, 77. Nor must we overlook, that the Servian *vila*, who has much more of the elf about her, rides a *stag*, and bridles him with a *snake*. Among names of enchantresses Sn. 210^b has *Munnriða*, mouth-rider, perhaps holding the snake-bridle in her mouth? Another is *Munnharpa* (Biörn says, rigor oris ex gelu); both demand a more precise explanation, but anyhow -riða must refer to night-riding. One poet, Sn. 102, uses the circumlocution *qveldrunnin qven*, femina vespere excurrans. The Vestgöta-lag, like the Salic (p. 1045), speaking of insulting accusations, instances that of sorcery, p. 38: 'iak sa at rêt a quiggrindu, lösharþ ok i trolsham, þa alt var iam rift nat ok dagher,' and p. 153 has almost the same words, with *lösgiurb* added to löshareþ: I saw thee ride on the hurdle, loose-haired, loose-girt, in troll's garb, where day and night divide (in twilight); if we might read *qvigindu*, it would be 'ride on the calf,' as in the MHG. poem, p. 1048. Neither this Law nor the Edda tells us of sorceresses assembling in troops at appointed places, yet the valkyrs ride together by twelves and twenties. But the idea of *night-riding* itself may be derived even from goddesses: the Hyndlu-líoð has for its groundwork, that *Freyja* seated on her boar, whose bristles glow in the gloom of night, and her sister *Hyndla* (canicula) on a wolf, ride up to holy Valhöll¹ (see Suppl.).

In Germany proper, successive stages can be pointed out. Before christianity, the old *giantesses* (etenins) may well have

¹ A magician, who was kveld-svæfr (evening-sleeper), bears the name *Kveldúlfr* Egilss. p. 3; it is like the OHG. *Nahtolf* by which N. renders Nocturnus.

been sorceresses amongst us also, as we still find such a one in our Heldenbuch (see p. 556), and a *giant* plays the host on a witches' hill, Lisch 5, 83. After the conversion, sorcery links itself with the discredited gods both foreign and domestic; not at once with the Devil yet, whose idea had scarce begun to take root among the people. The witches are of the *retinue of former goddesses*, who, hurled from their thrones, transformed from gracious adored beings into malign and dreaded ones, roam restless by night, and instead of their once stately progresses can only maintain stolen forbidden conferences with their adherents. Even when the bulk of the people was won over to the new doctrine, individual men would for a time remain true to the old faith, and perform their heathen rites in secret; but soon these pagan practices would cease as real facts, and abide in the memory and shaping fancy of mankind, and the more enduringly if they were connected with popular feasts and the permitted or prohibited usage about healings and poisonings. Performance, tradition, fancy were mixt up together, and no single century can possibly have been without the notion of illicit idolatrous magic, even if we are unable to specify the shape in which it entertained it. Amongst all christians the report of it lasted ineradicable, assuming a looser or firmer consistency, according as the Church indulged popular beliefs, or sought more sternly to suppress them. What she was determined to punish and exterminate, must gradually have been withdrawn from the mild realm of fancy, and assumed the harsh aspect of a horrible reality.

Enchanters and enchantresses (I will start with that) attach themselves to the spectral train of deities, to that Furious Host with which elvish and all manner of evil beings got associated: in the Vilik. saga cap. 328-9 the wild host of *Ostacia* (Ostansia, or whatever the genuine form may be) shews a significant connexion. But enchantresses would be ranged specially with goddesses, out of whom the christian teachers might make up a Roman *Diana*, a Jewish *Herodias*, but the populace never entirely dropt the traditional native names. How natural then, if dame *Holla*, if that *Freyja* or *Abundia* (whether she be *Folla* p. 308, or a Celtic deity) had formerly led the round dance of *elves* and *holden*, that she herself should now be made an *unholde* and be escorted by *unholden* (p. 926)! In the Norw. fairytale no. 15

the *trolldkiäring* takes quite the place of dame Holda. In the *Jeu d'Adans* (supra p. 412n.) the three fays assemble on a meadow, where the *old women* of the town await them: 'or tost allons ent par illeuc, les vielles femes de le vile nous i atendent.' There did exist a fellowship then between fays and witches.

It perfectly agrees with the view propounded, that the Thuring. *Horselberg* is at once the residence of *Holda* and her *host* (pp. 456. 935. 959), and a trysting-place of witches (p. 1052). *Keisersberg* in *Omeiss* 36. 40 makes the night-faring wives assemble no otherwhere but in the *Venusberg* (p. 953), whereat is good living, dancing and hopping. Still more decisive are the passages quoted in the Appendix (Superst. C, int. 44; 10, 1; p. 194^a. D, 140 r.), by which it appears, that down into the tenth and into the 14th cent., *night-women* in the service of *dame Holda* rove through the air on appointed nights, mounted on beasts; her they obey, to her they sacrifice, and all the while not a word about any league with the Devil. Nay, these *night-women*, *shining mothers*, *dominae nocturnae*, *bonnes dames* (p. 287-8), in *Hincmar* '*lamiae sive geniciales feminae*,' were originally dæmonic elvish beings, who appeared in woman's shape and did men kindnesses; *Holda*, *Abundia*, to whom still a third part of the whole world is subject (pp. 283-8), lead the ring of dancers, and on the goddess's itinerant ship dances were trod (p. 260). It is to such dancing at heathen worship, to the airy *elf-dance* (p. 470), to the *hopping of will-o'-wisps* (p. 916),¹ that I trace primarily the idea of *witches' dances*; though festive dances at heathen May-meetings can be reckoned in with the rest. To christian zealots all *dancing* appeared sinful and heathenish, and sure enough it often was derived from pagan rites, like other harmless pleasures and customs of the common people, who would not easily part with their diversion at great festivals. Hence the old *dancings* at *Shrovetide* (p. 770n.), at the *Easter fire* and *May fire*, at the *solstices*, at *harvest* and *Christmas*; a minuter examination than has yet been made of the proceedings at these holidays would bring out many things more clearly. *Afzelius* 2, 5 informs us, that to this day stories are afloat in Sweden of *dances* and *reels* performed by the heathen round holy places of their gods: so

¹ The ignis fatuus is called *hexentanz* (Schm. 2, 148), Slovèn. *vezha*, prop. witch; even the dead were made to carry on dances.

wanton were they, yet so enticing, that the spectators at last were seized with the rage, and whirled along into the revelry. When chronicles of our Mid. Ages occasionally record the desecration of holy days by *wild dancing*, and that the penalty imposed was, to keep it up without ceasing for a whole year, DS. no. 231, this again expresses the disgust of the christians at the relics of heathenism, and resembles the perversion of Wuotan's march into the 'everlasting hunter's' chase.¹ Why Herodias was dragged into the circle of night-women, was just because she *played and danced*, and since her death goes booming through the air as the 'wind's bride.' In this ghostly band, then, popular fancy placed *human sorceresses* too, i.e. women of ill repute who clung to heathenism, fantastic old wives: 'Et si aliqua *femina* est, quae se dicat cum daemonum turba, in similitudinem mulierum transformata, *certis noctibus equitare* super quasdam bestias, et *in eorum* (daemonum) *consortio annumeratam* esse;' and: 'Quaedam *sceleratae mulieres* retro post Satanam conversae, daemonum illusionibus seductae, credunt se *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.'—Such was the earlier way of thinking about witches' rides;² and the names *naht-farâ*, *naht-frouwâ*, *naht-ritâ*, dating doubtless from the heathen time, agreed exactly with the ON. *qveldriða*, *myrkriða* on p. 1053-4. I cannot indeed produce

¹ The clergy represented dancing as a mimicry of the priestly procession, and likened it to the Jewish idolatry with the golden calf.

² The extract from Burchard, Superst. C (conf. Pref. to my First Ed. p. xxiv) can neither have been derived from the Council of Ancyra A.D. 314, which has no such passage in print or MS.; nor from Augustine, though it occurs in the Tract. de spiritu et anima cap. 28 (opp. ed. Bened. Antv. 1706. 6, 525) with 'et *Minerva*' added after Herodiade, for this is a spurious work, yet of so early a date (6th cent., thinks Biener, Zeitschr. f. gesch. rechtsw. 12, 123) that it is but little inferior in value for our purpose. Regino too (ed. Waschersl. 2, 371), the oldest genuine authority, has prob. drawn from it; then come Burchard in the 11th, and Ivo (11, 30) and Gratian in the 12th century. Albertus Mag. in Summa theol. 2, 31 (opp. 18, 180) has: 'cum Diana pag. dea, vel Herodiade et Minerva.' The passage is said to be also in an unpubl. Vita Damasi papae, and there to refer back to a Synod of Rome of 367 (Soldan p. 75). To me it makes no difference if both Ancyran council and Roman synod already mention the *night-faring Diana* and *Herodias*; for Diana, who even to the ancient Romans ruled the woods, the chase and the night, must no doubt have appeared to christian converts of the first centuries as a goddess of magic.

them from earlier than the 13th century, as Wh. 1, 82^b: ‘wil der (Machmêt) helfe sparn, sô helfen in die *naht-varn*; daz sint alter wîbe troume,’ if M. grudge help, the night-farers help them. Ls. 3, 10: ‘ez konde niemen bewarn, ich mües eine (alone) *ûz farn mit der naht-frouwen* (i.e. with the goddess); dô sprach ich zuo mîme gesellen: als schiere sô (as soon as) ez naht wirt, diu vart mich niht verbirt, ich sol lîden grôze nôt, bezzer wære mir der tôt. Ist aber daz mir wol ergât, so kum ich umb die han-krât, des enweiz ich aber niht. Mîn triu, dû solt mir ein licht kleiben hin an etewaz, daz ich kunne dester baz komen her wider hein: kleib’ ez an einen stein, oder kleib’ ez an die want.’ Notice that to the simple-minded man the woman represents her alleged expedition as a painful necessity.¹ In Vintler (Superst. G, l. 274) it is said: ‘so farent etlich mit der (*nacht*) *far* auf kelbern und auf pecken (böcken) durch stain und durch stecke.’ So *calves* and *he-goats* are those ‘quaedam bestiae.’ At p. 723 we saw the word *nachtfare* fittingly applied even to a star travelling in the sky. John of Salisbury, who lived in England and France (d. 1182), and believed in demonic influence, has a remarkable statement in his Polier. ii. 17: ‘Quale est quod *nocticulam* (nocticolam? noctilucam?) quendam, vel *Herodiadem*, vel *praesidem noctis dominam*, *consilia* et *conventus de nocte* asserunt *convocare*, *varia celebrari convivium*, *ministeriorum species* diversis occupationibus exerceri, et nunc istos ad *pocnam* trahi pro meritis, nunc illos ad *gloriam* sublimari; praeterea *infantes exponi lamiis*, et nunc *frustatim discerptos edaci ingluvie in ventrem trajectos congeri*, nunc *praesidentis miseratione rejectos in cunas reponi*. Quis vel caecus hoc ludificantium daemonum non videat esse nequitiam? quod vel ex hoc patet, quod mulierculis et viris simplicioribus et infirmioribus in fide ista proveniunt.’ I will add some equally conclusive testimonies from various parts of France, and all of the 13th cent., to the character of these night excursions; their analogy to the preceding will not fail to be perceived. The Acta sanct. 32 Jul. p. 287^b draw from a parchment MS. of the 13th cent. the following, which has also got into the Legenda Aurea cap. 102, though wanting in the older biographies of Germanus: ‘Hospitatus (S. Germanus

¹ By *nightmare* (mar=horse) is meant, not the witch who rides out, but an elfin who rides, i.e. presses, on the sleeper, Superst. I, 878.

Autissiodor.) in quodam loco, cum post coenam *iterum mensa pararetur*, admiratus interrogat, cui denuo praepararent? Cui cum dicerent, quod *bonis illis mulieribus, quae de nocte incedunt*,¹ praepararetur, illa nocte statuit S. Germanus vigilare. Et ecce, videt multitudinem daemonum in mensa, in forma hominum et mulierum venientem. Qui eis praecipiens ne abirent, cunctos de familia excitavit, inquirens, si personas illas cognoscerent? qui cum omnes *vicinos* suos et *vicinas* esse dicerent, misit ad domos singulorum, daemonibus praecipiens ne abirent. Et ecce, omnes in suis lectulis sunt inventi. Adjurati igitur se daemones esse dixerunt, qui sic hominibus illudebant.'—Guilielmus Alvernus p. 1066: 'Idem et eodem modo sentiendum est tibi de aliis malignis spiritibus, quos vulgus *stryges* et *lamias* vocant, et *apparent de nocte in domibus* in quibus parvuli nutriuntur, eosque *de cunabulis raptos laniare vel igne assare* videntur:² *apparent autem in specie vetularum*. Vetularum autem nostrarum desipientia opinionem istam mirabiliter disseminavit et provexit, atque animis mulierum aliarum irradicabiliter infixit. Similiter et de *dominabus nocturnis*, quod *bonae mulieres* sint, et magna dona domibus quas frequentent per eas praestentur, mulieribus potissimum persuaserunt; et, ut ad unum dicam, pene omnes reliquias idololatriæ retinuit et reservavit et adhuc promovere non cessat anilis ista fatuitas.'—Vincentius Bellovac. in Spec. mor. iii. 3, 27: 'Cum in quadam parochia homines talibus crederent, quidam ribaldi transfiguraverunt se in similitudinem *mulierum*, earum assumpto habitu, et domum cujusdam rustici *cum tortiis* (torches) intrantes et *choreas ducentes* suppressa voce canebant Gallice 'un en prenes, cent en rendres,' Latine: unum accipite, centum reddite! et sic in oculis rustici domum ejus evacuaverunt omnibus bonis, dicentis uxori suae: tace, et claude oculos, divites erimus, quia *bonae res* sunt,³ et centuplicabunt bona nostra.' And further on: 'Cum quaedam *vetula* volens blandire suo sacerdoti

¹ Is the OHG. *âgengun*, lamiae, Diut. 2, 174, to be explained by this nightly going about?

² When Demeter anointed the child Demophoon with ambrosia by day, fanned him with her sweet breath, laid him in the fire at night to consume all that was mortal in him, the boy thrived, till his mother watched and saw and burst into a loud wail, then the miracle was interrupted, Hym. to Ceres 236—63. So Thetis anoints her infant Achilles, and hides him in the fire. Conf. however the *παραφέρειν τὰ βρέφη διὰ τῆς φλογός*, and *ponere juxta ignem*, p. 625.

³ *Guotiu wihtr*, p. 442; conf. *unrighteous things*, p. 1031, sorcery.

diceret ei in ecclesia: domine, multum me debetis diligere, quia liberavi vos a morte: quia cum ego *vadebam cum bonis rebus, media nocte intravimus domum vestram cum luminaribus*, ego videns vos dormientem et nudum, cooperui vos, ne *dominae nostrae* viderent nuditatem vestram, quam si vidissent, ad mortem vos flagellari fecissent. Quaesivit sacerdos, quomodo intraverant domum ejus et cameram, cum essent fortiter seratae? Tunc ait illa, quod bene intrabant domum januis clausis. Sacerdos autem vocans eam intra cancellum, clauso ostio verberavit eam cum baculo crucis, dicens: exite hinc, *domina sortilega!* Et cum non posset exire, emisit eam sacerdos dicens: modo videtis quam fatuae estis, quae somniorum creditis vanitatem.' This priest goes very sensibly to work with the sorceress, and never dreams of baiting her as a criminal.—Gervase of Tilbury 3, 85: '*Lamiae* dicuntur esse mulieres quae *noctu domos* momentaneo discursu *penetrant*, dolia vel cophinos, cantharos et ollas perscrutantur, infantes ex cunis extrahunt, *luminaria accendunt*, et nonnunquam dormientes affligunt.' At 3, 93 he assures us he had known women who declared 'se dormientibus viris suis *cum coetu lamiarum* celeri penna mare transire, mundum percurrere, et si quis aut si qua in tali discursu Christum nominaverit, statim, in quocunque loco et quantovis periculo fecerit, corruere;' and one woman had fallen into the Rhone that way. 'Scimus quasdam in *forma cattorum* a furtive vigilantibus de nocte visas ac vulneratas in crastino vulnera truncationesque ostendisse.'—So then the witches travel in the nightly train of gracious dames,¹ for whom men spread tables, as they do for visitant fays and elves (pp. 409. 411. Superst. C, 198^d), because they bring luck or multiply it, scrutinize the house-gear, bless the babes in the cradle. Heathenish the superstition was, for the name of Christ might not be uttered; but it did not pass for devilish yet. True, the notion of *kidnapping* (of which elves also were accused, p. 468) already mingles with it, and rises to the barbarous height of *roasting* and *devouring*; but this also hangs on myths about elves and goddesses, and had always been laid at the door of sorceresses. One passage even celebrates the compassion of the president and

¹ The Maid of Orleans, indicted for sorcery, was asked: 'si elle sçait rien de ceux qui vont avecq les fées'!

directress of the feast, she has the stolen sucklings carried back to their cradles (see Suppl.).

Crescentia, who had devoted herself to the nurture of children, is addressed as an *unholde*: 'Waz huotes dû *dâse*, ubele *horn-blâse*? dû soldes billecher da *ce holze varn*, dan die megede hie bewarn; dû bist ein *unholde*, und sizist hie behangen mit golde.' She answers: 'Got weiz wol die sculde, ob ich bin ein *unholde*, oder ie dicheinis (any) zouberes gephlac,' Kaiserchr. 12199. Diemer p. 373 (imitated, Kolocz. 261-2). They believed then in the 12th cent. that unholden 'fared to the woods,' to the Wild Host, and 'blew horns,' like *Tutosel*, who as a tooting hooting owl, i.e. *strix*, travels in the Furious Host (p. 922); can 'hortuta,' a word of insult in the Vestgötalag p. 38, have been *hornputa*, *hornpyta*? ON. *þiota*, ululare, Goth. *þut-haúrn* *σάλπιγγξ*. The precise meaning of *dâse*, unless it be for *dwâse*, *twâse*, *getwâs* (spectre, p. 915), escapes me (see Suppl.). Such unholden are much more night-dames, *bonae dominae*, than devil's partners. The 'faring to woods and forests' expresses the sentence pronounced on banished outlawed men, whose dwelling is in the wilderness, among wolves, RA. 733, to whom the forest becomes mother (*shuma ti mati*!), conf. *saltibus assuetus* (p. 482). Vulgar opinion in Sweden to this day suspects *old women*, who live alone in the woods, of harbouring and sheltering wolves when they are hunted: they are called *vargamödrar*, wolf-mothers, and such a one is meant in the song of *Sämung* (*Sæmîngr* p. 305): 'inde satt *gamla djuramor*, rörde med näsa i brände,' within sat the old beasts'-mother, stirred with her nose the coals (*Afzel. sagohäfder* 1, 38. 43). The long-nosed hag here evidently melts into the notion of the *alrune* who mingles with wood-schrats, p. 404, and of the *wild wood-wife*, p. 432; she is like the ON. *iarnviðja*, p. 483.

But what to my mind completely establishes this milder explanation of witches' doings, which leaves the Devil out of the reckoning, is the collection of *conjuring spells* quoted in the Appendix, vol. 3. Taken mostly from witch-trials of the last few centuries, when the link between witch and devil was a long-established thing to the popular mind, they refer not to devilish doings at all, but everywhere to *elvish* or even *christian*. Some of them seem to be of high antiquity, of heathen origin, and to

have been handed down through a long course of oral tradition. Their power to hurt or heal is founded on faith in *elves* and *sprites*, whose place is afterwards filled by angels and holy names. As *elf* and *elfin*, *dwarf* and *she-dwarf*, *bilwiz* and *bilwizin* are invoked (p. 472), so in the old AS. formula (App. spell i.) '*êsa gescot* (*âses'* shot), *ylfa gescot*, *hægtessan gescot*' all stand side by side. Such formulas, whose words must long ago have become unintelligible to witches of the 16-17th cent., at once prove the injustice of the charge brought against them. It is to me a significant fact, that the imagination of the tortured witches still expressly owns to a journey '*auf Venesberg und in das paradis*' (Mone's Anz. 7, 426), meaning therefore the ancient elvish or even christian abode of bliss, and not a devilish one.

The gradual intrusion of the *Devil* by whom, according to the Church's belief, men were *possessed* (p. 1015), is easily accounted for. The conception was radically foreign to the Teuton mind, which tried at first to naturalize it by transferring it to a female being (p. 990). But when in course of time the christian notion of a male devil got the upper hand, then all that had been told of Holda had in its turn to be applied to him. From their service and attendance on that unhold dame of night, the witches passed into the Devil's fellowship, whose sterner keener nature aggravated the whole relationship into something more wicked, more sinful. Those magic rides by night had merely rested on the general allegiance due to the people's ancient goddess, in whose train the women rode; but now that the Devil came to fetch the women, and carried them over hill and dale (pp. 1013. 1028), there grew up the idea of an *amorous alliance* between him and every single witch.

Connecting links may be found in abundance. Ghostly beings could form close and intimate ties with men; a long line of neighbourly elves links its destiny to the good or ill fortunes of a human family, home-sprites devote themselves to a man's service, and cling to him with obstinate and troublesome fidelity (p. 513); only these attachments are neither founded on formal compact, nor are they pernicious to man. An equally tender and an innocent relation subsists between him and the attendant guardian spirit given him at birth, p. 875.

The witches' devils have *proper names* so strikingly similar in

formation to those of elves and kobolds, that one can scarcely think otherwise than that nearly all devils' names of that class are descended from older folk-names for those sprites. A collection of such names, which I have culled out of witch-trials, may afford us a welcome glimpse into old elvish domestic economy itself. Some are taken from healing herbs and flowers, and are certainly the product of an innocent, not a diabolic fancy: *Wolgemut* (origanum), *Schöne* (bellis minor, daisy), *Luzei* (aristolochia), *Wegetritt* (plantago), *Blümchenblau* (conf. the marvelous flower, p. 971), *Peterlein* (parsley); exactly such are the names of two fairies in Midsum. N. Dr., *Peaseblossom* and *Mustardseed*. Names equally pretty are borrowed from the forest life of the sprites: *Grünlaub* (-leaf), *Grünewald*, *Lindenlaub*, *Lindenzweig* (-twig), *Eichenlaub* (oak), *Birnbaum* (pear), *Birnbäumchen*, *Rautenstrauch* (rue), *Buchsbaum* (box), *Hölderlin* (elder), *Kränzlein* (garland), *Spring-ins-feld*, *Hurlebusch*, *Zum-wald-fliehen*; clad in green (as the devil is in Kinderm. 101) appear the Scotch elves (Minstrely 2, 152-4. 160-4) and Norse huldre (Faye p. 42); foliage garlands must have been largely used in ancient sacrifices as well as in sorcery, oak-leaves in particular are enjoined on witches, and are used in brewing storms (Mone's Anz. 8, 129). As the Devil often presents himself in fair angelic guise ('in young man's sheen' occurs already in Ls. 3, 72), he receives such names as *Jüngling*, *Junker*, *Schönhans*, and feather-ornaments or wings are a favourite ascription, hence the names *Feder*, *Federhans*, *Federling*, *Federbusch*, *Weissfeder* (white-f.), *Straussfeder* (ostrich-f.), *Strausswedel* (-plume), *Grünwedel*. Of all the names confessed by witches, none is commoner than *Flederwisch* (Voigt's Abh. 62-8-9. 105-9. 113. 129), but folktales give that name to kobolds (Jul. Schmidt 158), and carousers in their cups used to drink 'to all *flederwischen!*' (Franz. Simpl. 1, 47. 57): by *flederwisch* we mean the end limb of a (goose) wing, used for the purpose of dusting, hence *Kehrwisch* also occurs as a devil's name, aptly denoting the rapid whisking to and fro of a spirit. Then again proper names of men are in great request, especially in the familiar fondling form which is also used for kobolds (p. 504): *Hans*, *Hänschen*, *junker Hans* (squire Jack), *Grauhans* (conf. Grayman, p. 993), *Grünhans*, *Hans vom busch*; *Heinrich*, *Grauheinrich*, *Hinze*; *Kunz*, *Künzchen* (conf. Kueni, p. 1003), *Konrad*;

Nickel, Grossnickel; Martin (p. 931), *Merten; Kaspar, Käsparle; Dewes, Rupel, Rüppel* (p. 504), *Rausch* (p. 517n.), *Wendel* (p. 375 last l.), *Hemmerlin* (p. 182), *Stöphel, junker Stof* (Christoph, the first syll. shortened with a purpose? conf. *Stöpchen*, p. 1003), some few of them equally savouring of the heathenish and the devilish; *Perlebitz* (in some Hessian trials *Berlewitzchen, -witchen*), probably the same as *pilwitz* (p. 472).¹ The following begin to look suspicious: *Leidenoth, Machleid, Unglück, Reicheher, Hintenhervor, Allerlei-wollust* (perh. a flower's name), *Schwarzburg, Dreifuss, Kuhfuss, Kuhhörnchen, Dickbauch*; yet they may also turn upon the satyr-like shape of the schrats, or upon the weird and worrying nature of any intercourse with the demonic world. The old Easter-play supplies the following names, belonging at latest to the beginning of the 15th century: *Kottelrey, Rosenkranz, Krezlin, Federwisch, Raffenzan, Binkebank, Spiegelglanz, Schorbrant, Schoppenstak, Hellekrug*,² *Schorzemage*; they are easy to explain from what has gone before. Italian streghe call their devil *Martinello, Martinetto*, and again *Fiorino*; French trials furnish maistre *Persil, Verdelet, Verdjoli, Jolibois, Sautebuisson*. Two more fairies in Mids. N. Dream, *Moth* and *Cobweb*, are worth remembering. All these names have nothing in common with the names of the Jewish or Christian devil, except with those quoted pp. 988-9. 1003, and they are kobolds' names.³ Some of the names in my list appear to belong equally to the witches themselves, just as elves have several common to both sexes. Thus the feminine names of plants and flowers are more suitable to sorceresses (see Suppl.).

Love-affairs between spirits and men arise out of their familiar intercourse. She-kobolds are nowhere mentioned, and we are never told of kobolds having designs upon women; elves on the contrary do carry off maidens, and men live in secret intimacy with elfins; thus Helgi became the father of Skuld by an *álfkona*, Fornald. sög. 1, 32. 96. But except that Elberich having made himself invisible overpowers Otnit's mother, and an *álfr* does the

¹ The Hessian dialect often inserts an *r*: at Cassel they call *bellevue* *berlevue*.

² Mone's Schausp. p. 131 has *hellekruke* for witch.

³ A few times the hellish wooer is called Lucifer or Belzebok, Trier. act. 114; where the name *jamer* is also given, which I do not quite understand: is it *jammer* unpleasant [as in *jammer-schade*, a sad pity], or *jammer* ailment, epilepsy?

like to king Aldrian's wife and begets Högni, I cannot think of any instance of such amours as lie at the bottom of all the witch-stories. The notions of incubus and succubus seem to me not of German origin, though afterwards they got mixed up with those of elf and night-spirit. An AS. manuscript in Wanley, either of the 12th, 11th, or some earlier cent., speaks of 'monnom, þe deofol mid hæmð.' In the later doctrine about witches their prostitution is an essential feature, it seals the compact, and gives the Devil free control over them: in a pure maid he can have no part.¹ Without this abomination we never come across a witch at all.²

It is a question, at what period witches' covenants and amours are first mentioned in Germany. No doubt the first impulse to them was given by the persecution and consequent spread of *heresies*, which after the middle of the 13th cent. *came from Italy and France into Germany*. However guilty or innocent the heretics may have been, report, magnifying and distorting, charged their assemblies with idolatrous excesses, whose affinity to witches' doings is beyond dispute. Among the heretics themselves, with their seclusion, reserve, and constantly repeated success in attaching new disciples and adherents, some ancient departures from orthodox faith and ritual kept stubbornly reproducing themselves; as persistently did calumnies start up against them. They were accused of adoring a beast or beast's head, which presently turned into the Devil, who became visible, now as a black spirit, now as a bright beguiling angel, his favourite animal shape being that of a he-cat, or else a toad. At their meetings, it was said, they slaughtered children and kneaded their blood in flour or ashes, and after extinguishing the lights, practised together the lusts of the flesh. Newly admitted members were *marked by the prick of a needle*, the while they cursed their Maker, and signified their faith and homage to the Evil one, as to worldly rulers, by a kiss.³ Even in the less offensive teach-

¹ 'Le démon ne peut faire pacte avec une vierge,' Mich, Hist. de Fr. 5, 68. 159. 160.

² Greek antiquity had its *fables* about the intercourse of gods with mortals (p. 343), and so had our heathenism about the union of heroes with swan-wives and elves; at last the far grosser conception could find credence, of a *literal* commerce of the Devil with mankind!

³ Soldan's Geschichte der Hexenprocesse pp. 103—146.

ing and practice of some heretics there could not fail to be a mixture of heathen things with christian; the church's zeal had to bestir itself at once against new errors of doctrine and against remnants of heathenism that were combined with them. Along with heretic-prosecutions went rumours of diabolic compacts and conferences, which the populace connected with their ancient belief in dæmonic beings. Traditions of certain men being leagued with the Devil had already circulated in the West, at all events from the 10th cent. (p. 1017); the more readily would they now be extended to women. The earliest certain mention of an intrigue between witch and devil is of the year 1275 under an inquisitor at Toulouse (Soldan p. 147); the first half of the 14th cent. seems to have established more firmly, especially in Italy, the belief in a diabolic sisterhood (*secta strigarum*). Bartolus (d. 1357) delivered a judgment on a witch of Ortha and Riparia in Novara bpric,¹ the charge was novel to him, and he appeals to theologians as to the nature of the crime; from the whole tenor of his sentence we may assume that seldom or never had a witch been tried in the Milanese before. Amongst other things he says: 'Mulier striga sive lamia debet igne cremari, confitetur se crucem fecisse ex paltis et talem crucem pedibus conculcasse . . . se adorasse diabolum, illi genua flectendo . . . pueros tactu stricasse et fascinasse, adeo quod mortui fuerunt. Audivi a sacris quibusdam theologis, has mulieres quae lamiae nuncupantur tactu vel visu posse nocere etiam usque ad mortem fascinando homines seu pueros ac bestias, cum habeant animas infectas, *quas daemones voverunt*.'—Between 1316 and 1334 pope John XXII had issued a bull without date, ordering the property of convicted sorcerers to be confiscated like that of heretics. What was then done by inquisitors and judges Soldan has subjected to a minute investigation (pp. 160—210), and I need only single out one or two facts. Alfonsus de Spina in his *Fortalitium fidei* (written about 1458) lib. 5 informs us: 'Quia nimium abundant tales *perversae mulieres* in Delphinatu et Gaschonia, ubi se asserunt concurrere de nocte in quadam planitie deserta, ubi est *aper* quidam *in rupe*, qui vulgariter dicitur *el boch de Biterne*, et quod ibi conveniunt *cum candelis accensis, et adorant illum aprum*, osculantes eum in

¹ Printed in Joh. Bapt. Ziletti consilior. select. in criminal. causis, Francof. 1578 fol., tom. 1, consil. 6.

ano suo ; ideo captae plures earum ab inquisitoribus fidei, et convictae, ignibus comburuntur ; signa autem combustarum sunt depicta, qualiter scilicet adorant cum candelis praedictum *aprum*, in domo inquisitoris Tholosani in magna multitudine camiscarum, sicut ego propriis oculis aspexi.'—Read throughout *caper* for *aper*, as *bock*, *boc*, *bouc* evidently means the former. Adoring and kissing of the he-goat or he-cat was just the charge brought against heretics, whose very name (*ketzer*, *cathari*) some derived from that circumstance.¹ This parody of divine worship may either be connected with *goat-sacrifices* of the heathen (p. 52) and the sacredness of that animal, or explained by the goat's feet ascribed to the devil from of old (p. 995). *Kissing the toad* (Soldan p. 133-6) is wonderfully like those conditions necessary to the release of 'white women' (p. 969); here heretical opinions coincide with superstition. In 1303 a bishop of Coventry was accused at Rome of a number of heinous crimes, amongst others 'quod *diabolo homagium fecerat*, et eum fuerit osculatus in tergo'; Boniface 8 acquitted him (Rymer 2, 934 old ed.). The same charge is commonly brought against the later witches. Dr. Hartlieb in 1446 mentions 'abjuring God and giving oneself up to three devils,' Superst. H, cap. 34.

For four centuries, beginning with the 14th; what with the priestly Inquisition, with the formality of the Canon and Civil law process simultaneously introduced in the courts, and to crown all, with Innocent 8's bull of 1484 (MB. 16, 245-7), as well as the *Malleus Maleficarum*² and the tortures of the criminal court; the prosecutions and condemnations of witches multiplied at an unheard-of rate, and countless victims fell in almost every part of Europe. The earlier Mid. Ages had known of magicians and witches only in the milder senses, as legendary elvish beings, peopling the domain of vulgar belief, or even as demoniacs, not

¹ 'Catari dicuntur a cato, quia osculantur posteriora cati, in cujus specie, ut dicunt, apparet eis Lucifer,' Alan. ab Insulis (d. 1202) contra Valdenses, lib. 1. A better name for heretics was *boni homines*, *bons hommes* (Soldan p. 131), not, I think, because so many were of good condition, but in harmony with other meanings of the term (conf. supra p. 89). At the same time it reminds us of the ghostly *good women*, *bonae dominae*, p. 287, as 'frances hommes' does of the *franches puceles*, p. 410 n. Even the *gute holden* are not to be overlooked.

² Composed 1487 by the two inquisitors appointed by Innocent, Heinr. Institoris in Alemannia and Jac. Sprenger at Cologne, with the help of Joh. Gremper, priest at Constance. Soon followed by episcopal mandates, e.g. at Regensburg 1491-3 (MB. 16, 241-3).

as actual apostates from God and malefactors arraigned before a court of justice. A good deal has been made of the *Annales Corbeienses*, which do expressly state under the year 914, 'multae sagae combustae sunt in territorio nostro'; but these Annals were not written till 1464, and have of late been totally discredited. Several ancient Codes lay penalties on sorcery;¹ but all the cases that occurred had for their basis real crimes, murder, poisoning; the stria is a 'herbaria,' i.e. *venefica*;² for alleged storm-raising few can have forfeited their lives. Especially worthy of note are the punishments denounced against precisely those persons who from a vain belief in sorcery have burnt or put to death either man or woman;³ not sorcery, but the slaying of supposed sorcerers is what the enlightened law pronounces heathenish and diabolic. On the mere ground of a night-excision with 'unholden' nobody dreamt of bringing a criminal charge against women; that father confessor of the 13th cent. (p. 1060) refutes the confessions of his 'domina sortilega' by rational argument.⁴ But when once, by a fatal confusion of

¹ Lex Sal. 22. Lex Rip. 83. Lex Visigoth. vi. 2, 2. 3, 4. Lex Alam. add. 22. Capitul. A.D. 789 cap. 18. Capit. ii. A.D. 805.

² Meichelbom no. 683 : A.D. 853, a girl at Freising, *venefica* ; A.D. 1028, '*malefica mulier artes maleficas cum tribus aliis mulieribus exercens*,' Pertz 6, 146 ; A.D. 1074 at Cologne, '*mulier homines plerumque magicis artibus dementare infamata*,' Lamb. schafn. p. 375.

³ Capit. Caroli de part. Sax. 5: 'si quis a diabolo deceptus crediderit secundum morem Paganorum, virum aliquem aut feminam strigam esse, et homines comedere, et propter hoc ipsam incenderit, vel carnem ejus ad comedendum dederit, capituli sententia punietur.' Lex Roth. 379: 'nullus praesumat aliam alienam aut ancillam quasi strigam occidere, quod christianis mentibus nullatenus est credendum nec possibile est ut hominem mulier vivum intrinsecus possit comedere.' How the wisdom of Charles and Rothar shines by the side of Innocent's blind barbarous bull ! Those 'sagae combustae' in Westphalia, if the statement be worth believing, were hardly condemned by the courts, but more likely sacrificed by the mob to such heathenish superstition as the laws quoted were trying to stem. In our own day the common folk in England, France and Belgium *take it upon themselves* to throw suspected witches into fire or the pond (Horst's Zauberbibl. 6, 368. 372-4). White's Selborne p. 202: 'the people of Tring in Hertfordshire would do well to remember that no longer ago than 1751 they seized on two superannuated wretches, crazed with age and overwhelmed with infirmities, on a suspicion of witchcraft; and by trying experiments drowned them in a horsepond.' The Gazette des tribunaux no. 3055, June 4, 1835 relates a trial of supposed magicians, whose family had the hereditary faculty of charming lice away.

⁴ It is true the Sachsensp. ii. 13, 7 has: 'svelk kerstenman ungelovich (unbelieving) is, unde mit tovere umme gat oder mit vorgiftnisse (poisoning), unde des verwunnen wirt, den sal man upper hort bernen.' Schwabensp. 149. Wackern. 174. Lassb. Gosl. stat. 38, 20. The words 'oder wif' standing after 'kerstenman' in Homeyer, are a later insertion: they are wanting in other laws, and are contradicted by the pron. 'den,' him, which follows. That these docs. speak of wizards, not yet of witches, seems to fit better their age and spirit; yet it must be noted, that they already link apostacy with witchcraft, conf. Soldan 172—4. Biener, in

sorcery with heresy, the notion gained a footing that every witch renounces God and becomes the Devil's, everything assumed a new aspect: as the Devil's ally, apart from any crimes she might have committed, she was deserving of death, and her sin was one of the greatest and horriblem. But from that time the earlier notion of possession by the devil almost entirely ceased: imagination had taken a new direction.

Witch-trials of the 16-17-18th centuries have been amply made known, of the 15th few completely.¹ One need only have read two or three of them: everywhere an unaccountable uniformity of procedure, always the same result. At first the accused denies; *tortured*,² she confesses what all those doomed before her have confessed, and without delay she is condemned and *burnt* (*incinerata*, as the Malleus expresses it). This agreement in depositions of imaginary facts is to be explained by the traditional illusions that filled the popular fancy. I will here attempt to summarize all the essential points (see Suppl.).³

Zeitschr. f. gesch. rechtsw. 12, 126, would limit the penal fire of the Sachsensp. to cases where the spiritual court hands the sinner over, as impenitent, to the secular.

¹ Little can be gleaned from a *Tractatus de pitonico contractu fratris Thomae Murner, Friburgi Brisg. 1499*. Murner tells how in childhood he was crippled by a witch.

² The hangman's formula ran: 'thou shalt be tortured so thin that the sun will shine through thee!' RA. 95. Dint. 1, 105.

³ Witch-trials at Mainz of 1505-11, in Horst's *Zauberbibl.* 4, 210-8; at Freiburg of 1546 and 1627-35, ed. H. Schreiber, Freib. 1836; at Quedlinburg of 1569-78, in G. C. Voigt's *Gemeinnütz. abh.* Leipz. 1792 pp. 59-160; at Trier of 1581, in *Trier. chronik* 1825, 10, 196 seq., and of 1625 ib. 108 seq.; at Nördlingen of 1590-4, ed. Weng, Nördl. 1838; in Elsass of 1615-35, in *Lit. bl. der börsenh.* Hamb. 1835 nos. 1092-3; at Eichstätt of 1590 and 1626-37, repr. *Eichst.* 1811; at Wendingen of 1620, in *Mone's Anz.* 7, 425-7; at Dieburg of 1627, in *Steiner's Gesch. von Dieb.*, Darmst. 1820, 67-100; at Buhl of 1628-9, in *Mone's Anz.* 8, 119-132; at Siegburg of 1636, in P. E. Schwabe's *Gesch. v. Siegb.*, Col. 1826, 225-241; in Brandenburg of the 15-18th cent., in *Märk. forsch.* 1, 238-265; at Cammin of 1679, in *Pommer. provinziabl.* Stettin 1827, 1, 332-365; at Freising of 1715-7, in *Arétin's Beitr.* 4, 273-327. Useful extracts from Swabian trials of the 15th cent. are in the notorious *Malleus malefic.* (first printed 1489); from Lorrainian of 1583-90, in *Nic. Remigii daemolatria*; and from Burgundian (en la terre de saint Oyan de Joux) of 1588-9, in *Henry Bogvet's Disc. execrable des sorciers*, Rouen 1603, repr. Lyon 1610. Less important is S. Meiger de panurgia lamiarum, Hamb. 1587. 4. On Scandinavia: Nyerup's *Udsigt over hexprocesserne i Norden* (*Skand. Lit.-selskabs skrifter* 19, 339-394. 20, 1-42), in which an extr. from Lem on Norweg. sorcery (19, 385) is specially instructive; *Trollväsendet i Dalarna, åren 1668-73*, in J. M. Bergman's *Beskrifning om Dalarne*, Fahlun 1822. 1, 208-19. I have also read *Girol. Tartarotti del congresso notturno delle lamie*, Rover. 1749. 4; and C. F. de Cauz de cultibus magicis, Vindob. 1767. 4: two painstaking books, the first revelling in Ital. prolixity; D. Tiedemann's prize essay *De artium magicarum origine*, Marb. 1787 was of less use to me. On the Netherl.: Scheltema's *Geschiedenis der heksenprocessen*, Haarl. 1829 I had not at hand; Cannaert's *Bydragen*

The Devil appears in the shape of a fine young man, gaily *plumed* and amorous; not till too late does the witch observe the *horsefoot* or *goosefoot* (*wilde pflotte füsse*, Nördl. hexenpr. 35). He then compels her to abjure God (p. 818), *baptizes* her over again, making her choose sponsors, gives her a new name, and reveals his own. A *mark* is printed on her body (p. 1077), and the place has no feeling ever after; in some cases hair is plucked out from the front of the head. He comes sometimes as a mouse, goat, crow or fly, but soon changes into human shape. Even after repeated dalliances the witch receives but small presents of money; what he gave as glittering coin is by daylight muck and dirt.¹ The main thing is, that on certain days the Devil fetches her, or appoints her to go, to *nightly feasts*, which are held in company with other witches and devils. After anointing her feet and shoulders with a *salve*,² or tying a girdle round her, she bestrides a *stick*, *rake*, *broom*, *distaff*, *shovel*, *ladle* or *oven-fork*, and muttering a spell, flies up the chimney, and away through the air over hill and dale.³ A *dehselrite*, Helbl. 1, 1196 (p. 1049), a *fork-rider*, *besom-rider* all mean a witch, so does *quosten-pinderin*, *sash-binder*, Clara Hätzl. lxxvii^b (*quaste*=*perizoma*, *cingulum*). A 14th cent. story told in Herm. von Sachsenheim (Wackern. lb. 1005-6) makes an old woman at Urach anoint with salve the *calf* on which she is to ride. If the hellish wooer comes to fetch the witch, his seat on the stick is in front, and hers behind; or he is a goat, and she mounts him; or she drives

tot het oude strafregt in Vlaenderen, Bruss. 1829, repr. Gend 1835, has interesting extrs. 475—91; some fresh facts are collected in Schaye's *Essai historique*, Louv. 1834, pp. 175—202. There is a crowd of other books: Horst's *Dämonologie*, Frankf. 1818, his *Zauberbibliothek*, Mainz 1821—6, and Walter Scott's *Demonol. and witchcraft*, I have hardly used at all; both, based on diligent compilation, lack true criticism and scholarship; besides, Horst's work is turgid and bad in taste, Scott's inexact and careless. Most of the above are far surpassed by Soldan's *Geschichte der hexen-proceße*, Stuttg. 1843, a work of whose value I give a fuller estimate in my Preface.

¹ Everything divine the devil turns *topsyturvy*, p. 986: his gold turns into filth; whereas, when gods or benignant beings bestow leaves, chips, or pods, these turn into sheer gold, pp. 268. 275. Hence, when the devil sits, when witches stand up or dance, etc., they *look the wrong way* (upside down?).

² Unguentum Pharellis, made of herbs, Superst. H, c. 32; but the usual witches' salve is prepared from the fat of infants killed while yet unbaptized: 'unguentum ex membris puerorum interemptorum ab eis ante baptismum,' Malleus malef. ii. 1, 3 (ed. 1494, 51^d).

³ Simpl. bk 2, cap. 17-8 describes such a flight; a listener mounted on a bench gives chase, and in a twinkling gets from the Fulda Buchenwald to Madgeburg cathedral.

horses that come out of the ground. Older accounts have it, that the devil takes her *inside his cloak*, and carries her through the air, whence she is called *mantelfahre, mantelfahrerin*. At the trysting-place are many more witches, each with her demon lover; they are mostly neighbour women, often such as have long been dead, some (the superior sort) muffled and masked. But their wooers are mere servants of the Chief Devil, who in *goat-shape*, but with black human face, sits silent and solemn on a *high chair* or a large *stone table* in the midst of the ring, and all do him reverence by kneeling and kissing. When the Chief Devil takes a particular fancy to one woman, she is named the *witches' queen*, and ranks above all the rest,¹ answering to that Norse *trölla konúngr*, p. 1043. The undelightful meal is illumined by black torches, all kindled at a light that burns between the horns of the great goat. Their viands *lack salt and bread*,² they drink out of cows' hoofs and horses' heads. Then they relate what mischief they have wrought, and resolve on new: if their misdeeds fail to satisfy the Devil, he beats them. After the feast,³ that neither fills nor nourishes, the *dance* begins: up in a tree sits the *musician*, his fiddle or bagpipe is a *horse's head* (p. 1050), his fife a cudgel or a cat's tail. In dancing the partners face outwards, turning their backs to each other: in the morning you may see a *circular track in the grass*, shewing the print of cows' and goats' feet. The dance, according to Hessian trials of 1631, is like that of the sword-dancers (p. 304); we often hear of one of the women wearing the *güldne schuh* on her right foot, would she be queen or commandress? Martin von Amberg speaks of 'making *red shoes* (schuechel) for the trut'; to dance in? When the ring-dance is over, they beat each other with swingle-staves and mangle-bats, and practise lewdness. At last the *great goat burns himself to ashes*, and these are distributed among the witches to work mischief with. A young untried witch is not at once admitted to the feast and dance, but set on one side to tend *toads* with a *white wand*; ⁴ at home also they breed and maintain these

¹ Laffert's *Relationes criminales*, Celle 1721. pp. 52-4. Horst's *Dämonom.* 2, 376-7.

² Yet they eat bread baked on a Sunday, meat salted on Sunday; and drink wine put in cask on Sunday.

³ Distinction of ranks is kept up too: the rich sit down to table first, and drink out of silver goblets, then the poor out of wooden bowls or hoofs.

⁴ O. Fr. poets also put peeled wands in the hands of witches: 'une vielle

animals: the Hätzlerin lxviii* already chides a witch as 'inhitzige *krotensack!*' Such a novice witch the Devil inverts, and sticks a candle in a part of her person, Thür. mitth. vi. 3, 69. They go home the same way as they came: the husband, who all the while has mistaken a staff laid in the bed for his sleeping spouse, knows nothing of what has passed. Whoever happens to get sight of a witches' dance, need only utter the name of God or Christ: it all stops in a moment, and disappears.¹ The harm that witches do is chiefly to the cattle and crops of their neighbours. They know how to drain other people's cows of every drop of milk, without coming near them, Superst. G, line 132: they stick a *knife* in an *oaken post*, hang a *string* on it, and make the milk flow out of the string (Reusch's Samland p. 66); or they drive an *axe* into the *doorpost*, and milk out of the *helve*; they draw milk out of a spindle, out of a suspended *handkerchief*.² They turn good milk blue, or bloody-colour; their compliments on entering your house are bad for the milk: if you were just going to churn, the butter will not come, Sup. I, 823. Hence any witch is called *milch-diebin* (as the butterfly is a milk or butter thief), *milch-zauberin*, *molken-stehlerin*, *molken-töversche*, *wey-bewitcher*.³ Here again comes to light the connexion between witches, elves and butterflies, for vulgar opinion blamed dwarfs also for drawing milk from the udders of kine: ON. *dverg-speni* means papilla vaccarum vacua. If your milk is bewitched, whip it in a pot, or stir it about with a sickle: every lash or cut makes the witch wince, Sup. I, 540. A Wetterau superstition takes this shape: when a beast is bewitched, they set the frying-pan on, and chop into it with the grass-chopper behind bolted doors; the first person who comes after that is the witch. The power of witches to draw *milk* and *honey* from a neighbour's house to their own is already noticed by old Burchard, Sup. C, p. 199^d. Lashing the brooks with their brooms, squirting water up in the air, shooting gravel, scattering sand toward sunset, witches

barbelée, qui porté a *verge pelée* plus de quatre vingts ans,' Renart 28286; conf. Méon 4, 478, 'remest aussi monde com la *verge* qui est *pelée*.'

¹ DS. no. 251. Wolf's Niederl. sagen 245. 381-2. Wodana xxxvi.

² So, by magic, *wine* is struck out of the *post*, Superst. G, line 262; conf. the legend of Doctor Faust.

³ On the eve of S. Philip and S. James, i.e. May 1, people in the I. of Rügen run about the fields with large fire-bladders: this they call *molkentöverschen brennen* Rugian. landgebr. cap. 243. '*milchdiebin* und unhold,' H. Sachs iii. 3, 5^d.

bring on *storm and hail* (p. 909), to beat down their neighbour's corn and fruit. For the same purpose they are said to boil bristles or else oak-leaves in pots, or *strew* some of those *devil's-ashes on the fields*. These are the *lightning* or *weather witches*, whose doings will come to be treated more fully hereafter. It is said they *stroke* or *strip* the *dew off the grass*, and with it do harm to cattle, Sup. I, 1118; also that early before sunrise they skim the dew off other people's meadows, and carry it to their own, to make the grass grow ranker; hence they may be recognised by their large clumsy feet, and are called *thau-streicher* (in E. Friesland *dau-striker*), though other suspicious characters, even men, are called the same bad name. This clearly hangs together with the dew-brushing after the nightly elf-dance, and the dew the valkyrian steeds shake out of their manes; only here it is perverted to evil. A witch, by binding up the legs of a footstool, can heal the broken bones of one who is absent. If she is present at a wedding, just as the blessing is pronouncing, she snaps a padlock to, and drops it in the water: this is called *tying up the laces*; until the padlock can be fished up and unlocked, the marriage proves unfruitful. Witches can kill men by dealing pricks to *images* or *puppets*; in churchyards they dig up the *bodies of young children*, and cut the *fingers* off;¹ with the fat of these children they are supposed to make their salve. This seems to be their chief reason for entrapping children; to the sorceress of older times kidnapping was imputed far more freely (p. 1059). From the Devil's commerce with witches proceeds no human offspring, but elvish beings, which are named *dingir* (things, conf. *wihtir*, p. 440), *elbe*, *holden*, but whose figure is variously described: now as butterflies, then as humblebees or queppen (quab, burbot), and again as caterpillars or worms. Even an OHG. gloss in Graff 1, 243 has: *alba*, *brucus*, *locusta* quae nondum volavit. The enigmatic beetle and larva shape is very appropriate to such beings.² They are called by turns *good*

¹ *Fingers* of a babe unborn are available for magic: when *lighted*, they give a flame that keeps all the inmates of a house asleep; equally useful is the thumb cut off the hand of a hanged thief. Conf. Schamberg de jure digitor. p. 61-2, and Praetorius on thieves' thumbs, Lips. 1677. The Coutume de Bordeaux § 46 treats of magic wrought with dead children's hands. Thief's hand was the name of a plant, p. 1029.

² The caterpillar is also called *devil's cat* (p. 1029), and a witch, like the dragon-fly, *devil's bride*, *devil's doxy*. The Finn. *Ukon koira* (Ukkonis canis) means papilio

and *bad things*, *good and bad elves*, *good*¹ and *bad holden*, *holderchen*, *holdiken*. Witches use them to produce illness and swellings in man and beast, by conjuring them into the skin and bones. But they also make them settle on forest-trees, they dig them in under elder-bushes: the 'elves,' in gnawing away the wood of the aspen, waste away the man at whom they are aimed. The same witch as set the 'holden' on a man must take them off again; when she wants them, she goes into the wood and shakes them off the trees, or digs them out from under the elder (the *elves' grave*). You may know a man into whom holden have been charmed, by there being no manikin or baby (*κόρη*, pupa) visible in his eyes, or only very faintly (Voigt pp. 149. 152). This is like the devil's drawing a toad on the pupil of a witch's left eye. The nine species of holden I shall specify in the chap. on Diseases. But not unfrequently the demon lover himself appears in the form of an *elf* or *butterfly*. Their daughters born in human wedlock the witches have to promise to the devil at their birth, and to bring them up in his service; at great assemblies they present to him any children they have, lifting them up backwards. Sometimes they sacrifice *black cattle* to him. They love to gather where *roads divide*; ² like the devil (p. 999), they can pop in and out of houses *through the keyhole* (Sup. G, line 106-7. Tobler 146^a); where three lights burn in a room, the witch has power; ringing of bells they cannot bear. Before the judge they must not be allowed to touch the *bare ground*, or they will change themselves in a moment; they are incapable of shedding a tear; thrown into water, they *float on the top*,³ upon which fact the

or larva papilionis, *tuonen koira* (mortis canis) and *suden korendo* (lupi vectis) butterfly, and *Ukon lehmä* (U. vacca) another insect. Swed. *trollstända* (daemonis fusus) butterfly. In the Grisons they call a caterpillar *baluise*, in Switz. (acc. to Stalder) *palause*, which is our old acquaintance *pelewise*, *pilweise*, p. 472-5. A mythic meaning also lurks in the OHG. *huntes-satul* (eruca), Graff 6, 167, as in ON. *geit-hamr* (vespa).

¹ Called *gute holden* even when harmful magic is wrought with them, Braunsch. anz. 1815, p. 726 seq. In the Malleolus I find: 'vermes nocivi qui vulgariter dicuntur *juger*,' and 'Alemannico nomine *juger* nuncupantur, sunt albi coloris et nigri capitis, sex pedum, in longitudine medii digiti.' Is *jug* the same thing as *gueg* (pp. 183. 692)? Many other designations of the phalaenae overlap those of will o' wispis or of wichtels, as *zünsler*, from fluttering round a light, *land-surveyors*, (p. 918), *night-owls*, etc.

² At *cross-roads* the devil can be called up, so can the Alraun.

³ Pliny 7, 2 of sorcerers: 'eosdem praeterea *non posse mergi* ne veste quidem degravatos.' We are told several times, that the devil, after promising to bring the witches in the water an iron bar to make them sink, brings them only a fine needle.

ancient usage of the witches' bath (ducking) was founded, once a divine ordeal, RA. 925. If at the beginning of the action they contrive to catch the judge's eye, he turns soft-hearted, and has not the power to doom them.

Now it is a characteristic fact, that witches, with all their cunning and the devil's power to boot, remain sunk in misery and deep poverty: there is no instance to be found of one growing rich by sorcery, and making up for the loss of heavenly bliss by at least securing worldly pleasure, a thing that does occur in tales of men who sign themselves away to the fiend (p. 1017). These hook-nosed, sharp-chinned, hang-lipped, wry-toothed, chap-fingered beldams¹ practise villainy that never profits them, at most they may gratify a love of mischief. Their dalliance with the devil, their sharing in his feasts, never procures them more than a half-enjoyment² (see Suppl.).

This one feature might have opened people's eyes to the basis of all sorcery. The whole wretched business rested on the imagination and compulsory confessions of the poor creatures. Of *fact* there was none, save that they had a knowledge of medicines and poisons, and quickened their dreams³ by the use of salves and potions. Called upon to name their confederates, they often mentioned dead persons, to shield the living or to evade inquiry; any vile thing they stated was set down as gospel truth. We read of witches confessing the murder of people who turned out to be alive.⁴ It never occurred to the judges to consider, how on earth it happened that innumerable meetings of witches, all at well-known accessible places, had never been surprised by witnesses whom their road must have taken that way. By what special licence from God in those times should a pack of miscreants previously unheard of nestle down all of a sudden in towns and villages all over the country!

Long before witches were tortured, great criminals had been

¹ 'Crooked nose and pointed chin, look to find the fiend therein!' I find a parallel in ON. names, Hengikepta, Gröttintanna, Loðinnfingra, Sn. 220-1.

² Berthold p. 58: 'sô gënt eteliche mit bösem zöuberlehe umb, daz si wænent eins gebüren (boor's) sun oder einen kneht bezoubern. pfî dû rehte tærin! war umbe bezouberst dû einen grâven oder einen künec niht (fool, why not bewitch a count, a king)? sô wærestu ein küneginne!' They say a witch gets three farthings richer every seven years, Simplic. 625.

³ *Alter wibe troume*, Wh. 1, 82^a. *kerlinga villa*, Sæm. 169.

⁴ Frommann de fascinatione p. 850. Montaigne notices the same fact, livre 3, chap. 11.

put to bodily sufferings intended to wring from them a confession of their guilt. The *Lex Visig.* iii. 4, 10-11 already speaks of 'torquere'; and the triangular beam on which the accused had to ride was called *equuleus*, *poledrus*, whence comes our *folter*, Fr. *poultre*, *poutre*. That ON. extortion of a full declaration, '*pína til sagna*' p. 1043, need not have been borrowed from witch-trials.

The signing away to the devil, abjuring of God and adoring of the *goat* in witch-stories seems to be of heretic origin; at the same time the abjurer parodies the *Abrenuntiatio Diaboli* enjoined on catechumens;¹ in every other point the heathen element preponderates. Even the goat, and the offering of *black* beasts (pp. 52. 493. 1009), cannot but remind us of the old worship of gods; it is remarkable that a Dalecarlian tradition makes the devil not occupy the chair of state, but *lie under the table, bound with a chain* (just as with those spinsters in German legend, p. 1011). The witches there have much to tell about this chain: when its links wear out, an angel comes and solders them to again, Bergm. 217-9. Various witcheries were wrought by the efficacy of *salt*, Sup. I, 713. 846; it seems almost as if we might assume a connexion between the *salt-boiling, salt-grinding, salt-strewing, salt-burning, salt-fetching* at p. 1047, and the burning of the goat, the carrying away and *strewing of his ashes*.² Equally heathen we found the consumption of *horseflesh* p. 1049. The witches' flights were usually performed on May-night, St. John's night, and at Christmas, but also at Shrovetide, Easter and other seasons; these were the days of great heathen festivals, of Easter-fires, May-fires, Solstitial and Yule fires, and there is no occasion to see in them a parody of the christian feasts. The riding by night, the torchlight procession, the penetrating of locked-up houses, are exactly as in the case of Holda's host;

¹ In the formulas: 'ik fate an (grasp) disen witten stock, und verlate (forsake) unsen herre Gott (Cathol.: Marien son und Got)!' or 'her trede ik in din nest (nest), und verlate unsen herre Jesum Christ!' In Hessian records of 1633: 'hie stehe ich uf dieser mist, und verleugne (deny) des lieben herrn J. Christ!' In abjuring, she stands on the dunghill, which begins to burn round her, and with a white stick she stabs a toad (*ütse*). The standing on dung is also in conjuring-spells. The *white staff* is a symbol of surrender, and after being grasped is thrown into the water.

² Shepherds reputed to be sorcerers were accused of *baptizing* their sheep with salt. *Factums et arrest du parlem. de Paris contre des berges sorciers executez depuis peu dans la prov. de Brie sur l'imprimé à Paris 1695.* 8, p. 57.

the seducers' names, the spells, the brood of 'holden,' the round dance, all this is elvish.¹ A witch's being strengthened by touching the bare ground (*iarðar-megin* p. 642) may remind us of the heathen belief about giants. An application of the Old-German *ducking* to witches sprang out of the early practice of courts which had long used it against sorceresses who committed actual crimes. I do not know that the *blood-mark* imprinted on witches (p. 1070) on forming their hellish compact is necessarily to be traced to the practice of heretics (p. 1065). Mingling of blood in oaths and covenants was ancient and widely spread, RA. 192-3; the *stigma* was known in Germany long before witches were prosecuted,² the regular name for it being *anamáli* (Graff 2, 715). The corresponding *âmæli* in ON. I find only in the ethical sense of *nota=vituperium*; but when heroes of old Scandinavia found themselves dying the *strâ-dauði* in bed, they used first to consecrate themselves to Oðinn, who would only take a bleeding hero, by *scratch of spear*, even as he before dying gave himself a gash with *Gûngnir* (p. 147); this they called *marka sik* geirs oddi, *marka sik* Oðni, Yngl. saga cap. 10. 11. And I incline moreover to connect the 'tîres tâcen,' p. 200, and even the 'Tôdes zeichen,' p. 847; about all this there was not a thought of criminal sorcery (see Suppl.).

The details of witchcraft, the heart-eating, the storm-raising, the riding through air, are all founded on very ancient and widely scattered traditions, which I will now examine more minutely.

Let a glance at Servian superstitions lead the way. The *veshtitsa* is possessed by an evil spirit: when she falls asleep, he comes out of her, and then takes the form of a *butterfly* or a *hen*, but he is essentially one with the witch. As soon as he is out, the witch's body lies as if dead, and then always turns its head about to where the feet lay; in that state she cannot be awaked. The witch tries to catch people, to *eat up*, especially

¹ The honeysuckle, or perh. another plant, is in Lr. Germany called *alf-ranke* (elf-vine), *hexen-schlinge* (Ritter's Mekl. gram. p. 107. Arndt's Märch. p. 404). Any creepers, climbers, or intertwined branches, are named *hexen-schlupf*, because a *witch* or *elf*, when pursued, can always *slip* through them.

² Berthold p. 381, of the devil: they that fall into capital sin make him glad, he quickly *paints his mark* on them, and will fain have honour by their bearing his escutcheon.

young children. If she finds a man asleep, she pushes a rod through his left nipple, opens his side, *takes out the heart and eats it*, and the breast closes up again. Some of the people thus 'eaten out' die directly, others live on for a time. A witch will eat no *garlic*; and at Shrovetide many people smear themselves with garlic on the breast, soles and armpits as a safeguard, believing that she eats more people in Lent than at other times. Young and handsome women are never suspected of sorcery, witches are always *old women*,¹ but there goes a proverb: '*mlada kurva, stara veshtitsa*,' young wanton makes old witch. If once the witch has confessed and crimated herself, she can never eat people or practise witchcraft any more. When witches *fly out* by night, they shine like fire, their meeting-place is a *thrashing floor* (*guvno*), and each when starting from her kitchen *anoints herself with a salve*, and repeats a spell which will be quoted further on. If many children or other people die in a village, and suspicion falls on some old woman, they bind and *throw her in the water*: if she sinks, she is pulled out and let go; if not, she is put to death, for witches cannot sink in water. Whoever kills a *snake* before Lady-day, and ties a piece of garlic in its head, and on Lady-day *goes to church* with the snake's head *stuck on a cap*, can *tell what women are witches* by their congregating round him and trying to filch the snake or a piece of it (*Vuk sub v. vjeschtitza, pometno, blagovjest*).

This remarkable account opens the way to explanations. We too had similar *means of recognising witches*. He that has about him a *harrow's tooth* he has picked up, or grains of corn found *baked into the loaf*, or a Maundy Thursday's egg, will see the witches *at church with milking-pails on their heads*, Sup. I, 636. 685. 783. Just the same in Denmark, Sup. 169. Bergman p. 219 says, in Dalarne the witches rarely come to church: it is really a *sheaf of straw* or a *swine-trough* that occupies their place, only no one is the wiser but they of the Blåkulla sisterhood. I do

¹ It is chiefly in Sweden that even *innocent children*, boys as well as girls, are drawn into the web of sorcery. The devil requires every witch to bring some children with her; she wakes them out of sleep with the words 'Devil's brat, come to the feast!' *sets them on the roof* till her number is full, then carries them through the air to the Fiend, who asks them if they will serve him, and writes them down in his book. He endows them with wisdom, and they are called *vis-gässar*, wise lads. Conf. the children piped out of Hameln. In our Freising records are some *poor beggar boys* seduced by the devil.

not know if this pail or trough has to do with their bewitching the milk, or with the Norse belief that giantesses, *ellekoner* and *huldre-wives* carry a *trough on their backs* (Faye 118. Müll. sagabibl. 1, 367. Molb. dial. lex. 98). Keisersberg in Omeiss 36° tells of a night-faring woman who sat down in a dough-trough, anointed herself with oil, spoke magic words and slipt away (?). So early as in Sn. 210^a we find among names of sorceresses a *Bakrauf*, riven-backed, *fissura dorsi*. In Dan. 'ellekone bagtil huul som et *deigtrug*,' Thiele 4, 26. All these resemblances are important. In the Appendix I quote a spell, where the *alb* is thus addressed: 'with thy *back like a dough-trough!*' Both elf and witch are beautiful only in front, behind they are disgustingly deformed, like Gurorysse p. 945, or dame World in Conrad's poem. Out of the *Maundy Thursday egg*, when hatched, comes a fowl of gay plumage, which changes colour every year: take such an egg with you to church on Easter Sunday morning, and in sunshine you can tell all the women who belong to the devil; but they smell it out, and try to crush the egg in your pocket, so you must be careful to carry it in a little box, for if they succeed in crushing it, your heart will be broken too. Tobler 102^a informs us of the Swiss superstition: 'weme ma n' am Sonntag vor sonna nufgang e *nüblättlets chlee* (clover) ine schue ina thued, ond mit dem schue i d'chilacha god (goes to church), so sieht ma's, wenn e häx d'inen ist: die wo händler för sitzid (sit hind foremost) sönd häxa.' Also, whoever at Christmas matins stands on a *footstool of nine sorts of wood*, can tell all the witches in the congregation: they all turn their backs to the altar. But the witches can see him too, and woe to him if they get hold of him after service; he is a dead man, unless he has provided himself with something to tempt their cupidity, which he must keep throwing out bit by bit (as in ancient legend the pursued scatter rings and gold before the pursuing foe), and while they are picking it up, run as fast as he can, till his home receives him. A parchm. MS. of the 14th cent. at Vienna (Cod. bibl. graec. ³⁹/₆₃ bl. 133^a) gives a simpler recipe: 'wil du, daz di *vnholden* zu dir chomen, so nym ein *leffel* an dem fassangtag, vnd stoz in in *gesoten prein*, vnd behalt in also vntz in die drey metten in der Vasten (3 matins in Lent), vnd trag den leffel in dy metten, so wird ez dir chunt, wor

sew sint.' Much the same in Mone's Anz. 4, 310: He that on the first 'knöpflein' day shall pull the spoon out of the dough unseen, and on the second and third day shall again put it in and pull it out unperceived, so that at length some dough from each day sticks to it, and shall then take it to church with him on Christmas day, will there see all the witches facing the wrong way (or, upside down?); but he must get home before the benediction is pronounced, or it may cost him his life. It is only upon going to church that any of these recognitions can take place; but they seem also to depend on your *being the first to see*, as in meeting a wolf or basilisk. Another means of recognising a witch is, that when you look into her eyes, you see your image reflected upside down.¹ Running at the eyes is a mark of old witches, Sup. I, 787 (see Suppl.).

One thing that in our tales of witches has dropt into the rear, their *eating men's hearts out of their bodies*, stands in the forefront of the more primitive Servian way of thinking. Vuk has a song no. 363, in which a shepherd boy, whom his sister cannot wake, cries in his sleep: 'veshtitse su me iz-yele, maika mi srtese vadila, strina yoi luchem svetlila,' witches have eaten me out, mother took my heart, cousin lighted her with a torch. Fortis cap. 8 relates, how two witches took a young man's heart out in his sleep, and began to fry it; a priest had looked on without being able to hinder, and the spell was not broken till the youth awoke; then, when the priest approached the witches, they anointed themselves out of a mug, and fled. He took the heart half-cooked off the fire, and bade the youth gulp it down quick, by doing which he was completely restored. To me this Servian witch, making her appearance at Shrovetide and cutting open people's breasts, looks uncommonly like our periodical Berhta, who *cuts open* the lazy workman's body and *stuffs it with chopped straw*, p. 273; out of the goddess was made the hideous bugbear. In many villages, we are told, there are wicked wives that have a *white liver*, whose husbands waste away and die. Passages in the Codes prove that the same delusion prevailed among the ancient Germans: Lex. Sal. 67, 'si stria hominem comederit,' and what was quoted p. 1068 from the Lex Roth. 379 and the

¹ Pliny 7, 2 notices a similar test for magicians: 'in altero oculo geminam pupillam, in altero equi effigiem.' Conf. the people possessed by holden, p. 1074.

Capit. de parte Sax. 5. Also the Indic. paganiarum: 'quod feminae possint *corda hominum tollere juxta paganos*;' and Burchard: 'ut credas, te januis clausis exire posse, et homines interficere et de coctis carnibus eorum vos comedere, et *in loco cordis eorum stramen aut lignum aut aliquod hujusmodi ponere*, et comestis iterum vivos facere et inducias vivendi dare.' Notker's Cap. 105, speaking of ambrones and anthropophagi (man-ezon), adds: 'alsô man chît, taz ouh hâzessa hier im lande tûen.'¹ The tenth, the eleventh century had not given up the heathen notion, nay, it lingers later still. It lies at the root of Diomed's words in Herbort 9318: 'si hât mîn herze mit ir . . . ich hân niht in dem lîbe, da mîn herze solde wesen, dâ trage ich eine lîhte *vesen*, ein *strô*, oder einen *wisch*;' only here it is not an old witch, but his lady-love that has run away with his heart, in which sense lovers in all ages talk of losing their hearts.² The poem given p. 1048 speaks of the unholde striding over a man, *cutting his heart out, and stuffing straw in*, and his still remaining alive. Says Berthold (Cod. pal. 35 fol. 28^a): 'pfei! gelawbestu, das du ainem man sein *herz auss seinem leib nemest*, und im ain *stro hin wider stossest*?' So in the North they speak of a fem. *mannætta* (not a masc. *mann-ætti*), and the word is even used for male magicians: 'tröll ok *mannætta*,' Fornm. sög. 3, 214. A Polish story in Woycicki makes the witch pull the heart out and put a hare's heart in its place. Child-devouring 'striges' in Altd. bl. 1, 125. Our present fairy-tales represent the witch as a wood-wife, who *feeds and fattens children* for her own consumption (KM. no. 15); if they escape, she goes after them in league-boots (nos. 51. 56. 113). Grimly the witch in the tale of Frau Trude throws a girl into the fire as a log of wood, and snugly warms herself thereby. That the Romans believed in witches consuming particular parts of a man who still lived on, is proved by the following passages. Petronius cap. 134: 'quae striges *comederunt nervos tuos*?' cap. 63: 'strigae puerum involaverunt,

¹ To this he appends his well-known statement as to the *Weletabi* or *Wilze*, who were accused of eating their aged parents, RA. 488. That the national name *Volot*, *Velet* passed into that of giant, hence ogre (as in the analogous cases on p. 527), Schafarik has ably expounded in his Slav. stud. 1, 877; but he had no business to mix up (1, 882) our Welisungs (supra p. 371) with those Wilzen.

² '*Rubacuori*, che il cor m'avete tolto; del petto mio cavasti il cuore,' Tommaseo's Canti pop. 1, 88—90.

et supposuerunt stramentum.' Plautus in Pseud. iii. 2, 31: 'sed strigibus vivis convisis *intestina* quae *exedint*.' The Atellanic ghost, the *manducus*, from *mandere*, *manducare*, is a munching voracious bogie (butz p. 507), a bugbear to children. *Masca* p. 1045, Ital. *maschera*, may be referred to *mâcher*, *mascher*, or *masticare*, and the witch is called *mask* because she consumes children. The Indian sorceresses also try to get *human flesh* to eat, Lomad. 2, 62 (see Suppl.).

Equally ancient is the opinion that the *spirit passes out of a sleeping witch in butterfly shape*. Souls in general were likened to butterflies, p. 829; to the Slovèns *vezha* is will o' wisp, butterfly and witch. The alp appears as a butterfly or moth, *phalaena* (*nacht-toggeli*, Stald. 1, 287), as a devil's beast p. 1029; the witches' holden and elves are butterflies. But our native legend speaks of other animals too, that issue from the mouths of sleepers. King Gunthram, spent with toil, had gone to sleep on a faithful follower's lap: then the henchman sees a *little beast* like a *snake* run out of his lord's mouth, and make its way to a streamlet, which it cannot step over. He lays his sword across the water, the beast runs over it, and goes into a hill on the other side. After some time it returns the same way into the sleeper, who presently wakes up, and relates how in a dream he had crossed an *iron bridge* and gone into a mountain filled with gold (Aimoin 3, 3. Paul. Diac. 3, 34, whence Sigebert in Pertz 8, 319). Later writers tell of a sleeping landsknecht, and how a *weasel* came running out of him, Deut. sag. no. 455. But in more recent accounts it is applied to devil's brides, out of whose mouth runs a *cat* or a *red mouse*, while the rest of the body lies fixed in slumber (ibid. nos. 247—9).¹ A miller, cutting firewood in the Black Forest, fell asleep over the work, and his man saw a *mouse* creep out of him and run away; everybody searched, but could not find it, and the miller never awoke. Is all this connected with the witches' mouse-making p. 1090, and the narrow *thread-bridge* to be crossed by the soul on its way to the under world p. 834? It is stated, exactly as with the Servians, that if you turn the sleeper's body round, the beast on returning

¹ 'For the *mouse* that runneth out (=matrix) lay a sword across the stream,' Pittner's Hebamme p. 194. In Fischart's Plays no. 216: 'there runs a white mouse up the wall.'

cannot find its way in, and death ensues, Sup. I, 650. That state of internal ecstasy, in which the body lies in a rigid sleep, our old speech designates by *irprottan* (raptus), i.e. tranced.¹ But ON. myth has already acquainted us with the greatest of all possible examples: 'Óðinn skipti hömum (changed his shape), lá þá búkrinn sem sofinn eða dauðr, enn hann var þá *fugl* eða *dýr*, *fiskr* eða *ormr*, ok fór á einni svipstund á fiarlæg lönd, at sínum erindum eðr annara manna,' Yngl. s. cap. 7; his body lay asleep or dead, and he as bird, beast, fish or snake, fared in a twinkling to far-lying lands (see Suppl.).

Again, the Servian starting-spell, 'ni o trn ni o grm, vetch na pometno guvno!' (not against thorn nor against oak, but to swept barnfloor), agrees with German ones. Usually the word is: 'auf und davon! *hui oben hinaus und nirgend an!*' out on high, and (strike) against nothing; or 'wol aus und an, *stoss nirgend an!*' or 'fahr hin, nicht zu hoch, nicht zu nieder!' and in England: 'tout, tout, *throughout and about!*' But if the witch is pursuing people: 'before me day, behind me night!' Dan. 'lyst foran, og mörkt bag!' A Norse magician took a goatskin, wrapt it round his head, and spoke: '*verði þoka, ok verði skrípi*, ok undr mikil öllum þeim sem eptir þer sækja!' be there mist and magic and much wonder to all that seek after thee, Nialss. cap. 12. A formula used by Fr. magicians on mounting the stick is given, but not completely, by Boguet p. 111: '*baston blanc, baston noir*, etc.' Of Indian sorceresses we are likewise told, that they repeat a *formula for flight*: Kalaratri said it and immediately, with her disciples and the cow-stall on whose roof she stood, she flew aloft and along the path of cloud, whither she would; a man, having overheard her, made use of the same spell to go after her (Somad. 2, 58-9), exactly as in our tales of witches men get acquainted with their salves and spells, and pursue them (see Suppl.).

Where is the first mention of *stick and broom riding* to be found? Actually I can only produce a tolerably old authority for *riding on reeds and rushes*, and even these turn into real horses. Guilielm. Alvernus, p. 1064: 'Si vero quaeritur de equo quem *ad vectigationes suas facere* se credunt *malefici*, credunt,

¹ The *hinbrüten* (ecstasis) of sorceresses, Etn. Hebamme p. 226. Martin von Amberg: 'die *henpretigen*,' the entranced.

inquam, facere *de canna* per characteres nefandos et scripturas quas in ea inscribunt et impingunt; dico in hoc, quia non est possibile malignis spiritibus *de canna verum equum facere* vel formare, neque cannam ipsam ad hanc ludificationem eligunt, quia ipsa aptior sit ut *transfiguretur in equum*, vel ex illa generetur equus, quam multae aliae materiae. Forsitan autem propter planitiem superficiei et facilitatem habendi eam alicui videatur ad hoc praelecta. . . . Sic forsan hac de causa ludificationem istam efficere in canna sola et non alio ligno permittuntur maligni spiritus, ut facilitas et vanitas eorum per cannam hominibus insinuetur. . . . Si quis autem dicat, quia *canna et calamus* habitationes interdum malignorum spirituum sunt¹ . . . ego non improbo.—More intelligible is the Irish tale of the *rushes and corn-stalks* that turn into horses the moment you bestride them, Ir. elfenmär. 101. 215. Of such a horse, after the first time, you need only lift the *bridle* and shake it when you want him, and he comes directly (Sup. H, cap. 31. Spell xvi.). In Hartlieb (Sup. H, cap. 32) the unholden are represented riding on *rakes* and *oven-forks*, in the older Poem given at p. 1048 on *brooms*, *dehsen*, *oven-sticks* and *calves*, in the Ackermann aus Böhmen p. 8 on *crutches* and *goats*, but in the Tkadlezek p. 27 on *distaffs* (*kuzly*). Dobrowsky in Slavin p. 407 mentions the Bohem. summons ‘*staré baby, na pometlo!*’ old wives, on to your stove-broom.—Of more importance is what we find in the story of Thorsteinn bæarmagn, which Müller 3, 251 assigns to the 15th century: As the hero lay hid in the cane-brake, he heard a boy call into the hill, ‘Mother, hand me out *crook-staff* and *band-gloves*, I wish to go the magic ride (*gand-reið*, p. 1054), there is wedding in the world below’; and immediately the *krókstaf* was handed out of the hill, the boy mounted it, drew the gloves on, and rode as children do. Thorsteinn went up to the hill, and shouted the same words: out came both staff and gloves, he mounted, and rode after the boy. Coming to a river, they plunged in, and rode to a castle on a rock, where many people sat at table, all drinking wine out of silver goblets; on a golden

¹ ‘Mennige narrinnen (many a she-fool) und ock mennigen dor (fool) *bindet de düvel up sin ror* (the d. ties on to his cane),’ Narragonia 14^b (nothing like it in Brant). Does it mean devil’s horses? And does that explain Walther’s ‘*üz im* (the black book) *leset sinu rôr*’ (33, 8)? A Servian proverb says: ‘*lasno ye dyabolu u ritu svirati*,’ ’tis easy piping on the devil’s reed.

throne were the king and queen. Thorsteinn, whom his staff had made invisible, ventured to seize a costly ring and a cloth, but in doing so he lost the stick, was seen by all, and pursued. Happily his invisible fellow-traveller came by on the other stick, Thorsteinn mounted it as well, and they both escaped (Fornm. sög. 3, 176—8). If the poem has not the peculiar stamp of Norse fable, it teaches none the less what notions were attached to these enchanted rides in the 14th or 15th century: no devil shews his face in it. *Sticks* and *staves* however seem to be later expedients of witchery: neither night-wives nor Furious Host nor valkyrs need any apparatus for traversing the air; night-wives had already *calves* and *goats* attributed to them, p. 1058. There is a very curious phrase, 'to wake a hedge-stick,' which has to become a *he-goat* and fetch the loved one to her lover; originally perhaps no other sticks were meant but such as, on bestriding, immediately turned into beasts (see Suppl.).

As witches slip through *keyholes* and *cracks in the door*, p. 1074, they are able to squeeze themselves into the narrowest space, even *betwixt wood and bark* (conf. Suppl. on p. 653). Thus in H. Sachs ii. 4, 10 the devil first peels the hazel-rod on which he hands the old woman the stipulated shoes, for fear she might creep to him 'twixt wood and bark. In Iw. 1208 the utmost secrecy is expressed by: 'sam daz holz under der rinden, alsam sît ir verborgen.' When a Lithuanian convert began to bark the trees in a holy wood, he said: 'Vos me meis anseribus gallisque spoliastis, proinde et ego nudas vos (sc. arbores) faciam. Credebat enim deos rei suae familiari perniciosos *intra arbores et cortices latere.*' The Swed. song makes enchanting minstrels charm the *bark off the tree*, the babe out of the mother, the hind from the forest, the eye from out the socket (Arvidsson 2, 311-2-4-7).

Again, the witches' *dislike of bells* is heathenish: the elves have it, and the giants, p. 459. Pious prayer and *ringing of bells* put their plans out: they call the bells 'yelping dogs.' In a Swed. folktale (Ödm. Bahusl. beskrifn. p. 228) an old heathen crone, on hearing the sound of the christian bell from Tegneby, exclaims in contempt: 'nu mâ tro, Rulla på Rallehed har fådt *bjälra,*' R. the christian church has got a tinkler. As yet there is no thought of witchery. But it is told of Swed. witches too, that they scrape the *bells* loose up in the belfry: in their airy

flight when they come to a steeple, they set the kidnapped children (p. 1078) down on the church-roof, who are then mere jackdaws to look at; in the meantime they scrape the bell loose, and lug it away, and afterwards let the metal drop through the clouds, crying: 'never let my soul draw near to God, any more than this metal will be a bell again!' (see Suppl.).

The *raising of hailstorms* and *spoiling of crops* by magic reaches back to the remotest antiquity of almost every nation. As benignant gods make the fruits to thrive, as air-riding valkyrs from the manes of their steeds let life-giving dew trickle down on the plain (p. 421); so baneful beings of magic power strive to annihilate all that is green. The Greek *Eumenides* (a word that even our oldest glosses translate by *hâzasa*) *spoil the crops with their slaver, and the fruit with hailstones*, Aesch. Eum. 753-68-77-95. The Roman Twelve Tables imposed a penalty on him 'qui fruges excantassit . . . sive . . . alienam segetem pellexerit.'¹ In the 8-9th cent. 'weather-making' was alleged against sorcerers rather than sorceresses; the passages given at p. 638 name only *tempestarii*, not *tempestariae*. So in Ratherius p. 626: 'contra eos qui dicunt quod *homo malus* vel *diabolus*² tempestatem faciat, lapides grandinum spergat, agros devastet, fulgura mittat, etc. Those magicians in Burchard are called *immissores tempestatum*, Sup. C, 10, 8; p. 194^a. Yet in the North, Thorgerðr and Irpa, who stir up storm and tempest, are women (p. 637), and the salt-grinders Fenja and Menja giantesses; their ship is like the mist-ship of the clouds. How magicians set about their weather-making, is nowhere specified. In much later authorities we find them using a *tub* or a *pitcher*, p. 593. In Ls. 2, 314 Master Irreganc says (G. Abent. 3, 90):

und kœm ein *wann* (tub) in mîn hant,
der *hagel slüeg* (hail would beat) *über allez lant*.

In the Apollon. von Tyrland (9183. 10970. 11010 seq.) are mentioned *pitchers*, the *emptying* of which was followed by showers and hail: one jug engendered lightnings and thunderbolts, another hail and shower, a third one rain and nipping

¹ 'Rudis adhuc antiquitas credebat et attrahi imbres cantibus, et repelli,' Seneca Nat. quaest. 4, 7.

² The *devil* brings on gales and thunderstorms, p. 1000; so does the *giant*, p. 636.

winds. A woodcut in Keisersberg's Omeiss (ed. 1516, 36^b) portrays three naked unholden sitting on footstools, distaffs and horses' heads, *holding up pots*, out of which shower and storm mount up. A passage in the Rudlieb is worth quoting: the repenting culprit begs (6, 48),

post triduum corpus tollatis ut ipsum
et comburatis, *in aquam cineres jaciatis*,
ne jubar abscondat sol, aut aer neget imbrem,
ne per me grando dicatur laedere mundo.

Let her body be taken off the gallows and burnt, and the *ashes be strown on water*, lest, being scattered in air, it should breed clouds, drought and hail. Just so the *devil's ashes* are strown to awaken storm and tempest, p. 1071-3; the Chronicon S. Bertini states that Richilde, before her fight with Robert the Frisian, *threw dust in the air* against the Frisians with formulas of imprecation, but it fell back on her own head in token of her speedy overthrow. She meant, like Thorgerðr and Irpa, to *destroy the enemy* by tempest. Justinger's Chron. of Bern p. 205 relates how a woman, secretly sent for by a Count of Kyburg, who promised not to betray her, stood on the battlements of his castle, and uttering hidden words, raised *clouds, rain and storm*, which scattered his foes (A.D. 1382). The witches of Norway still proceed exactly as the Vinlanders were said to do (p. 640): they tie up wind and foul weather in a *bag*, and at the proper moment undo the knots, exclaiming 'wind, in the devil's name!' then a storm rushes out, lays waste the land, and overturns ships at sea. By Hartlieb's account (Sup. H, cap. 34), old women sacrifice to devils, that they may make *hail and shower*. According to German records of the 16-17 cent., witches assemble in crowds by waterbrooks or lakes, and *flog* the water *with rods*, till a fog rises, which gradually thickens into *black clouds*; *on these clouds they are borne up*, and then guide them toward the spots to which they mean mischief. They also place *magic pots* in the water, and stir them round.¹ The *windsack* is mentioned a few times (Voigt 131). They make blue lights *trickle into the water*, throw *flintstones* into the air, or trundle *barrels* whose bursting begets tempest. They gather *oak-leaves in a man's shirt*, and

¹ Conf. p. 596-7 on storm-raising by throwing stones and pouring out water.

when it is full, hang it on a tree: a wind springs up directly, that drives all rain away, and keeps the weather fine. Out of a small piece of cloud a witch made a deal of bad weather (Arx Buchsgau p. 103). A violent thunderstorm lasted so long, that a huntsman on the highway loaded his gun with a consecrated bullet, and *shot* it off into the middle of the *blackest cloud*; out of it (as out of the ship, p. 638) a *naked female* fell dead to the ground, and the storm blew over in a moment (Mone's Anz. 4, 309). In Carinthia the people *shoot at storm-clouds*, to scare away the *evil spirits* that hold counsel in them. The parson being credited with power to charm the weather, the women bring apronfuls of hailstones into his house: 'there, that's his rightful tithe of the weather, as he did not see good to keep it away'; Sartori's Journ. in Austria 2, 153-4. In some parts of France whole families are suspected of having the hereditary power to raise a storm: they meet on the lake-side, not less than three at a time, and lash the water up with horrible cries; this is done at night before sunrise, and a violent storm is the immediate consequence, Mém. de l'acad. celt. 2, 206-7. Such people are called *meneurs des nuées*, Mém. des antiq. 1, 244. In Germany witches were commonly called, by way of insult, *wettermacherin*, *wetterhexe*, *wetterkatze*, *donnerkatze*, *nebelhexe*, *strahlhexe*, *blitzhexe*, *zessenmacherin* (from the old *zessa*, storm), and earlier, *wolkengüsse*, cloud-gushes, Ms. 2, 140^b. The OHG. *Wolchandrūt*, a woman's name in Trad. Fuld. 2, 101, need have had none but perfectly innocent associations: the valkyr either rides in the clouds or sprinkles from them *fertilizing* dew; so even the strewing of ashes on the field may originally have increased their fertility. Occasionally *feldfrau* and *feldspinnerin* are used of a witch; is it because she passes over field and meadow, or spins magic threads? (conf. p. 1099). Who knows but that the popular saying, when it snows, 'the *old wives* are shaking their coats out' (de aule wiver schüddet den pels ut, Strodtm. p. 336), is, properly understood, identical with that on p. 268: 'dame *Holle* is making her bed'? Goddess, valkyr, witch: the regular gradation of such myths. To the Greeks Zeus himself was still *νεφέληγερέτα*, to the Serbs the *vila* gathers clouds. In Scandinavia too, hail and hurricane proceed from those half-goddesses *Thorgerðr* and *Irpa*, not as injurious to

crops, but perilous to armies;¹ Sn. 175 makes a sorceress bear the very name *El*, *procella*² (see Suppl.).

But sometimes the aim of sorcery is not so much to destroy the produce, as to get possession of it, to carry it off the field, either to one's own garner, or that of a favourite.³ Even the Romans speak of this: 'satas alio traducere messes,' Virg. Ecl. 8, 99; 'cantus vicinis fruges traducit ab agris,' Tibull. i. 8, 19. People fancied, that when unholden walked through a vineyard and *shook the vines*, the grapes came out of the neighbour's plot into theirs (Hartm. segenspr. 341). An old dalesman gave his granddaughter a staff, and told her to *stick it in the corn* at a certain spot in a field; the girl on her way was overtaken by a shower, took refuge under an oak, and left the staff standing there: when she got home, she found a great heap of *oak-leaves* in her grandfather's loft (ibid. p. 342). We also hear of *vine-shoots* being *boiled in a pot*, probably to spoil the vineyard. The poison-herbs of witches boil and evaporate under the open sky.

We are told of witches *bathing naked in the sand*⁴ or *in corn*; I know not for what purpose; Superst. I, 519 speaks of rolling naked in the flax. Three witches were seen going to a field of rye, laying aside their garments, and bathing in the corn with their hair hanging loose. When witnesses approached, two vanished suddenly, leaving their clothes behind, the third huddled her smock on (Voigt 130—2). Has this to do with corn-wives and rye-aunts p. 477?

Witches and sorcerers use *various implements*, of which for the most part no exact description is given. Of the *wand* with which the old magicians are usually armed, I find no mention in our tales, for when the wishing-rod is named, it is as a higher and noble instrument; yet the staff or stick that witches are said

¹ As the whirlwind is ascribed to the devil (p. 1008) so it is to witches (Sup. I, 554. 648). Kilian 693 remarks, that it is also called *varende wif*, travelling woman, i.e. air-riding sorceress; conf. *wind's bride* p. 632, and 'rushing like a wind's-bride through the land,' Simplic. 2, 62.

² Is she called *sólar böl*, sun's bale, because she darkens the sun with her storm-cloud? Or may we go farther back to heathen times, and impute to the witch, as to the wolf, a *swallowing of sun and moon*? To me it looks the more likely from the name *hwel-svelg himins*, swallower of heaven's wheel.

³ Conf. the convenient corn-dragon (p. 1019) and home-sprite.

⁴ Fowls are said to 'bathe in sand': Lith. *kutenas' wisztos ziegždrosa*; Lett. *perrinatees*; Pol. *kury się w piasku kąpią*; Serv. *leprshatise*.

to ride may originally have been carried in the hand. I also find the stick spoken of as the wizard's *third leg* (Mone's Anz. 7, 426). In Bavarian records the so-called *making of mice* or *pigs* (fackel for ferkel) is often mentioned: the witch has a *four-legged implement*, dark-yellow, hard and stiff; this she holds under a figure of a mouse or pig that she has made out of a napkin, and says 'Run away, and come back to me!' the figure becomes a live animal, and runs away; probably to fetch her something of other people's. Hence a witch is called *maus-schlägerin*, mouse-beater, and a wizard *maus-schlägel*. In North German trials the expression is *müse-maker*, and the process is different: the witch boils magic herbs, then cries, 'Mouse, mouse, come out in devil's name!' and the beasts come jumping out of the pot (Laffert's Relat. crim. p. 57-9). It reminds one of the destructive *mice* created by Apollo Smintheus in his wrath, and the devastations of lemingings in Lapland; so that this plague may with perfect right take its place with the desolating storm and hail, although our witch-trials say hardly anything of the damage done by the magic beasts (conf. Klausen's Aeneas p. 73—5). One Nethl. story in Wolf no. 401 relates how a young girl flung two *pellets of earth* one after the other, and in a moment the whole field *swarmed with mice*. Swedish tradition tells of a *bjåraan* or *bare*, which (says Ihre, dial. lex. 18^a) was a *milking-pail* made by tying together nine sorts of stolen weaver's knots. You let three drops of blood fall into it out of your little finger, and said :

på jorden (on earth) skal tu för mig springa,
i Blåkulla skal jag för thig brinna !

The name comes from the vessel conveying (*båra*) milk and other things to the houses of the devil-worshippers. Hülphers (Fierde saml. om Angermanland. Vesterås 1780, p. 310) describes it as a *round ball* made of rags, tow and juniper, etc., and used in several magic tricks: it ran out and brought things in. It starts off the moment the sender cuts his left little finger and lets the blood fall on it :

smör och ost (butter and cheese) skal du mig bringa,
och derfor (skal jag) i helfvetet brinna (in hell-fire burn) !

Who can help thinking of Goethe's Magician's Apprentice with his water-fetching *broom* ?

Of the same kind seems to have been the Icelandic *snackr*, which commonly means a weaver's spool. It is made, says Biörn, of a dead man's rib in the shape of a snake, and wrapt in gray wool; it sucks at the witch's breast, after which it can suck other people's cattle dry, and bring their milk home¹ (see Suppl.).

Of wider diffusion is sorcery with the *sieve*, which I shall speak of by and by; and with *wax figures*, to which if you did anything while uttering secret words, it took effect on absent persons. The *wax figure* (*atzmann*) was either hung up in the air, plunged in water, fomented at the fire, or stabbed with needles and buried under the door-sill: the person aimed at feels all the hurts inflicted on the figure (Sup. G, line 28; H, cap. 79).² In Aw. 2, 55 a travelling student says:

Mit wunderlîchen sachen
lêr ich sie (I teach her) denne machen
von wahs einen kobolt,
wil sie daz er ir werde holt (he grow kind to her),
und töuf' ez³ in den brunnen,
und leg in an die sunnen;

but counter-agencies make the danger recoil on the conjuror himself.⁴ Magic figures can also be baked of *dough* or *lime*, and

¹ The Lapps have a magic vessel *quobdas* (Leem p. 421 spells *govdes*), cut out of fir, pine or birch with the grain running from right to left; it is open underneath, but covered with a skin at the top. The Lapl. adepts drum on this skin with a hammer.

² Conf. *Dæmonomanie*, Fischart's transl., Strasb. 1591 fol. p.143-4.

³ I.e. *tauche* es, dip it into the fountain; if we took it as *taufè*, baptize, we should have to read 'in dem brunnen.'

⁴ Schimpf und ernst cap. 272 tells the following story: A certain man went to Rome, for to seek S. Peter and S. Paul; and when he was gone, his wife loved another, that was what men call a scholar-errant, and did covet her to wife. The woman saith, 'my good man is departed unto Rome, were he dead, or couldst thou take away his life, then would I have thee of all men.' He said, 'yea truly I can take his life;' and buyeth wax about six pound, and maketh an image thereof. Now when the good man was come to Rome into the city, there came one to him and spake: 'O thou son of death, what goest thou up and down? If none help thee, this day shall see thee alive and dead.' The man asked, 'how should that be?' And he said, 'come to my house, and I will shew it thee.' And having brought him home, he prepared for him a waterbath, and set him therein, and gave him a mirror, saying, 'look thou therein,' and sat beside him, reading in a book, and spake unto him, 'behold in the glass, what seest thou therein?' The man in the bath said, 'I see one in mine house, that setteth up a waxen image on the wall,

wrought out of *metal*, but wax made by the sacred bee (p. 696) appears the most appropriate; their manufacture is a mimicry of divine creation (p. 570), but it succeeds only up to a certain point. In Pulci's *Morgante* 21, 73 a witch possesses an image made of the pure wax of young bees (*delle prime api*), and having every limb except one rib:¹ the witch's own vitality is bound up with the figure, and when Malagigi melts it at a slow fire, she dwindles away. That such figures were sometimes baptized, is shewn by a sermon of Berthold's (*Cod. pal. 35 fol. 27^b*): 'so nimpt diu her und *tauft ein wachs*, diu ein holz, diu ein tôtenpein (dead man's bone), allez daz sie domit bezouber;' ² and this proves the connexion of magical appliances with superstitious healing appliances. As the sick and the restored used to consecrate and hang up in churches an image or a limb of wax, so by images the witch maimed and killed. No doubt this kind of conjuring goes back to the oldest times; we find it in Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 7, 29:

*Sagave punicea defixit nomina cera,
et medium tenues in jecur egit acus?*

and goeth and taketh his crossbow, and having bent it, will shoot at the image.' Then said the other, 'as thou lovest thy life, duck thee under the water when he shall shoot.' And the man did so. And again he read in the book, and spake 'behold, what seest thou?' The man said, 'I see that he hath missed, and is exceeding sorry, and my wife with him; the scholar-errant setteth to, and will shoot the second time, and goeth the half way toward.' 'Duck thee when he shall shoot.' And he ducked. Saith the other, 'look, what seest thou?' The man said, 'I see that he hath missed, and is sore troubled, and speaketh to the woman, If now I miss the third time, I am [a man] of death; and setteth to, and aimeth at the figure very near, that he may not miss.' Then spake he that read in the book, 'duck thee!' And the man ducked from the shot. And he said, 'look up, what seest thou?' 'I see that he hath missed, and *the arrow is gone into him*, and is dead, and my wife bestoweth him in the basement below.' Then said he, 'arise now, and go thy way.' And the man would have given him much, but he would take nothing, and said, 'pray God for me.' When the citizen was come home again, and his wife would have kindly received him, he would take no pity on her, but sent to bid her friends, and spake to them, what manner of wife they had given him, and shewed them everything, how she had borne herself. The woman steadfastly denied it; then led he the friends to the place where she had dug him in, and dug him out again. And the people took the woman, and burned her, the which was her just reward.—The story comes from the *Gesta Rom.* (ed. Keller cap. 102; transl. ed. Keller p. 160); but one ought to compare the fresh story from Finnish Lapland in Afzelius 1, 48.

¹ As the rib serves for further creation (p. 562), and for making miraculous apparatus (pp. 907. 1091), imperfect creation is destitute of it.

² *Quidam (Judaeorum) ad similitudinem episcopi (Eberhardi Treverensis, in 11th cent.) ceream imaginem lyncis interpositam facientes, clericum ut eam baptizaret pecunia corruerunt, quam ipso sabbato accenderunt; qua jam ex parte media consumpta, episcopus coepit graviter infirmari, et obiit (Hist. Trev.).*

Compare Horace, Epod. 17, 76: 'movere cereas imagines.' Theocritus 2, 28 has the *wax-melting* very plainly: ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, ὡς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος, but not that it was an image. In Virgil, Ecl. 8, 74 seq., a magic figure (terque haec altaria circum effigiem duco) seems to be made of *lime* and *wax* (see Suppl.).

An ancient custom, very similar to this of hanging up and thawing the atzmann, was to cut out the *earth* or *turf* on which had rested the foot of one whom you wish to destroy. This *erd-schnitt* as Vintler calls it (Sup. G, l. 92) is hung in the chimney, and as it begins to wither or dry up, the man too shall waste away (I, 524. 556). It was already known to Burchard (C, p. 200*). To fetch up a comrade from a foreign land, you *boil his stockings*; or you put his *shoes* in a new pot, and with it draw water *against the current*, then *boil the shoes* in the pot four days long; when they are past, he will come, says Hessian superstition (see Suppl.). You can lame a horse by driving a nail into his recent footprint, and discover a thief by putting tinder in his (I, 978). Pliny 28, 20 says: 'vestigium equi excussum ungula (ut solet plerumque) si quis collectum reponat, singultus remedium esse recordantibus quonam loco id reposuerint;' a cure for hic-cough if you remember where you put it.

Our magicians have also, in common with those of Greece and Rome, the power of assuming an *animal shape* (in itself a divine attribute, p. 326): the men prefer changing into a wolf or hawk, the women into a cat or swan; to translate it into the language of our heathen time, they addict themselves to the service of Wuotan, of Frouwa. These metamorphoses are either voluntary or compulsory: the higher being in his might puts on the animal shape that suits him, or he dooms a man to wear it in punishment or vengeance. In the stories it is often a *mother-in-law* or *stepmother* that transforms children, ON. *stiurpmóður sköp*, Fornald. sög. 1, 31. 58.

Herodotus 4, 105 says of the Neuri, that among Scythians and Greeks settled in Scythia they pass for magicians (γόητες), because once a year every Neurian *becomes a wolf* for a few days, and then resumes the human form (ὡς ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἄπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας, καὶ ἀπτις ὀπίσω ἐς τῶντὸ κατίσταται). Similar accounts are in Pliny 8, 34. Pomp.

Mela 2, 1. Augustine Civ. Dei 18, 17: 'his ego saepe *lupum fieri* et se condere silvis Moerin . . . vidi,' Virg. Ecl. 8, 97. A man distinguished by this gift or malady was called *λυκάνθρωπος*,¹ a word-formation to which the AS. *werewolf* (Leges Canuti, Schmid 1, 148), Engl. *werewolf*, exactly corresponds; Goth. *vairavulfs*? OHG. *werawolf*? MHG. poets have no werewolf. The ON. uses *vargr* alone (RA. 733. Reinh. xxxvii), *verûlfr* in Sn. 214^b is a sword's name, the Swed. Dan. *varulf*, *varulv*, seem formed on a Romance or German model. I find *werwolf* first in Burchard (Sup. C, p. 198^c); though Boniface before him couples 'strigas et *factos lupos credere*' (Serm., in Mart. et Dur. 9, 217). The Fr. *loup-garou* (*warou* in O. Fr. poems) might seem a distortion of *warulf*; *garulf* (Gervase of Tilb. writes *gerulphus*), but then the Breton dialect has also its *bleiz-garou*, *-garo* (fr. *bleiz*, wolf), and *den-vleiz*, man-wolf (fr. *den*, man), *grék-vleiz* (*femme-loup*); *bisclaveret* in Marie de France 1, 178 is apparently a corruption of *bleizgarv*, as the Norman *garwal* is of *guarwolf*. The Pol. *wilkotak*, *wilkotek*, Boh. *wlkodlak*, strictly means wolf-haired, and suggests the hairy wood-sprite, p. 480. The Serv. *vukodlac* signifies a vampire. From *wilks* (wolf) the Letton forms *wilkats* (werewolf), *Wilkašcha radda ds.* 1644.

Our oldest native notions make the assumption of wolf-shape depend on arraying oneself in a *wolf-belt* or *wolf-shirt* (*úlfa-hamr*), as translation into a swan does on putting on the swan-shift or swan-ring (p. 427-8).² One who wears a wolf-belt, *úlhamr*, is called in OHG. *wolfhetan*, ON. *úlfehðinn* (the *ð* repres. an orig. *d*); especially do raging berserkir become *úlfehðnir*: 'þeir höfðu vargstakkar fyrir brynjur,' *Vatnsdœla saga* 36. 'berserkir þeir vâru kallaðir *úlfhiedar* (r. *úlfehðnir*),' *Grettissaga* 32^a. We also find a man's name *Ulfheðinn*, and OHG. *Wolfhetan*, MB. 28, nos.

¹ Among the Æsopian Fables is a merry gest (Cor. 425. Fur. 423): A thief pretends to his host, that when he has *yawned three times*, he becomes a werewolf (*ὄταν οὖν χασμηθῶ τρεῖς βολάς, γίνομαι λύκος ἐσθίων ἀνθρώπους*); the timid host runs away, and the rogue gets possession of his garment. Petronius in Sat. 62 mentions a peculiar method of metamorphosis: 'ille *circumminxit* vestimenta sua, et subito *lupus factus est*; vestimenta lapidea facta sunt.' Conf. cap. 57: 'si circumminxero illum, nesciet qua fugiat.'

² The *girdle* was an essential article of dress, and early ages ascribe to it other magic influences: e.g. *Thór's* divine strength lay in his girdle (*megingjörð*, fem.), Sn. 26.

52. 246. Apart from wolves, we have *biarnheðinn*, *geitheðinn*, i.e. dressed in a bearskin, goatskin; as a proper name, both *Biarnheðinn*, Landn. 45, and a simple *Heðinn*, ancestor of the *Hiaðningar*, AS. Heodeningas fr. Heden or Heoden. The vowel is therefore *ë* (not *e*), and we must suppose a lost verb OHG. *hëtan*, hat, pl. *hätum*, Goth. *hidan*, had, *hëdum*. Lye quotes a '*heden*, casla,' meaning prob. casula, robe; and an ON. *geitheðinn* is supposed to be '*pallium e pelle caprina*'; but I prefer to take *Wolfhetan* as a participle. We see then, that the transformation need not be for a magical purpose at all: any one that puts on, or is conjured into, a wolf-shirt, will undergo metamorphosis, remain a wolf nine days, and only on the tenth be allowed to return to human shape¹; some stories make him keep the wolf-body for three, seven or nine years. With the appearance, he acquires also the fierceness and howling, of the wolf: roaming the woods, he rends to pieces everything that comes in his way.² Fornald. sög. 1, 50 speaks of a '*liosta með úlfhandska*,' striking with wolf's glove, by which a person is turned into a bear, and wears the animal form by day, the human at night. In a similar way the notion of werewolves also gets mixed up with that of outlaws who have fled to the woods. A notable instance is that of Sigmund and Sinfjötli (*ibid.* 2, 130-1): when they sleep, their wolf-shirts hang beside them.

Werewolves thirst for youthful blood, and carry off children and maidens with reckless audacity. Out of many stories in *Woycicki* 1, 101-113. 152-8 I select only this: A witch twisted her girdle together, and laid it on the threshold of a house where there was a wedding; when the newly married pair stepped

¹ It is also believed, that every ninth day the seal (*selr*) doffs his fishy skin, and is for one day a man (*Thiele* 3, 51). In medieval Germany the nine years' wolf was supposed to give birth to *adders*, Ms. 2, 234^b; to which may be compared *Loki's* begetting the wolf *Fenrir* and the snake *Jörmungandr* (p. 246), and that *gandr* again means wolf.

² A married couple lived in poverty; yet, to the man's astonishment, his wife contrived to serve up meat at every meal, concealing for a long time how she obtained it; at length she promised to reveal the secret, only, while she did so, he must not pronounce her name. They went together to the fields, where a flock of sheep was grazing, the woman bent her steps toward it, and when they were come near, she threw a *ring* over herself, and instantly became a *werewolf*, which fell upon the flock, seized one sheep, and made off with it. The man stood petrified; but when he saw shepherd and dogs run after the wolf, and his wife in danger, he forgot his promise, and cried '*ach Margareit!*' The wolf disappeared, and the woman stood naked in the field (*Hess. Folktales*).

over it, the bride, bridegroom and six bridesmen were turned into werewolves. They fled from the cottage, and for three years ran howling round the witch's house. At length the day of their deliverance came. The witch brought a pelisse with the fur turned outwards, and as soon as she covered a werewolf with it, his human shape returned; the covering reached over the bridegroom's body, all but the tail, so he became a man again, but kept the wolf's tail. Schafarik (Slow. st. 1, 167) observes, that in a very marked degree these wolf-stories are native to Volhynia and White Russia, and thence draws an argument for his opinion that the Neuri were a Slavic race.

According to the French *Lai de Melion* pp. 49. 50, the man, when *undressed*,¹ must be touched with a *magic ring*: forthwith he turns into a wolf, and runs after game. Marie de Fr. 1, 182 makes a knight become a *bisclaveret* three days every week, and run about naked in the wood; if the clothes he has laid aside be removed, he has to remain a wolf.² Pluquet (*Cont. pop.* 15) remarks, that he can only be delivered by being beaten with a key till he bleeds.

The common belief among us is, that the transformation is effected by *tying a strap round the body*; this girth is only three fingers broad, and is cut out of human skin. Such a *werewolf* is to be distinguished from natural wolves by his truncated tail. From the witch-records of Lorrain we learn, that when stalks of grass were pulled up, blessed and thrown against a tree, wolves sprang forth, and immediately fell upon the flock; Remigius pp. 152. 162 leaves it doubtful whether the men that threw the grass themselves turned into wolves, but from p. 261 we can think no otherwise. Bodin's *Dæmonomanie* (Fischart's transl. p. 120 seq.) has several werewolf stories. Rhenish and Westphalian superstition makes men alone become wolves; maids and matrons change into an *ütterbock* (uddered buck, hermaphrodite?): an uncanny old hag is called 'the cursed *ütterbock*!' According to a peculiar Danish superstition (K, 167), if a bride uses a certain specified charm to secure painless labour, her sons become *vär-*

¹ But he begs people to keep his clothes safe for him: 'ma despoille me gardez,' as in the Aesopian fable: *δέομαί σου, ἵνα φυλάξῃς τὰ ἱμάτιά μου.*

² I have not read the O.E. tale of William and the Werewolf in Hartshorne's *Anc. metr. tales.*

ülve, her daughters *marer* (nightmares). Thiele 1, 133 remarks, that the werewolf goes in human shape by day, yet so that his *eyebrows grow together* over the nose,¹ but at a certain time of night he turns into a *three-legged dog*, and can only be set free by some one calling him 'werewolf.' Burchard's account also seems to make lycanthropy something innate to man (see Suppl.)

That a change of the human form into that of the *bear* should also be familiar to Norse antiquity, is no surprising thing, as that animal was considered rational (Reinh., app. on p. lvi), and held in high esteem, p. 667. Finnbogi talks to him, and calls him *bessi*, Finnb. saga p. 246. A Danish song makes the transformation take place by tying an *iron collar* round one's neck, DV. 1, 184. In Norway it is believed that the Laplanders *turn into bears*: of a bear that is uncommonly daring and destructive they say, 'this can't be any christian bear.' An old bear in Ofoden's prästegjeld, who had killed six men and over sixty horses, had the same reputation, and when at last he was slain, a *girdle* is said to have been found on him (Sommerfelt Saltd. prästeg. p. 84).

Conversion into the *cat* has most of all to do with the works and ways of home-sprites (pp. 503-9): there is nowhere the slightest hint of donning any belt or shirt. It is a common saying, that a cat of twenty years turns witch, and a witch of a hundred turns cat again. Vintler (Sup. G, l. 232) notices the assumption of *cat-shape*. As was the case with night-wives (p. 1060), examples occur in almost every witch-trial, and particularly common is the story of the wounded cat, whom you afterwards recognise in a bandaged woman. Cats meeting you are of double meaning, Sup. I, 643. One should never hurt a strange cat; the witch might serve you out. A farmer took on to ail from the day of his wedding: on that day he had shied a stone at a cat that walked into his yard with a *saddle on her*. The saddled cat is a kind of Puss-in-boots, KM. 3, 259. Wolf's Wodana pp. 123. 131 has stories of magic cats. But the cat is also to be spared because she was Frouwa's favorite beast (p. 305): if it rains on your wedding-day, they say in the Wette-rau 'you have *starved the cat*,' and so offended the messenger or

¹ Otherwise a mark of the witch or wizard who can set the *alb* on other men: he comes out of their *eyebrows* in butterfly shape, Deut. sag. 1, 132.

handmaid of the love-goddess. Now night-wives and witches apparently travel in the train of that divinity.

The *goose* too is a magic beast, and easily referable to the nobler *swan* of older legend. A sportsman shot at some *wild geese* and hit one, which fell into the bushes; when he came up to the place, there sat a *naked woman* unhurt, whom he knew very well, and who begged hard that he would not betray her, but get some clothes sent her from her house. He threw her his handkerchief to cover herself with, and sent the clothes (Mone's Anz. 6, 395). Niclas von Wyle, in the Dedication to his translation of Apuleius, tells us of a different case, which he had heard from the lips of Michel von Pfullendorf, clerk to the Imp. treasury: An innkeeper had through a *woman's witcheries* (gemecht, conf. make = conjure, p. 1032) been a *wild goose* for more than a year, and flown about with other such geese, till one day a goose that he was quarrelling and snapping with, happened to *tear from off his neck the little kerchief* in which the enchantment was knit up: again therefore a *swan-ring*, except that the witch does not wear it herself, but has changed an innocent man into the beast, just as werewolves are by turns enchanters and enchanted. In Kinderm. 193 *white strips of cloth* take the place of the swan-shift.

As the raven stands on a par with the wolf, we may fairly assume transformations of magicians into *ravens*, though I can think of no example: trolds in Dan. songs often appear as ravens, p. 993. Perhaps witches may be found turning into *crows* rather, as we already hear of an ôskmey (wish-maid, Völs. cap. 2): 'hun brâ â sik *krâku* ham, ok flýgr; ' and Marpalie in Wolfdietrich doffs her garments, claps her hands (p. 1026 n.) and turns into a *crow* (see Suppl.).

If the cast-off clothing, human or animal, be removed (p. 427-9), a re-assumption of the former shape becomes impossible; hence in legend and fairytale the practice of secretly burning the beast's hide when stript off.¹ Yet the human shape may be restored on this condition, that a spotless maid keep silence for seven years, and spin and sew a *shirt* to be thrown over the enchanted person, KM. 1, 53. 246. 3, 84. And such a *shirt* not only undoes the

¹ Aw. 1, 165. KM. 2, 264. Straparola 2, 1. Pentam. 2, 5. Vuk 1, xxxix seq. Fornald. sög. 2, 150-1.

charm, but makes one spell-proof and victorious (Sup. I, 656. 708);¹ in the last passage, victory in a lawsuit has taken the place of the old victory in battle. In the Mid. Ages it was called *St. George's shirt*, and was spun on a *Saturday* (Vintler; conf. Sup. I, 333 the *thread spun on Christmas night*); Wolfdietrich receives it from Siegminne, i.e. from a wise spinning norn or valkyr (p. 434): obviously the old heathen idea was afterwards transferred to the conquering saint of the christian church. Not unlike are the *golden shirt* that defends from drowning, Beow. 1095, and the *frid-hemed* (App. Spells x); a woven flag of victory will be mentioned p. 1112. To me these famous shirts of fate seem connected with the threads and webs of the norns and dame Holda. A magic weaving and spinning was probably ascribed to witches, who in Sup. I, 824 are called *field-spinsters*; and Burchard's allusions to the superstition 'in lanificiis et ordiendis telis' are worth comparing, Sup. C, int. 52, and p. 193^d. Hincmar of Rheims (Opp. 1, 656) speaks of sorceries 'quas *superventas feminae in suis lanificiis vel textilibus operibus nominant*'; again p. 654: 'quidam etiam *vestibus carminatis* induebantur vel cooperiebantur.'² A similar thing is the magic and spell in the case of *swords*, conf. p. 687-8 (see Suppl.).

There may be magic in the *mere look*, without bodily contact, what our old speech called *entsehen* (p. 1035), Ital. *gettare gli sguardi*, Neapol. *jettatura*, fascino dei malvagi occhi. The bleared, envious, *evil eye*³ of a witch who walks in (Sup. I, 787), let alone her *breath* and *greeting*, can injure in a moment, dry up the mother's milk, make the babe consumptive, spoil a dress, rot an apple, *visu fascinare* (p. 1066 and Sup. C, p. 199^d): 'the coat is so handsome, the apple so red, no *evil eye* (onda öga, Sup. Swed. 57) must look upon it;' *hurtful look*, Sup. I, 874; *obliquus oculus*, Hor. Epist. i. 14, 37. Of sick cattle especially they say:

¹ This *shirt of victory* reminds us of the child's *shirt of luck* (p. 874), which in Denmark is likewise called a *victor's shirt* (seyers-hue, -hielm, -serk). If we may ascribe high antiquity to the phrase 'born with *helmet on*,' such *seyers-hielm* foretells the future hero. Conf. Bulenger 3, 30 on *amniomantia*, i.e. divinatio per amnium seu membranam tertiam embryonis.

² Disenchanting or defensive shirts have their counterpart in *bewitching baneful ones*. In a Servian song (Vuk 3, 30, l. 786) a *gold shirt* is neither spun nor woven, but knitted, and a snake is worked into the collar. The shirt sent to Herakles, drenched in dragon's blood, is well known.

³ *übel ougen*, Parz. 407, 8 are spiteful eyes; whereas 'ein *bæsez ouge*' 71, 16 is a weak, sore eye.

'some *evil eye* has been at it'; to look at a beast with sharp eyes. In Virgil's *Ecl.* 3, 103: 'nescio quis teneros *oculus* mihi fascinat agnos.' The Renner 18014 says, the glance of the eye kills snakes, scares wolves, hatches ostrich-eggs, breeds leprosy. Radulfi ardentis Homil. 42^a: 'cavete ab illis qui dicunt, quosdam *oculis urentibus* alios fascinare.' Persius 2, 34 has *urentes oculi*; and *fascinare*, βασκαίνειν with the ancients meant chiefly this kind of sorcery. The ON. expression is *sion-hverfing*, look-throwing: 'sundr stauk sula for sion iötuns,' asunder burst the pillar at the look of the giant, *Sæm.* 53^b. Stígandi can by his look destroy anything; when taken prisoner, they pull a bag over his head (*dreginn belgr á höfut honum*): he peeps through a hole in the sack, and *with one look* spoils a field of grass, *Laxd.* p. 152-6. Different and yet similar are the *sharp eyes* of certain heroes (p. 391) and maids, e.g. Svanhildr being bound is to be kicked to death by horses: 'er hun (when she) *brá í sundr augum*, þá þorðu eigi (dared not) hestarnir at spora hana; ok er Bikki sá þat, mælti hann, at belg skyldi draga á höfuð henni,' *Fornald. sög.* 1, 226. And of one Sigurðr we are told in *Fornm. sög.* 2, 174: 'at hann hefði *snart augnabragð*, at allir hundar hurfu frá honum, ok var enginn svá grimmr at þyrði á hann at ráða, er hann *hvesti augun* ímôt þeim,' as dogs cannot endure the look of spirits and gods (p. 667). Any one possessed of this perilous power, who is *evil-eyed*, can prevent its baneful operation by directing his looks to a lifeless object. The phrase 'no one shall say black is your eye' means, no one can exactly report any harm of you (*Brockett* p. 66). Has that peculiar conformation of the witch's eye-pupil (p. 1080) anything to do with her evil eye? As a safeguard against its influence, the paw of the *blind mole* is worn¹ (see *Suppl.*).

But as great beauty enchants by the radiant glance of the eye, it has also magic power in the *smiling* of the lips. In a Mod. Greek song, when the charming maid *laughs, roses fall into her apron* (ὄπου γελᾷ, καὶ πέφτουνε τὰ ρόδα ἔς τὴν ποδιάν της), *Fauriel* 2, 382. In *Heinr. von Neuenstadt's Apollonius of Tyre*, composed about 1400, it is asked l. 182: 'wâ sach man

¹ It is another thing for conjurors to *blind the eyes* of men by jugglery: 'sunt et praestigiatores, qui alio nomine *obstrigilli* vocantur, quod praestringant vel obstringant humanorum aciem oculorum,' *Hincm. Rem. ed.* 1645. 1, 656.

rôsen lachen?’ and then follows a tale about a man who *laughs roses* :

‘*der lachet, daz ez vol rôsen was,
perg und tal, laub und gras.*’

A Nethl. proverb (Tuinman 1, 306) says: ‘*als hy lacht, dan sneuwt het rozen.*’ The myth must have been very popular, as I frequently find in records (e.g. Böhmer’s Cod. francof. 1, 185), and even at the present day, the names *Rosenlacher*, *Rosenlächler*, *Blumlacher*. The same poem of Apollonius has at l. 2370 :

er kuste sie wol dreissig stunt (30 times)
an iren *rôsenlachenden* munt (mouth) ;

other passages to the point are quoted Aw. 1, 74-5. Gifted children of fortune have the power to laugh roses, as Freyja wept gold; probably in the first instance they were pagan beings of light, who spread their brightness in the sky over the earth, ‘*rose-children, sun-children,*’ Georg 48-9, *laughing* daybreaks (p. 747), *rose-strewing* Eos (p. 749). Mart. Cap. says, a silver urn ‘*quæ præferibat serena fulgentia et vernantis coeli temperie renidebat*’ was called *risus Jovis* (see Suppl.).

The *kissing mouth* has even greater power than the smiling. It is a recurring feature in our nursery-tales, that a *kiss* makes one *forget* everything (KM. 2, 168. 508), yet also that it brings back remembrance (2, 463). The unbinding of a spell hangs upon a *kiss* (p. 969). In the Norse legends *oblivion* is produced by a potion called *óminnis-öl* (-ale), *óminnis-drycker*, the opposite of *minnis-öl* (p. 59) : such an *óminnisöl* Grimhild hands to Sigurð, who thereupon forgets Brynhild; and Goðrun, before she could forget Sigurð and choose Atli, had to drink an *óminnis-veig*, whose magical concoction the poem describes, Sæm. 223^b. 234^a. So valkyrs, elfins and enchantresses offer to heroes their drinking-horns (p. 420), that they may forget all else and stay with them; conf. the Swed. tale in Afzelius 2, 159. 160 and the song in Arvidsson 2, 179. 282, where the miner makes the maiden drink of the *glömskans horn* and forget father and mother, heaven and earth, sun and moon. Now, seeing that *minna* in the Swed. folksongs and *minde* in the Dan. signify to kiss (*minna uppå munnen*, Sv. vis. 3, 123-4. D. vis. 1, 256. 298), as *φιλεῖν* is *amare* and *osculari*, and with us in the 16th cent. ‘to set the seal

of love' is roundabout for kissing; there must be a close connection between kissing and the minne-drinking at sacrifices and in sorcery.¹ But magic potions are of various kinds and extreme antiquity, their manufacture trenches on the healing art and poison-mixing (see Suppl.). *Love-drinks* have *love-cakes* to keep them company. Burchard describes how women, after rolling naked in wheat, took it to the mill, had it ground against the sun (ON. andscælis, inverso ordine), and then baked it into bread. Popular superstition in Samland makes out, that when a wife perceives her husband growing indifferent toward her, she lays aside a piece of the raw dough from nine successive bakings of bread or scones, then bakes him a scone out of the pieces, on eating which his former love returns. The Esthonians have a karwakak (hair-bread), a loaf into which hairs have been baked as a charm. The *love-apples*, in which symbols were inscribed (Hoffm. Schles. monatschr. p. 754), are to the same purpose (see Suppl.).

There are certain *safeguards* in general use against *magic*. One should *not answer* a witch's question (Sup. I, 59), *not thank* her for her greeting (568); for certain kindnesses and gifts, if they are to do you good, it is advisable *not to thank* any one (398. Swed. 35. 52. Esth. 94). A witch may be known by her *thanking* you for lending things (I, 566); she *never answers three times* (563).—Whatever she *praises* will turn out ill, unless you promptly reply with railing, reviling, wishing 'the same to you' (696), or spitting. To praise one to his face does harm, Pliny 28, 2. 'Si ultra placitum laudarit, baccare frontem cingite, ne vati noceat *mala lingua futuro*,' Virg, Ecl. 7, 27; hence in praising oneself a 'præfiscini' (præ fascino?) was added, Plaut. Asin. ii. 4, 84. Insult and imprecation the ancients turned aside with the words: εἰς κεφαλὴν σοι, on thy head may it fall!—The Mod. Greeks and Slavs are shy of praise, and try to save themselves by *spitting*: a Russian nurse directly *spits in the face* of one who cracks up her baby without putting in the precautionary 'God save the mark!' Before a witch's house you *spit three times* (Sup. I, 756), the same in crossing a haunted water by night

¹ Minna = to kiss may indeed seem a corruption of mynna (to give mouth), ON. mynnaz, conf. mundes minne, MsH. 1, 45^a; still the other explanation has its weight too.

(Swed. 40); the Greeks at sight of a madman spat *thrice into their bosom*, Theocr. 6, 39. 21, 11. ‘*ter dictis despuere carminibus,*’ Tibull. i. 2, 55. Home-sprites cannot bear *spitting* (p. 514); conf. Sup. I, 317. 453. To the same effect, and worth reading, is what Pliny 28, 4 says on *despuere, adspuere, inspuere, exspuere*.—In case of need you may without scruple *strike* a suspected witch, and draw blood (p. 1096), or throw a *firebrand* at her (Sup. Swed. 96).—*Bread, salt* and *coals* are a protective against magic (I, 564. 713), as witches abstain from bread and salt (p. 1071). I fancy that *pipping* of the loaf, so distasteful to the wood-wives (p. 484), was a sacred magic-averting symbol; conf. ‘*placenta digito notata*’ in Lasicz 49.—Throw a *steel* over enchanted beasts, and they are bound to resume their natural shape (Sup. I, 886);¹ throw a *knife marked with the cross* over a witch, and you recognise her (554); when a man threw *steel* between the elfin and the hill, it prevented her going into it (p. 467); *steel* insures the child in the cradle from being changed. Instances of magic thus averted by *steel* we find in Faye 20. 24-5-6. 51. 141; conf. Sup. Swed. 71.—Witches and devils shun the *sign of the cross*: that is why we see so many crosses on the doors the first night in May. The peasant ploughs a *cross* into each corner of his field. On the cradles of infants before they were christened, the *cross* was lavishly employed to guard against elf or devil; just so the heathens used their *hammer*, and there is a remarkable vestige of it forthcoming still: ‘*malleum, ubi puerpera decumbit, obvolvunt candido linteo*’ (Gisb. Voetii sel. disput. theol. Ultraj. 1659, pars 3 p. 121).—No less do evil spirits hate and shun the sound of *bells* (pp. 1022-74); it disturbs their dance at the cross-road, Sup. I, 542.—To this must be added the methods mentioned p. 1078 of recognising witches and guarding against them (see Suppl.).

These are the most distinctive phenomena in the world of Magic. Many, indeed most magic appliances run over into Superstition, between which and magic proper it is impossible to draw a fixed boundary. I have indeed put forward, as a distinguishing mark of sorcery, the malicious design to do mischief,

¹ A peasant was driving his waggon one night, when a werewolf approached. To disenchant him, the man had the presence of mind instantly to tie his *fire-steel* to the lash of his whip, and fling it over the wolf's head, keeping the whip in his hand. But the wolf caught the steel, and the peasant had to save himself by speedy flight.

and it does seem to have resulted from *inverting* the wholesome use of occult forces in nature (pretty much as the devil from an inversion of God, p. 986); but particular applications of the true and the false art cannot always be kept apart. As a herb, a stone, a spell proves a source of healing, so may it also act perniciously too; the use was proper and permissible, the abuse abhorred and punished. A poisoner as such is not a witch, she becomes one in the eyes of the people the moment she uses preternatural means. A wise woman, healing sickness and charming wounds, begins to pass for a witch only when with her art she does evil; her means are as natural as the poison of the murderess. To higher antiquity, witches were priestesses, physicians, fabulous night-wives, whom men honoured, feared, and at last made light of, but never dreamt as yet of persecuting and executing. Maidens might turn into swans, heroes into werewolves, and lose nothing in popular estimation. In course of time, when the Devil's complicity with every kind of sorcery came to be assumed, the guilt of criminality fell upon all *personal* relations [with him]; but the people for the most part continued to practise their long-accustomed charms in the innocent sense of superstition, though a suspicion of sorcery was more likely to overshadow it now than before.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SUPERSTITION.

By Superstition is to be understood, not the whole body of heathen religion, which we think of as a delusion, a false belief, but the retention of particular heathen practices and principles. The christian convert rejected and loathed the gods of the heathen, but still there lingered in his heart notions and habits, which having no obvious reference to the old faith, seemed not directly opposed to the new. Wherever Christianity has left a vacuum, where its spirit could not at once penetrate the ruder minds, there *superstition* or *over-belief* grew rank. In Low German they say *bi-glove* by-belief, in Nethl. *overgelóf*, *bygelóf*, Dan. *overtro*, Icel. *hiatrú*, all modelled on the Latin *superstitio*, which itself is traceable to *superstes* (surviving), and denotes a persistence of individual men in views which the common sense of the majority has abandoned. A fortune-teller was to the Romans 'superstitiosus homo.' And the Swed. term *vidskepelse* seems primarily to mean a sort of magic, not superstition (p. 1036; see Suppl.).¹

There are two kinds of superstition, an *active* and a *passive*, one being more the *augurium*, *sortilegium*, the other more the *omen* of the ancients.² If, without man's active participation, some startling sign be vouchsafed him by a higher power, he prognosticates from it good hap or ill. If the sign did not arise of itself, if he elicits it by his own contrivance, then there is positive superstition. Naturally christianity succeeded better in combating the positive superstition that was mixed up with heathen rites, than the negative and involuntary, which swayed the mind of man as the fear of ghosts does.

¹ Also Swed. *skrok*, *skrák*, *superstitio*; the ON. *skrök*, *figmentum*. OHG. *gameitheit* *superstitio*, *vanitas*, Graff 2, 702. In Mod. Germ. I find *zipfel-glaube*, Schmid's Schwáb. id. 547. Lett. *blehnu tizziba*, faith in idle things (*blehnas*).

² Divine omnipotence produces *miracles* (p. 1031), a chance phenomenon mere *presages*, *omina*, *portenta*, in which sense Ulphilas renders *τέραρα* by *faúratanja*, Mk. 13, 22. John 6, 26. 1 Cor. 12, 12. With *tani* I can hardly connect anything but ON. *teníng*, *talus*, or OHG. *zeno*, *provoco*, Graff 5, 673 (see Suppl.).

The usages of active superstition always have some practical aim. A man wants to escape a present evil, to throw off a sickness, to get rid of his enemy, or he wishes to know and secure his future luck. And here we must not overlook how often, according to a difference of period or nationality, the same customs acquire a new relation and meaning,¹ being often torn away from their connexion, e.g. what had a distinct reference to sacrifice will, standing by itself, be unintelligible; and the same was the case with the objects of sorcery. What our forefathers hoped or feared had reference more to war and victory; the farmer of today cares about his corn and cattle. If the heathen sorceress with her hail destroys the host of the enemy, the modern witch makes foul weather for her neighbour's field. So the farmer promises himself a plenteous crop on the strength of an omen that in olden time betokened victory. Yet farming and cattle-breeding have a long history too, and a number of superstitious rites connected with them stretch without a break through many centuries. Likewise all the superstitions that look to domestic life, to birth and death, wooing and wedding, are rooted in nature, and almost unchangeable through the lapse of ages; superstition constitutes a kind of religion for all the lower kind of household wants.

Divinations form a leading feature of superstition. Man would fain lift the veil that time and space have cast over his weightiest concerns; by the use of mysterious means he thinks he can arrive at the truth. Divination lawful and unlawful has always been a function of the *priest* (or head of a family) and of the *magician* (p. 862-3): the one belongs to religion, the other to superstition.

Various words for divining and soothsaying were given at the beginning of last chapter, when we had to settle the meaning of magic. I have now to add an OHG. *heilisôn* augurari (AS. *hâlsian*); *heilisôd* omen, augurium; *heilisari* augur (AS. *hâlsere*), *heilisara* auguratrix. In MHG. these words had died out. One

¹ It is conceivable that remnants of the old Roman *divinatio* were still in vogue at the time of the Lombards: 'habebat tunc Agilulf quendam de suis *aruspicem puerum*, qui per artem diabolicam, quid futurum portenderent *ictus fulminum* intelligebat,' Paul. Diac. 3, 30. The Etruscan *haruspicia* were especially directed to *fulgura*, O. Müll. 2, 32.

must distinguish them from OHG. *heilizan salutare*, AS. *hâletan* (see Suppl.).

The sacred priestly divination appears, like the priestly office itself (p. 93), to have been *hereditary* in families. A female fortune-teller declared that the gift had long been in her family, and on her death the grace would descend to her *eldest daughter* (Sup. H, cap. 107) : from *mother to daughter* therefore, and from *father to son* ; by some it is maintained that soothsaying and the gift of healing must be handed down from *women to men*, from *men to women*. To this day there are families that have the peculiar gift of foreseeing what will happen, especially fires, deaths and corpses : in L. Germany they call such people *vorkiekers*, fore-peepers. It is also said they can *quad sehn*, i.e. see or scent any coming misfortune, nay, the power is even allowed to horses, sheep and dogs : *horses* prophesy (p. 658), *hounds* can see spirits (p. 667). And notice in particular, that such men can impart their gift to him that *treads on their right foot and looks over their left shoulder* ; this was apparently a very ancient, even a heathen posture, it was a legal formality in taking possession of cattle (RA. 589), and may have been tolerated among christians in other cases, e.g. one who is doing penance has to *step on the right foot* of the hermit, Ls. 1, 593. The first child christened at a newly consecrated font receives the power to see spirits and coming events, until some one shall from idle curiosity *tread on his left foot and look over his right shoulder*, when the gift will pass away to him, Sup. I, 996 ; on the other hand, he that *looks through the loop of the wise man's arm* (p. 939) becomes a seer of spirits, he beholds the natural and preternatural : even to the dog the gift descends, if you *tread on his right foot and make him look over your right shoulder*, Sup. I, 1111. Again, children born with the helmet can *see spirits*, ghosts or witches (p. 874n.). In all this we see the last quiverings of life in practices of the heathen priesthood, before they pass into mere conjuring and witchcraft (see Suppl.).

Divination is directed mainly to the discovery of *future* things, they being the most uncertain. The *past* is done and known, or can be ascertained in many ways ; what goes on in the *present*, at a distance, we seldom feel any temptation to find out ; an

instance occurred at p. 1091n., where the pilgrim is enabled by magic to see what is going on at his home. Yet the *present* has its puzzles too, when methods have to be decided on, especially property to be divided.

When events and deeds of the *past* were wrapt in obscurity, antiquity had a thrice-hallowed means of discovery, the *ordeals* or judgments of God, a retrospective divination of sure and infallible success, such as judicial procedure demanded. But to every German ordeal it is essential that the accused should perform its ritus himself; in no case could it be placed in the judge's hands. This fact distinguishes it from the *sieve-driving* or *sieve-turning* practised since the Mid. Ages, which was performed by wise women, witches, conjurors, and even by respectable persons, to bring concealed criminals to light: the woman held a sieve that was an heirloom between her two middle fingers, uttered a spell, and then went over the names of suspected persons; when she came to that of the culprit, the sieve began to *sway and tilt over*.¹ The plan was adopted against thieves, and such as in a tumult had inflicted wounds; and sometimes to reveal the future, e.g. who should be a girl's sweetheart. I find the first mention of it in the poem cited on p. 1048: 'und daz ein *wip ein sib tribe*, sunder vleisch und sunder ribe, dâ niht inne wære,' this I take to be a lie, says the author; his incredulity seems to rest on the tilting over, the sieve is void, has neither flesh nor bone. The sieve was also laid on a pair of tongs, which were held up between the two middle fingers. In Denmark the master of the house himself took the trial in hand, balancing the sieve on the point of a pair of scissors, Sup. Dan. 132. This sieve-running (sieve-chasing, sieve-dance) must have been very common in France and Germany in the 16-17th

¹ Sieve-running is described differently in the Meckl. jahrb. 5, 108: A sieve inherited from kinsfolk is set up on its edge, an inherited pair of scissors is opened and its points stuck into the sieve's edge deep enough to lift it by. Then two persons of different families take it to a perfectly dark place, put the middle finger of the right hand under the scissors' ring, and so raise the sieve. At the slightest movement of course the ring will slip off the finger, and the sieve fall, as in the dark it does not hang quite perpendicular. Then one begins to ask the other: 'I ask thee in the name of G., etc., tell me truth and lie not, who stole so and so? did Hans, Fritz, Peter?' At the name of the guilty party the *ring slips off*, the *sieve falls to the ground*, and the thief is known. In all the other descriptions I have read, the thing is done in daylight, and the sieve does not fall, but *spins round*.

cent., many books mention it, and couple together sieve-turners and spell-speakers; ¹ it may here and there be still in use, conf. Stender sub v. 'seetinu tezzinaht,' and his Gram. p. 299; it seems the Lettons stick it on a pair of shears. But it was already known to the Greeks, Theocritus 3, 31 mentions a *κοσκινόμαντις*, and Lucian (Alex. 7) speaks of *κοσκίνῳ μαντεύεσθαι* among the Paphlagonians; Potter 1, 766 thus describes the process of *κοσκινομαντεία*: they held up the sieve by a string, prayed to the gods, then ran over the names of the suspects; at that of the doer the sieve *set off spinning* (see Suppl.).

In the same way people stuck a *hereditary key* in the Bible (at the first chap. of John),² or a *cleaver* in a wooden ball, which began to move when they came to the right name, Sup. I, 932. I surmise that the *revolution of the lotter-wood* worn by spruch-sprecher (lotter-buben, frei-harte, H. Sachs iv. 3, 58^a) was also for divining purposes; in the early Fragg. 15^c we find: 'louf umbe lotterholz, louf umbe gedrâte!' On this I shall be more explicit in another place.

It may be regarded as a relic of the *judicium offae* or *casei* (RA. 932), that those suspected of a theft were made to eat of a *consecrated cheese*: the morsel sticks in the throat of the real thief (Sup. H, cap. 51).³

¹ Fischart's Dämonom. p. 71. Hartm. on Spells 99. Simplic. 2, 352. Ettner's Apoth. 1187. J. Praetorius on Sieve-running. Curiae Varisc. 1677. 4. Rommel's Hess. gesch. 6, 61. In Burgundy 'tonai le taimi,' Noels Borg. p. 374; taimi is the Fr. *tamis*, Nethl. *teems*, in Teutonista *tempse*, but in Diut. 2, 209 *tempf*. If Graff has not misread this, we might make of *Tamfana* (pp. 80. 257. 278) a goddess named after the sieve she held in her hand; that would look heathenish.

² H. Stahl's Westfal. sagen, Elberf. 1831. p. 127 gives a fuller account: The hered. key is put inside a hered. Bible, so that the ward part of the key lies on the words 'In the beginning was the Word,' and the ring stands out of the book. They tie it up tight with string, and hang it up by the end of the string to the ceiling. Then two people hold their fingers under the ring, touching it gently, and the injured party asks: 'has there been a witch at my cow?' The other must say No, and the complainant answer Yes, and thus they keep up for some time. If the cow be really bewitched, the Bible begins to *turn round*, and then more questions are asked. If there has been no witchery, or the wrong witch is named, the Bible remains still. The turnings of *sieve* and *key* resemble those of the *wishing-rod*, p. 975.

³ The Observationes ad Ivonis epistolas p. 157 have the following: 'Formulae in codicibus monasteriorum, quibus ad detegenda furta jubebatur oratio dominica scribi *in pane et caseo*, postea fieri *cruces de tremulo*, quarum una sub dextero pede, alia super caput suspecti viri poneretur, deinde post varias numinis invocationes imprecari, ut lingua et guttur rei alligaretur, *ne transglutire posset*, sed eorum [coram?] omnibus *tremere*, nec haberet quo requiesceret. Cf. formulam Dunstani Cantuar. editam a Pitthoeo in glossario capitulariorum.' Against crossing cheeses (de *caseis cruce non signandis*) several ordinances were issued in the 15th cent. (docs. of 1430, '48, '70, '77 in Monum. boic. 16. 50. 55. 58. 61).

Other methods of forecasting the future were likewise available for detecting thieves or any malefactors.

The *lot* (OHG. hlôz, Goth. hláuts, AS. hleát, ON. hlutr) was the venerablest and fairest of all kinds of divination. A difficult and doubtful matter was to be raised thereby above human caprice and passion, and receive the highest sanction, e.g. in dividing an inheritance, in ascertaining the right victim (conf. p. 230), and so forth. Lot therefore decides a *present* uncertainty, but it may also extend to the *future*. Originally placed in the hands of a priest or judge, it afterwards became an instrument of sorcery (p. 1034-7), and *sortilegus*, *sortiarius*, *sorcier* are all derived from *sors*. Our OHG. *hliozan* seems in like manner to have passed out of the meaning *sortiri* into that of *augurari*, *incantare*, which it retains in its MHG. form *liezen*, Hoffm. fundgr. 2, 67. Er. 8123.

It was managed in two ways: the priest or the *paterfamilias* cast the lot, and interpreted it when fallen, or he held it out to the party to *draw*; the first was for indicating the future, the last for adjusting the present.

Let Tacitus describe the first kind: '*Sortium* consuetudo simplex. *Virgam*, frugiferae arbori decisam, *in surculos amputant*, eosque notis quibusdam discretos *super candidam vestem* temere ac fortuitu spargunt. Mox si publice consuletur, *sacerdos civitatis*, sin privatim ipse *pater familiae*, precatus deos coelumque suspiciens, *ter singulos tollit*, sublato secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. Si *prohibuerunt*, nulla de eadem re in eundem diem consultatio; sin *permissum*, auspicioꝝ adhuc fides exigitur,' Germ. 10.—Here the lots are but preliminary to the entire transaction, and if they prove unfavourable, further divination is not proceeded with. I need not transcribe the important explanations my Brother has given in his work on Runes pp. 296—307. A connexion there certainly is between these lots and the runes and ciphers; lot-books are mentioned as early as the 13th cent., Ls. 3, 169. Kolocz. 70 (see Suppl.).

The Armenians prophesied from the movement of cypress boughs: '*quarum cupressorum surculis ramisque* seu leni sive violento vento *agitatis* Armenii flamines ad longum tempus in auguriis uti consueverunt,' as Moses Chorenensis (ed. 1736, p. 54) tells us in the 5th cent.

A long array of *divinations* seems to have been diffused over Europe by the Greeks and Romans;¹ from this source come Hartlieb's accounts of *hydromantia*, *pyromantia* (the fire-seeing of Alt. bl. 1, 365), *chiromantia* (MHG. the *tisch in der hant*, Er. 8136), on which see more in Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 271 (see Suppl.). The crystal-gazing of the pure child, Sup. H, cap. 90, is the '*gastromantia ex vase aqua pleno, cujus meditullium (belly of the jar) vocabatur γάστρη.*'²

More to the purpose are customs peculiar to certain nations, and not traceable to the above source: in these we either find a different procedure, or the forecasts are gathered from natural objects by *lying in wait, listening, looking*.

Our ancestors (acc. to Tac. Germ. 3) contrived to foresee the issue of a battle by the spirited or faltering delivery of the *war-song*.

The ancient Poles *reckoned on victory* if water drawn in a sieve was carried before the army *without running through*. I quote the words of the Chronicon Montis Sereni (Menken 2, 227. Hoffm. script. rer. lus. 4, 62): Anno 1209 Conradus, orientalis marchio, Lubus castrum soceri sui Wlodislai ducis Poloniae, propter multas quas ab eo patiebatur injurias, obsedit. Wlodislaus vero, obsidionem vi solvere volens, collecto exercitu copioso, marchioni mandavit, se ei altera die congressurum. Vespere autem diei praecedentis Oderam fluvium cum suis omnibus transgressus, improvisus supervenire hostibus moliebatur. Unus vero eorum qui supani dicuntur vehementer ei coepit obsistere, monens ne tempus pugnae statutum praeveniret, quia hoc factum nullius rectius quam infidelitatis posset nomine appellari. Quem dum dux timiditatis argueret, et fidelitatis qua ei teneretur commoneret, respondit: 'ego quidem ad pugnam pergo, sed scio me patriam meam de cetero non visurum.' Habebat autem (sc. Wlodislaus) ducem belli *pythonissam* quandam, quae de flumine *cribro haustam nec defluentem*, ut ferebatur, *ducens aquam exercitum praecedebat, et hoc signo eis victoriam promittebat*. Nec latuit marchionem

¹ Alphabetically arranged in Fabricii Bibliogr. antiq. (ed. 3 Hamb. 1760), 4, pp. 593—613. Conf. Potter's Archäol. 1, 758—769.

² Melber de Geroltzhofen says in Vocabularius predicantium (sheet R 4): '*Nigromantia*. schwartz kunst die do ist mit *vfschung der dotten*, mit den der nigromanticus zaubert, oder mit den *dryen ersten schollen*, die der pfaff wirft ynsz grab, oder mit den *wydhopffen*, die do lauffen by den grebern.' The passage is also quoted from Melber in Jod. Eychman's Vocab. predic., Nürnberg 1483.

adventus eorum, sed mature suis armatis et ordinatis occurrens, forti congressu omnes in fugam vertit, *pythonissa primitus interfecta*. Ille etiam supanus viriliter pugnans cum multis aliis interfectus est.—What is here an omen of success is elsewhere a test of innocence: a true-hearted boy *carries water in a sieve*, and not a drop runs out, KM. 3, 254; according to Indian belief the innocent can take water up in a lump like a ball. ‘Exstat Tucciae vestalis incestae precatio, qua usa *aquam in cribro tulit*,’ Pliny 28, 3; a witch sets a girl the task of *fetching water in the sieve*, Norske ev. 1, 88; the vestal had also to carry fire in a brazen sieve (supra p. 611), and a Dan. fairytale in Molbech’s Ev. p. 22 actually speaks of carrying the sun in a sieve. The sieve comes before us as a sacred old-world vessel with miraculous properties. What the myth imports the proverb treats as sheer impossibilities: ‘er schepfet wazzer mit dem sibe, swer âne vrie milte mit sper und mit schilte ervehten wil êre und lant,’ he draws water in a sieve, who by brute force, etc., Troj. 18536. ‘Lympham infundere cribro,’ Reinard. 3, 1637 (see Suppl.).

By AS. accounts, the Northmen had a wonderful standard borne before their army, from whose indications they inferred victory or defeat. In Asser’s Vita Alfredi p. 33 ad an. 878: ‘. . . vexillum quod *reafan* (for *raefan*, *hræfen*, ON. *hrafn*) vocant. Dicunt enim quod tres sorores Hungari et Habbæ, filiae videlicet Lodebrochi illud vexillum *texuerunt*, et totum paraverunt illud *uno meridiano tempore*.¹ Dicunt etiam quod in omni bello, *ubi præcederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi quasi corvus vivus volitans*; sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, *penderet directe nihil movens*: et hoc sæpe probatum est.’—The Encomium Emmae (Duchesne’s Script. Norm. 169) says, the flag was of plain white silk, but in war-time there became visible in it a raven, with open beak and fluttering wings whenever victory smiled on them, but sitting still with drooping feathers when it eluded their grasp. Ailredus Rievalensis p. 353 declares this raven to have been the devil himself, who does at times assume the shape of that bird (p. 997); we more naturally see in it the bird of the heathen god of victory (p. 671): Oðinn might give the victorious host this sign that he

¹ The thread spun between 11 and 12 (Sup. I, 841) corresponds wonderfully.

was sending down his messenger. Yet no Scand. story alludes to such a flag of victory.

Prophesying from the auspicious *neighing of horses* has been dealt with, p. 658. Dempster in *Antiq. Rom.* 3, 9 says: 'equos hinnitu alacriore et ferociore fremitu victoriam ominari etiamnunc militibus persuasum est.' At twelve o'clock on Christmas night the superstitious *listen* at crossroads, at boundary-stones: if they can hear swords rattle and *horses neigh*, there will be war the coming spring (so war is foretold by the neighing in the *Furious Host*, p. 938). At the same season maids *listen* at the *stable door* for the neighing of stallions, and if they hear it, make sure of a suitor presenting himself by Midsummer (Liebusch's *Skythika* p. 143). Others lie down in the *horse-manger* at Christmas, to learn future events (Denis *Lesefrüchte* 1, 128). Misfortune is near when the steed *stumbles*, e.g. the Servian *Sharats* (*Vuk* 1, 240).

Spatulamancia in Hartlieb (*Sup. H.*, cap. 115) is a corruption of *scapulimantia*, an art that seems not solely derived from Romans or Byzantines. Lambeck 7, 224 says the Vienna library has a treatise by Michael Psellus (I know not which one) *περὶ ὤμοπλατοσκοπίας*. Vintler too (*Sup. G.* 1. 126) mentions the inspection of *shoulder-bones*. 'Divinationes sculterren-blat,' *Ald.* bl. 1, 365. Jornandes cap. 37: 'Attila diffidens suis copiis, metuens inire conflictum, statuit per aruspices futura inquirere. Qui more solito nunc *pecorum fibras*, nunc quasdam *venas in abrasis ossibus* intuentes, Hunnis infausta denuntiant.'¹ Among the Kalmuks are sorcerers called *dalatchi*, because they predict from the *shoulderblade* (*dala*) of *sheep*, *swans* and *stags*. They let these bones burn in the fire for a time, then report the aspect of the streaks and lines that have arisen on them. If the fire have left many black marks on the blades, the *dalatchi* holds out hopes of a mild winter; many white marks indicate snow (*Bergm. Nomad. streifer.* 3, 184). The Cherkesses too have soothsaying from shoulderblades, conf. *Erman's Archiv* 1842. 1, 123 (see *Suppl.*).

¹ Such extispicia were performed on beasts slain for sacrifice; but animals were also killed for the mere purpose of divination: 'Recluso pectore (of a *goose*), extraxit fortissimum *jecur*, et inde mihi futura praedixit,' *Petron.* 137. 'Quis invenit *fissam jecoris*?' *Cic. de Nat. D.* 3, 6.

This comes very near the forecasting by the *goose-bone* (ex anserino sterno), Sup. H, cap. 121, which appears among the people in later times, probably even now, conf. Sup. I, 341; K, 163; Meckl. Jahrb. 9, 219 no. 46. I have marked a few passages for extraction. Ettner's Ungew. apoth. p. 1144: 'And what prognostica must not the *breastbones* of *capon*, *goose* and *duck* yield! If the same be red, they ordain an abiding coldness; or if white, clear and transparent, then shall the winter's weather be endurable.' Martinsgans by Joh. Olorinus variscus (Magdeb. 1609. 8), p. 145: 'Good old ladies, I present to you the *breastbone*, that ye learn thereby to foretell true as the almanack, and become weather-prophets. The fore part by the throat signifies the fore-winter, the hinder part the after-winter, white is for snow and mild weather, the other for great cold.' Ganskönig by Lycosthenes Psellionoros (Wolfg. Spangenberg) Strasb. 1607, ciii: 'The *breastbone* which they call the *steed* (made into a prancing horse for children); and well can many an ancient dame, prognosticating by the same, tell by the hue infallibly, how keen the winter's cold shall be.' Rhythmi de ansere (in Dornau 1, 403): 'Then in my breast the *merrythought*, I trow it lies not there for nought, for men therein may plainly see what winter weather it shall be, and many a man holds fast thereto, accounting me a prophet true.'

Those who thus looked after the weather were called *weter-sorgære*, Er. 8127 (*weter-wiser* man 7510), or *weter-kiesære*, -chooser, whence the surname *Kiesewetter*, Gramm. 4, 848; in Rauch's Script. 1, 430 I find a place 'bei der *weterkiesen*,' as if certain spots were favourable to weather-choosing.

The Esthonians foretold *weather* and *fruitfulness* from *bownets*. Gutschlaff says in his book on Wöhhandu p. 209: 'I am told that on this beck the husbandmen of old had their augurium respecting weather, which they managed thus. They set in the beck *three baskets* in a row, and not heeding the two outer, gave their mind wholly to the *midmost*, what kind of fish would come into the same. For if into this basket were gotten a *scaless fish*, as crab, quab or the like, they had ill weather and unfruitful year to dread, and were fain to *sacrifice an ox* for to obtain good weather. Whereupon they set the baskets in as before, and if again a *scaless fish* were found therein, then a second time did they

sacrifice an ox, and set the baskets in for the third time. If once more they found a *scaless fish*, then this third time they *sacrificed a child*, in hope to get good weather and a plenteous season. And if yet again *fishes not scaly* were come into the middle basket, they rested therewith content, and with patience abided it. But when *scaly fish* were found therein, they cast them to have fair weather and fruitful year, whereat they rejoiced greatly.' — A different thing altogether was the Greek *ἰχθυομαντεία* from fish's entrails (Potter's Archäol. 1, 703).

As horses' neighing was watched for (p. 1113), so there was listening at night in the growing *cornfields*: going into the winter-crop on Christmas night to overhear the future, or on May-night into the *green corn*, Sup. I, 420. 854. The cereals were a sacred thing, 'der *heilego ezesg*,' N. ps. 140, 7 (Goth. atisks), 'das *liebe korn*,' Gramm. 3, 665. So then, sitting in the corn, one might hear the sound of voices, hear spirits conversing on coming events. They *listened* also at *cross-ways*, Sup. I, 854. 962, where boundaries touched: the *partings of roads*¹ were accounted meeting-places of sprites and witches (p. 1074 and Sup. I, 647), conf. the ON. 'þar sem götur (roads) mœtast,' Forn. sög. 3, 22. Did images of heathen gods stand where the roads forked? We are told of people praying, sacrificing and lighting candles *ad bivia*, Sup. C, p. 193^d; and just before that, p. 193^c, we hear of them sitting at the cross-way,² without the corn being mentioned: '*in bivio sedisti supra taurinam cutem, ut ibi futura tibi intelligeres?*' To me the *bull's hide*, like the *bearskin* (p. 1010, conf. Reinh. p. lvi), indicates heathen sacrifice. And here a Gaelic rite described by Armstrong seems to furnish a valuable clue: A man is wrapt in the *warm skin of an animal just killed*, he is then laid down beside a *waterfall* in the forest, and left alone; by the roar of the waves, it is thought, the future is revealed to him, and this kind of divination is called *taghairn*. The 'forse' too was a sacred spot, as well as the forking of roads:

¹ A Persian superstition: 'sitting down at the junction of four cross-roads on a Wedn. night, and applying to yourself every sentence spoken by the passers and considering it as a good or bad omen,' Atkinson, p. 11. 12.

² If after supper on Christm. eve a girl *shakes out the tablecloth* at a *crossway*, a man will meet her, and give her good even. Of the same height and figure will her future husband be. The shaken cloth has taken the place of the spread, or, of the animal's hide. Divination by sowing *basilicum* is known to Vuk 1, 22. no. 36 (Wesely p. 58).

this last is mentioned in the Edda, 'opt bölwisar konor sitja *brauto nær*, þær er deyfa sverð ok sefa,' Sæm. 197^b. Some people on New-year's day would sit on the *house-roof*, girt with a sword, and explore the future, Sup. C, p. 193^c. This again must have been a holy place, for sick children were also set on the roof to be cured, Sup. C, 10, 14; p. 195^c. Does this explain why, when a person cannot die, some shingles in the roof are turned, or taken right out (I, 439. 721)? Also when a child has convulsions, a plank is turned, J. Schmidt 121. A peculiar practice is, to listen while you dangle out of window a ball of thread fastened to a hereditary key, Sup. I, 954.

Sneezing (πταίρειν, sternuere) has from the earliest times been fraught with meaning. Some take it for a mild form of apoplexy, a momentary palsy, during which one loses the free use of his limbs, Sup. H, c. 74. The Greeks saluted the sneezer with ζῆθι, Ζεῦ σωσον! conf. Anthol. Gr. ii. 13, 11. 'Cur sternumentis salutamus? quod etiam Tiberium Caesarem, tristissimum (ut constat) hominum, in vehiculo exegisse tradunt,' Plin. 28, 2. 'Giton ter continuo ita sternutavit, ut grabatum concuteret, ad quem motum Eumolpus salvere Gitona jubet,' Petron. sat. 98.¹ The Arabs too salute at sneezing (Rückert's Hariri 1, 543). In our Mid. Age poets I find: 'die Heiden nicht endorften *niesen*, dâ man doch sprichet, Nu *helfiu Got!*' durst not sneeze, though etc. Turl. Wh. 35. 'Christ iu helfe! sô sie *niesen*,' Ms. 2, 169^b. 'durch daz solte ein schilt gesellen kiesen, daz im ein ander *heiles wunschte*, ob dirre schilt kunde *niesen*,' Tit. 80. 'sô *wünsch* ich dir ein *niesen*,' Ms. 2, 217^b. 'wir sprechen, swer *niuset*, Got helfe dir!' Renn. 15190. 'Deus te adjuvet' (A.D. 1307), Pistor. script. 1, 1024; conf. Königshoven p. 302. Enchanted sprites *sneeze* under a bridge, that some one may call out *God help!* and undo the spell, DS. no. 224-5-6. Mone's Anz. 4, 308. 'dir hât diu katze niht *genorn*,' Helbl. 1, 1393. To the Greeks there seemed something divine in sneezing: τὸν πταρμὸν θεὸν ἠγούμεθα, Arist. probl. 33, 7; conf. 11, 33. Xen. Anab. iii. 2, 9. Theocr. 7, 96. 18, 16. Words confirmed by sneezing come true, Od. 17,

¹ 'Sternutantibus salvere dictum antiquior mos quam putatur,' Valesius in Valesiana p. 68. 'Pourquoi on fait des souhaits en faveur de ceux qui éternuent,' Morin in Mém. de l'acad. des inser. 4, 325. J. Gerh. Meuschen de antiquo et moderno ritu salutandi sternutantes, Kilon. 1704. Gesch. der formel 'Gott helf dir!' beim niesen, publ. by Wieland, Lindau 1787.

541-5. ‘*sternutationes nolite observare*,’ Sup. A. Whoever sneezes during a narrative is bound to prove its truth. In the Christmas nights do not sneeze, and the cattle will not die. The passage in Hartlieb, Sup. H, c. 73, is curious; conf. Sup. I, 186. 266. 437 and M (Esthon.) 23 (see Suppl.).

Ringling in the ears, garrula auris, βόμβος, is lucky when in the right ear. ‘Absentis tinnitu aurium praesentire sermones de se receptum est,’ Plin. 28, 2, conf. Sup. I, 82. 802; *booming in the ear*, F, 27.—*Quivering of the eye*: ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμός μοι ὁ δεξιός, Theocr. 3, 37. *Itching of brows and cheeks*, Sup. I, 141. D, 38 r. 140 v. ‘si vibrata salitione insuetum alter oculorum, dexter vel sinister palpigaret, si concuterentur ac veluti exsilirent aut trepidarent muscoli, humeri aut femora etc., mali erant ominis,’ Dempster’s Antiq. Rom. 3, 9; conf. Suidas sub v. οἰωνιστική. The Indians thought *twitching of the right eye* a bad omen (Hirzel’s Sakuntala p. 65). *Itching in the right eye* has a good meaning, in the *left* a bad, says Tobler 30.—*Bleeding of the nose*: unlucky if on the left side, Sup. I, 825. If in going out you *catch against the door*, or *stumble on the threshold*, you are warned to turn back (248. 895). If your *right hand itches*, you will part with money, if your left, you will take money. *Itching of the right eye* betokens crying, of the left, laughing. If your *soles itch*, you are going to dance, if your *nose*, to hear news. Whoever gets a *yellow finger* has lost a relation (see Suppl.).

The many ways of finding out one’s *lover* or *sutor* that is to be are, so far as I see, unconnected with Roman or Greek superstition. The girl hearkens to the cackling of the *cock* (Sup. I, 101), or she *throws her wreath of flowers* (848. 1093; conf. 867), or some particular night in the year she pulls a *billet of wood out of the stack* or a *stick out of the hedge* (I, 109. 958; F, 7. 49), walking to it *back foremost*; or on a dark night she clutches at the flock in hopes of pulling out a *ram* (I, 952). Walking *backwards* or standing *naked* is a usual requisite in this, as in other cases (I, 506-7. 928; G, l. 207). Another way is, being *naked*, to *throw one’s shift* out through the door (I, 955), or to grasp *backwards* through the door at the lover’s hair (I, 102), or to *spread the table for him* (as for norns), and then he is bound to appear and eat his supper off it. Harrys in Volkss. 2, 28 describes the so-called *nappel-pfang*: in a vessel full of clean water

you set afloat little *pots* of thin silver plate marked with the names of those whose fate is in question; if a young man's pot comes up to a girl's, it will be a match. The same is done in some parts with simple *nutshells*.¹

Like the discovery of one's future husband, it was an important matter to ascertain the *sex of a child* before it was born. This could be gathered from the persons one met in going to church, Sup. I, 483, from previous children (677. 747), from sneezing (M, 23). That a woman would have none but daughters, was to be learnt by other signs (I, 678. M, 22). An O. Fr. poem in Méon 3, 34 has the following:

voire est que je sui de vous grosse,
 si m'enseigna l'on à aler
 entor le mostier sans parler
 trois tors, dire trois patenostres
 en l'onor Dieu et ses apostres,
 une fosse au talon féisse,
 et par trois jors i revenisse :
 s'au tiers jorz overt le trovoie,
 c'etoit un fils qu'avoit devoie,
 et s'il etoit clos, c'etoit fille.

Throwing shoes over one's head, and seeing which way the points look, reveals the place where one is destined to stay longest, Sup. I, 101; G, l. 220. The Sermones disc. de tempore mention, among superstitious Christmas customs, that of *calceos super caput jactare*, Sermo xi.

They also speak of some 'qui cumulos salis ponunt, et per hoc futura pronosticant.' Sup. I, 1081: 'on Christmas eve put a little heap of salt on the table; if it melts overnight, you die next year; if not, not.' Again, in a house where one lies dead, they make *three heaps of salt* (I, 846). This has to do with the sacred nature of *salt* (pp. 1046. 1076). Apparently of Greek origin is the widely received custom of *pouring out lead* (I, 97; H, cap. 96); even Ihre (de superst. p. 55) mentions it, conf.

¹ Divining by *filberts* was another thing: 'infra manus meas camellam vini posuit, et cum digitos pariter extensos porris apioque lustrasset, *avellanas nucas* cum precatone mersit in vinum; et sive in summum redierant, sive subsederant, ex hac conjectura dicebat,' Petron. 137.

'*molybdomantia ex plumbi liquefacti diversis motibus*,' Potter's Arch. 1, 339 (see Suppl.).

But no species of superstition had more deeply penetrated the entire Mid. Ages than the presages known under the names of *aneganc* (an-gang, coming upon), *widerganc*, *widerlouf*. A beast, a man, a thing, that you unexpectedly encountered on stepping out of doors or setting out on a journey at early morn, while yet the day is fresh, betokened weal or woe, and admonished you to go on with what you had begun, or to give it up. When Saxo Gram. p. 84 says '*congressionum initia*,' what was the Norse word he had in his mind? perhaps *viðr-gângr*, or still better *môt* (meeting)? As the beginning of any business is critical (*omina principii inesse solent*, Ov. Fasti 1, 178), as the first stepping into a new house, on to a new bridge, is cautiously set about (p. 1021), and the god or daemon claims the first he meets (see below); so men took note of every sign that attended a purposed ride or journey. The M. Latin term for it is *superventa* (sc. res), what surprises, supervenit (Fr. *survient*)¹; or even, taking it literally, what floats above us in the air, though that indeed would only apply to the flight of birds. Hincmar de divortio Lotharii (supra, p. 1099) says: '*ad haec . . . pertinent, quas superventas feminae in suis lanificiis vel textilibus operibus nominant.*' These the Greeks called *ἐνόδια σύμβολα*, and we have most of them in common with them, with the Romans, nay with Oriental nations. In view of the almost universal diffusion of these 'angänge,' it is hardly credible that they first came to the Germans in the wake of Latin literature: they rest on the older kinship of all European nations, and the very earliest observer of our kindred, Tacitus, remarked this mode of divination among them: '*auspicia sortisque, ut qui maxime, observant . . . et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare.*' And of horses, p. 658. Many of our old myths lay a stress on the primitiae: we need only mention Wodan's promising the victory to those whom he should first set eyes upon at sunrise, p. 134 (see Suppl.).

I will first take passages that group several things together, and then elucidate particulars.

¹ ['And overcome us like a summer's cloud.'—Macbeth.]

To begin with Xenophon's Memorab. i. 1, 4: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλείστοι φασὶν ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων ἀποτρέπεσθαί τε καὶ προτρέπεσθαι. And, i. 1, 14: τοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ τὰ τυχόντα θηρία σέβεσθαι, i.e. 'obvia animalia,' not, as some have taken it, 'vulgaria, ubivis obvia.'

The earliest evidence from our own Mid. Ages, but one that speaks very generally, is found in St. Eligius, Sup. A: 'nullus observet egrediens aut ingrediens domum, quid sibi *occurrat*, vel si aliqua vox reclamantis fiat, aut qualis *avis cantus* garriat, vel quid etiam *portantem* videat.' Greg. Turon. 7, 29: 'et cum *iter ageret*, ut consuetudo est barbarorum, *auspicia intendere* coepit, ac dicere sibi esse contraria.' We find more detail in John of Salisbury's Polycraticus sive de nugis curial. 1, 13, which however I do not quote in full: 'Si *egrediens* limen calcaveris aut in via offenderis, pedem contine . . . Cum processeris, abscondita futurorum *aves* quas *ominales* vocant tibi praenunciabunt. Quid *cornix* loquatur diligenter ausculta, situmque ejus sedentis aut volantis nullo modo contemnas. Refert etenim plurimum, a dextris sit an a sinistris, qua positione respiciat cubitum gradientis, loquax sit an clamosa, an silens omnino, praecedat an sequatur, transeuntis expectet adventum, an fugiat, quoque discedat. *Corvus* vero, quem non minori diligentia observabis, rebus majoribus auspicatur, et usquequaque cornici praejudicat. Porro *cygnus* in auguriis ales gratissima nautis, utpote quae aquarum domestica quadam gratia familiaritatis eorundem secreta praenoverit. Si avis quae vulgo dicitur *albanellus* (see below) praetervolans viam a sinistris feratur ad dextram, de hospitii hilaritate ne dubites, si contra, contrarium expectabis. *Leporis* timebis occursum, *lupo* obvio congratulaberis; *ovibus* gratanter obviam gradieris, dum *capram* vites. *Bobus triturantibus*, libentius tamen *arantibus* obviabis; nec displiceat si viam ruperint, quia mora itineris hospitii gratia compensabitur. *Mulus* infaustus est, *asinus* inutilis, *equus* quandoque bonus est; habet vero jurgiorum et pugnae significationem, interdum tamen ex colore et visu mitigatur. *Locusta* itinerantium praepedit vota, econtra *cicada* viatoris promovet gressum. *Aranca* dum a superioribus filum ducit, spem venturae pecuniae videtur afferre. *Sacerdotem* obvium aliumve *religiosum* dicunt esse infaustum; *feminam* quoque, quae *capite discooperto* incedit, infelicem crede, nisi *publica* sit.'—

Petrus Blesensis (d. about 1200) epist. 65 : ‘Somnia igitur ne cures, nec te illorum errore involvas, qui occursum *leporis* timent, qui *mulierem sparsis crinibus*, qui *hominem orbatum oculis*, aut *mutilatum pede*, aut *cuculatum* habere obvium detestantur; qui de jucundo gloriantur hospitio, si eis *lupus* occursaverit aut *columba*, si a sinistra in dexteram *avis S. Martini* volaverit, si in egressu suo *remotum* audiant *tonitrum*, si hominem *gibbosum* obvium habuerint aut *leprosum*.’¹—Hartmann makes his dauntless Erech defy the danger :

8122. Keins swachen glouben er phlac (cherished).
 er wolt der wibe *liezen* (lot-casting)
 engelten noch geniezen (pay for, nor partake).
 swaz im *getroumen* (dream) mahte
 dar ûf het er kein ahte (took no heed);
 er was kein *weter-sorgære* (no weather-watcher):
 er sach im als mære
des morgens über den wec varn
 die *iuweln* (owls) sam den *mûsarn*
 ouch hiez er selten machen
 dehein *für ûz der spachen*
 daz man in dar an sæhe,
 er phlac deheiner spæhe.
 ez was umbe in sô gewant,
 im was der *tisch in der hant*
 als mære enge sô wît,
 und swaz ungelouben gît (gibt, gives)
 dâne kêrte er sich nicht an.

This is imitated by Wirnt, whose Wigalois also goes forth :

6182. dehein ungeloube in muote (no superstition in mind)
 in dem hûse noch ûf dem wege,
 er lie (liez, left) ez allez an Gotes pflege (care).
 Swaz im des morgens *wider lief* (ran against),
 oder swie vil diu *krâ gerief* (how the crow cried),
 swie vil der *mûsære umbe geflouc* (how the m. flew round),
 der ungeloube in niht betrouc (deluded) :

¹ Conf. Chrysostom (b. 354 d. 407) ad popul. Antioch. homil. 21 (Opp. Etonae 1612. 6, 610) : Ἰολλάκις ἐξελεῖθων τις τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἶδεν ἀνθρώπον ἐτερόφθαλμον ἢ χωλεύοντα, καὶ οἰωνίσατο . . . ἐὰν ἀπαντήσῃ παρθένος, φησὶν, ἀπρακτος ἢ ἡμέρα γίγνεται. ἐὰν δὲ ἀπαντήσῃ πόρνη, δεξιὰ καὶ χρηστή καὶ πολλῆς ἐμπορίας γέμουσα.

wand' er (for he) niht dar ûf ahte (heeded).
 Wir haben maneger slahte (many a sort)
 bôsheit unde gelouben (sin and superstition),
 dâ mit wir uns nû rouben (whereby we rob us)
 aller unser sælecheit (bliss).
 ez ist vil manegem manne leit (loth, painful)
 swenne im ein wîp daz swert gît (gives);
 daz lie der riter âne nît (W. took no offence),
 ern' ahtet niht dar ûf ein hâr,
 ez wære gelogen (false) oder wâr:
 er het in Gotes gnâde gegeben
 beidiu sêle unde leben.
 swaz im *des morgens wider gie* (ging; met him),
 daz engeflôch (shunned) der riter nie,
 wan (for) guoten gelouben het er ie (ever).

Berthold p. 58: 'So gloubent etelîche an *bæsen aneganc* (evil meeting): daz ein *wolf guoten aneganc* habe, der aller der werlte schaden tuot, und ist halt sô unreine daz er die liute an stinket (infects), daz nieman bî im genesen mac; und daz ein *gewîhter priester bæsen aneganc* habe, an dem aller gloube lît (faith lies) . . . Sô gloubent etelîche an den *miusearn*; sô ist dem der *hase* (hare) über'n wec geloufen. Als ist ir unglouben als (so) vil, daz sîn nieman ze ende komen mac.' Conf. Sup. I, 128. The word 'aneganc' is supported by Rudolf's Weltchron. (Cod. Zeisb. 114), in speaking of Moses:

er verbôt allen *aneganc*,
 vogel-vluc, stimme oder sanc,
 daz dâ geloupte nieman an;

and Walth. 118, 16 says of a wretched man: 'wizzet, swem der *anegenget* an dem morgen fruo, deme gêt ungelücke zuo,' whom he on-gangeth at early morn, on him shall come misfortune. The Nethl. Reinaert 1055 expresses the notion by '*tekîn* ende *ghemoet*,' token and meeting;¹ Reineke, ed. Hakemann p. 52, by *gemöte*, and people still say 'to möte komen.'—The ON. *heill* (omen) is a more general expression; but one lay of the Edda (Sæm. 184^b) mentions three signs favourable to the warrior at

¹ Rein. 1107: sulc mochte ons daer *ghemoeten*,
 hi soude ons *quedden* ende *gioeten*,
 die ons nemmermê dade goet.

the swinging of swords (at sverða svipon) : the first is, if the dark raven follow him (fylgja ens deyqva hrafns),¹ which calls to mind the raven in the flag of fortune (p. 1112) ; the other two are clearly ‘angänge,’ for it says : ‘ef þú ert út umkominn, ok ert á braut búinn,’ if thou hast gone out and art on thy road ; then the second sign is : ‘tvá þú lítr á tái standa hróðrfúsa hali,’ thou seest two fame-thirsty men (warriors) stand on the start ;² and the third sign : ‘ef þú þiota heyrir úlf und ask-limom, heilla auðit verðr ef þú ser þá fyrri fara,’ if thou hear a wolf howl under ash-boughs, good hap is destined thee if then³ thou see him run forwards. It is Hnikarr (Oðinn) that puts Sigurð up to these omens. But against the three signs of luck are set two of misfortune : one is, if the hero have to fight toward set of sun (síð-skínanði systor mâna) ; another, if in going forth to battle he trip with the foot (ef þú fœti drepr).—Then in the Gesellen-sprüche I see notable instances of angang in the frogs of the pool, the ravens, the three old women, the maiden with the goat (A. w. 1, 91. 107. 111). Again, Ihre de superst. p. 82 : ‘Ejusdem indolis est, quod tradunt nostrates de occursu hominum et animalium, e.g. si cui domo sua mane egredienti occurrat mendicus, vetula, claudus, aut felis, canis, vulpes, lepus, sciurus, is dies inauspicatus habetur. Observant haec prae aliis sagittarii et piscatores, qui ejusmodi ominibus oblatis haud raro domum revertuntur et a proposito abstinent.’ Lasicz 48 : ‘Quin ipse quoque rex Wladislaus, gente Lituanus, has a matre sua superstitiones didicerat, ut eum diem infaustum sibi futurum crederet, quo primum calceum sinistrum fortuito accepisset. Ad hoc movebat se interdum in gyrum stans pede uno, foras e cubili proditurus. Quorum similia multa observantur a Samagitis ; quidam infeliciter se venaturos sibi persuadent si domo egressis mulier occurrat, seu quis certum numerum capiendorum leporum, vulpium, luporum nominet.’ Lucas David’s Chron. i. 146-7 says of the ancient

¹ In Nialss. cap. 8 two avengers of blood have luck, because two ravens accompany them all the way (hrafnar tveir flugo með þeim alla leið) : do they attend as Oðinn’s messengers ? or because they scent the coming carcass ? Other passages are : ‘hrafn at meiði hátt kallaði,’ Sæm. 208^b ; ‘hrafn flýgr austan af hámeiði, ok eptir honum örn í sinni,’ Fornald. sög. 1, 428.

² What is the exact meaning of ‘á tái standa, sitja (Sæm. 266^v), spretta (269^v)’ ? tái can hardly be Dat. sing. or Acc. pl. of the fem. tå (toe) ; it seems rather to be a case of a masc. noun, and to contain a notion of place.

³ I take þá as = tum, eo momento.

Prussians, that they regarded an encounter with a *sick* man as bad, with a *mounted* man as good, with a *fox* or *hare* as bad (see Suppl.).

It is hard to get at the meaning of all these divers prognostics.

First, of *human angang*. Ill-luck is supposed to follow that of an *old woman*, of a *woman with dishevelled hair*, or what comes to the same thing, *loosened headband* (découverte, discooperta, It. scoperta). If an *old wife* meet you in the morning, if you have to pass between two *old wives*, your day is unlucky, Sup. I, 58. 380. 791. 976. When a huntsman in the morning comes upon an *old woman*, he lies down and makes her step over him, to ward off mischief (Hessian pop. cust.). In Switzerland to meet a *woman* is unlucky, at least on New-year's day (Tobler 447^b). Swedish superst. K, 53 holds all meeting with *woman-folk* bad, unless it be a *lön-hora*, as the *παρθένος* in Chrysostom betokened an unlucky day, and the *πόρνη* a lucky. So in Sup. I, 177: the *virgin* or *priest* is an evil sign, the *prostitute* a good.¹ But Ihre speaks expressly of a *vetula*, so does Arndt's Journey to Sweden 1, 44, and a Finnish song (Schröter's Runen p. 67): 'go forth by early morn, lest *ancient crone with crooked chin* do squint at thee.' This last hint plainly sets before us the notion of a *witch*, still more does the loose flying hair (p. 1089) that of a *night-wife* (Sup. I, 878), *fortune-teller*, heathen *priestess*, conf. the Cimbrian *πολιόθριξ* p. 55. Veldek 21^b paints his Sibylla as *andfas* (horrida crinibus), 'daz mies lockehte hienc ir ûz den ôren' (non comptae mansere comae 6, 48). And this view is confirmed by the approach of a *woman spinning* being hurtful (Sup. I, 135), for a *witch* is a *field-spinster*, i.e. a *norn*, a *fate* (p. 1088). So early as Pliny 28, 5: 'pagana lege in plerisque Italiae praediis cavetur ne mulieres per itinera ambulantes torqueant fusos, aut omnino detectos ferant, quoniam adversetur id omnium spei, praecipueque frugum.' This again looks remarkably like the scrutinies held by our goddesses as to whether spindles were spun full or not, pp. 269. 274.

And it becomes to my mind doubly clear by the clergyman

¹ Not true of Theodora at any rate, a bird who boded ill to the Byzantines: ἦν γὰρ τοῖς ὀρώσιν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας βλάσφημος οἰωνός, Procop. Hist. arc. 9 (ed. Bonn, p. 63).

being put in the like case: a *consecrated priest*, says Berthold, is accounted of ill omen to such as meet him. I can produce another pretty old proof from Hincmar 1, 656: 'sunt etiam qui dicant, quando in venationem pergunt, quod obviam sibi non debeant habere *clericum*;' and more modern ones from Reginald Scott's *Witchcraft* (Lond. 1665 fol.) p. 114: 'if any hunters, as they were a hunting, chanced to meet a *frier* or a *priest*, they thought it so ill luck, as they would couple up their hounds and go hom, being in despair of any further sport that day;' and from Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* (1555) cap. 358: 'there went an old dame to church betimes o' the day, and a *parson* meeting her, did cross herself some six times privily. Wherefore sign you yourself so at sight of me? quoth the priest; I hope I be not the devil. The woman answered, It hath never failed, an I came upon a *parson* betimes of a morning, but some untoward thing befell me the same day.'

When a company of people suddenly fall silent, they say 'there's a *priest* passing,' Nethl. 'er gaat een *predikant* voorby'; every one feels confounded at the omen. And in a better sense also it is said 'an *angel* flew across the room,' 'Ἐρμῆς ἐπεισῆλλε. In Switzerland they say, there is bad weather when a *clergyman* walks out (Tobler 436^b).

The sudden appearance of a holy man interrupts and breaks up worldly business. Those who met him were bound to shew respect; paganism may have prescribed in such a case the immediate performance of a certain formality. Christians would transfer the omen from the pagan to the christian priest; that of the heathen priestess or wise woman must have passed over to night-wives and witches, as the clerus admitted no women into its ranks.

Why should the meeting of a *blind* (or one-eyed) man, a *lame* man, a *beggar* be considered bad, and that of a *hunchback* or *leper* good? why that of a *walker* be interpreted less favourably than that of a *rider* (Sup. K, 129 Dan.), and that of a *water-bearer* also unfavourably (I, 257)? The blind man, the cloaked [rider] suggest Wuotan. It seems more intelligible why a man did not care to have his *sword handed him by a woman*, and why in the Edda the sight of *two warriors* is a pledge of victory.

To lovers the sight of the loved one must have been the

welcomest of signs: 'swer si *des morgens* angesiht, den tac im niemer leit geschiht,' who upon her at morn doth look, that day no manner harm shall brook, Ms. 2, 23^b (see Suppl.).

Animal encounters have their origin in pastoral and hunting life, they are based on contemplation of nature and on fabulous opinions about the habits of beasts. Under this head there must be a vast deal in Slavic, Esthonian, Finnic and Lithuanian tradition waiting to be collected, which at present I must do without. Even Norse tradition seems not to have been accurately noted down in this respect. Saxo Gram. p. 321 says of Slavs, not of Northmen: 'ad varia quoque negotia profecturi ex *primo animalis occursu* votorum auspicia capiebant; quae si *laeta* fuissent, coeptum alacres iter carpebant, sin *tristia*, reflexo cursu propria repetebant.' The animals in question he omits to name. Important above all is that omen in the Edda of the *wolf howling and going onwards*, whom we may fairly take for the victory-boding beast of Oðinn (p. 668). All other evidence agrees with it, even the superstitions of to-day. Everywhere the brave undaunted *wolf*, the sight of whom awakens heart and hope, is set off against the timid cowardly *hare*, the type of faint heart and failure. Sigeb. gembl. ad an. 1143: 'obiit etiam Fulco rex Hierosolymorum; qui dum venationi insistens *leporem* insequitur ex *improviso* sibi *apparentem*, equus cui insidebat se super ipsum praecipitem dedit, ipsumque vita et regno privavit;' conf. Vintler, Sup. G, ll. 52—55. Again: 'on the way there chanced a *hare* to run across their road; the driver was troubled, and spake, This betokeneth no good. If contrariwise a *wolf* had crossed the road, it were a good sign,' Ettner's Unw. doctor 575-6; conf. Simplic. 2, 74. In Pauli's Schimpf u. E. cap. 138 (ed. 1550 cap. 135): 'in the morning they set forth, and being come wellnigh unto the wood, Master, quoth the man, there ran a *wolf* before us. The master said he had seen him well enough, it meant sheer luck.' In Albertini's Narrenhatz, Munich 1617. p. 96: 'superstitious numskulls are affrighted if a *hare* cross the path whereon they shall walk or ride, supposing that they shall on that day abide a misadventure.' Göz von Berlichingen in his Life p. 179: 'and as we came on, behold, a shepherd feeding his flock hard by, and for a *token*, there fell five wolves upon the sheep,

that laid hold of them roundly, the which I gladly heard and saw, and wished them luck, and us too, and said to them, Good luck to you, good fellows, good luck everywhere, and I deemed it luck, for even so should we lay hold one of another.'¹ Here we have no *angang* proper described, but we can see the meaning that warlike nations at first put into it. *Wolf, stag, boar* and *bear* all stand exactly on a par in respect of their meaning, Sup. I, 128. The Norwegian thinks it a bad sign to meet a *hare*, a good one to meet a *bear* or a *wolf* (Danske's Reiseiagttagelser 1799. 2, 297): here the *bear*, whom the lay of the Raven's wedding calls the 'ypperste karl i skoven,' is justly placed before the *wolf*.² Roman accounts take no notice of the bear, but they do of the *wolf*; Pliny 8, 22 (34): 'inter auguria ad dexteram com-eantium praeciso itinere, si pleno id ore lupus fecerit, nullum omnium praestantius.' Pliny also tells us the effect of a footprint of the *wolf*, if a horse treads on it: 'tanta vis est animalis, ut vestigia ejus calcata equis afferant torporem' 28, 10 (44); and 'rumpi equos, qui vestigia luporum sub equite sequantur' 28, 20 (81). Both John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois have '*occursum leporis timere*.' In addition to Berthold and Hartlieb (Sup. H, cap. 67), the Cod. pal. 341. 163^a has a passage in point. Feldbauer 240:

Dar zuo sâh wir einen hasen (hare),
 der widerfuor uns (met us) an dem weg;
 dô dâht ich deiz niht eben læg:
 er tet uns den êrsten aneganc,
 wan daz er snelle für mich spranc.

To Greeks and Romans apparently it could under favourable circumstances be a good omen (*αἰσιος*).³ The *weasel* (*γαλῆ*) had a bad name among them: when it ran across the road, a public assembly was postponed (Potter 1, 746). Theophrastus in

¹ Goethe recognised the poetic effect of these words, and incorporated them in his play.

² To Turkish travellers too the *wolf* is a grateful, the *hare* an unwelcome sign; Vienna Lit. zeitung 1816. p. 1257.

³ Dio Cass. 62, 2 (Reim. 1006-7): ταῦτα εἰπούσα, λαγῶν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου προήκατο (ἡ Βουνδοῦκα, a Britoness) μαντεῖα τινὶ χρωμένη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν αἰσίῳ ἔδραμε, τό τε πλῆθος πᾶν ἡσθὲν ἀνεβόησε. Otherwise in Suidas: φανεῖς ὁ λαγῶς δυστυχεῖς ποιεῖ τριβους. When the Germans under king Arnulf started a *hare* and chased it, they took Rome (Liutpr. 1, 8), but hare-hunting Danes were put to flight (Neocorus 1, 353; here Detmar puts a *cat*, 1, 164). To be licked by the hare was considered lucky: 'he weened a *hare* had licked him,' Trödelfrau 1682. p. 71.

Charact. 16 says, if a *weasel* run past you, you must not go on till some one else has paced the road, or you have picked up three stones from it. So Centonovelle cap. 31 : 'quando l'uomo trova la *donnola*¹ nella via.' The *fox's* angang is interpreted variously : as bad in that passage from Ihre, as good by Lithuanian Superst. N, 9. Domestic animals, such as the traveller keeps on his own premises, and does not meet for the first time in the woods, are hardly available as omens : they are too common, too tame and dependent on man, to become significant to him. Yet they say, if on setting out early you meet *swine*, you will not be welcome where your steps are taking you ; if *sheep*, you will. According to some, the wayfarer is a welcome guest if the *sheep* present themselves on his *right hand*, and unwelcome if on his *left*. The Etruscans, when a new magistrate rode into his province, observed what *horses* and *oxen* he fell in with (O. Müller 2, 118). Compare the prophesying by *horses* (p. 662-4), where it is true there is no chance meeting of the beast, yet stress is laid on his planting of the *right foot* or the *left*. An instance in Procop. de b. Pers. 2, 5 p. 172 ought to be added.

The observation of *birds* was even more minutely carried out than the encounter of quadrupeds, their free unhindered motion through the air being of itself enough to invest them with something marvellous and spirit-like. The Greeks had a comprehensive *οἰωνιστική* (Suidas sub v.), the Romans reduced *auspicia* and *auguria* to a system.² Boh. *ptako-prawiti* augurari, *ptako-weštec* augur, Pol. *ptaszo-wieszczek*. And heathens of the Teuton race equally regarded birds as messengers of the gods and heralds of important tidings (pp. 672, 763). 'What *bird* has brought that to your ears ?' means : who made you believe that, put it into your head ?³ 'A *bird* sang that to me : jag hörde en *fogel* så sjunga, en *fogel* var här, och sade för mig det eller det,' said so and so, Ihre de superst. p. 51. Mod. Greek and Servian folksongs not unfrequently open with *birds* on the wing wheeling this way and

¹ Our *fräulein*, Bav. *müemelein*, auntie, Schm. 2, 576, *schönthierle*, pretty beastie 3, 369 ; Span. *comadreja* (Reinh. cexxiv), Dan. *den kjønne*, pulcra : all these names attest the sacredness of the animal. The Servians call her *lazitsa*, but address her by the caressing form *laza* : 'lazo lazitchitse !'

² Jul. Caes. Bulenger de auguriis (Graevii thes. 5).

³ Westphal. 'wecker vangel heft dik dat inner auren ehangen ?' Slennerhinke p. 8.

that, holding a conversation, Wh. Müller's Saml. 1, 66. 102. 2, 164. 178. 200. Vuk 3, 326. Two *black ravens* (dva vrana gavrana) caw from the white tower, Vuk. 2, 151. The prophetic call of the *cuckoo* has been dealt with, p. 675 seq.; he too belongs to angang, his voice in the wood falls unexpected on the traveller's ear, a good sign if on the right hand, a bad if on the left. Pliny 30, 10 (25): 'aliud est cuculo miraculum, quo quis loco primo audiat alitem illam, si dexter pes circumscribatur ac vestigium id effodiatur, non gigni pulices, ubicunque spargatur;' conf. p. 1093 on cutting out footmarks. The Indic. superst. xiii. touches on *auguria avium*. Eligius, Sup. A: 'nec in itinere positi aliquas *aviculas cantantes attendatis.*' Birds whose encounter is prophetic are called *wegvögel*, way-fowl, Sup. I, 600, but by far the best qualified for the purpose were the *krimmende raubvögel* (rapaces aves) that won victories over other birds, and could predict the same happy event to heroes;¹ accordingly birds of prey play the foremost part in dreams. An anecdote in Procop. de b. Goth. 4, 20 (ed. Bonn. 2, 560-1) shews how early this superstition was domiciled among German nations: Hermigisel king of the Warni, riding over field, noticed a bird (of what kind, is not said) on a tree, and heard him caw (so prob. a *raven* or *crow*). Understanding the song of birds, the king informed his followers that his death in forty days was foretold.² It is *igðor* up in the trees that prophesy to Sigurðr (p. 672); it is not settled whether they were swallows, or perhaps she-eagles? Dagr has a *sparrow* of understanding, Ingl. saga cap. 21. Several passages in the O. Span. Cid prove the observation of birds: 867 al *exir* de Salon mucho ovo *buenas aves*; 2376 con Dios e con *la vuestra auce*; 2379 con *la buen auce* (see Suppl.).

And as it was a principal point with the ancients whether the flight was from *right* or *left*, Hartlib also (Sup. H, cap. 67) pronounces flying *on the right hand* lucky, on the *left* unlucky. He says the *eagle* must *fly pouch-side* of the traveller, i.e. on the side where his travelling-pouch hangs. Nowhere else do I find the

¹ Frid. Guil. Schwarz de antiquiss. Apollinis natura, Berol. 1843, p. 16.

² Οὗτος ἀνὴρ (Ἑρμεγίσκος) ξὺν Οὐάρων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ ἱππευόμενος ὄρην τινὰ ἐπὶ δένδρον τε καθήμενην εἶδε καὶ πολλὰ κρῶζουσαν. εἶτε δὲ τῆς ὄρνιθος τῆς φωνῆς ξυνεῖς εἶτε ἄλλο μὲν τι ἐξεπιστάμενος, ξυνεῖναι δὲ τῆς ὄρνιθος μαντενομένης τερατευσάμενος, τοῖς παρούσιν εὐθὺς ἔφασκεν ὡς τεθνήσκειται τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις ἕσπερον...τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως ἡμέρα νοσήσας πεπρωμένη ἀνέπλησε.

'ar' mentioned, but often the *mûsar*, in Hartman, Wirnt, Bert-hold; which Benecke's Dict. to the first-named makes a small bird of prey, the same that Burchard (Sup. C, p. 198^c) calls *muriceps* and explains as mouser. The poem of the Uebel wîp says 297—301:

Swenne ich nâch gewinne var,
 sô ist durft daz mir der *mûsar*
über die strâze vliege
 und mich des niht entriege,
 ob ich ir niht enbringe;

i.e. when I bring her nothing home, I have to make that my excuse. This bird's flying *over the road* is a favourable sign. In the Iliad 10, 274 a *heron* (ἑρῳδιός) *flying on the right* brings luck. The *raven*, a bird of victory to the heathen, is spoken of in the Norse quotations p. 1123 as 'accompanying,' but nowhere else in connexion with *angang*; of the *crow* we hear plenty. It was lucky 'si *cornicula ex sinistra in dexteram cantaverit*,' Sup. C, p. 198^c; the same in Petr. Bles., except *volaverit* for *cantaverit*; Kolocz. 146 says of children brought up in luxury, who never felt the heavy hand of fate: 'si *enwizzen wannen die krân sint gevlogen*,' they never knew whence the crows flew. Walth. 94, 39: 'ein *unsæligiu* (unblest) *krâ* begonde schriên.' MS. 2, 80: 'ez hab ein *swerziu krâ* gelogen,' told lies. On the other hand: 'alba solet *cornix* affectum scire tacentis,' Reinard. 2, 657. With the crow some would identify the *Martin's bird*, whose flight is so fraught with meaning in Peter of Blois and in Renart 10472, Reinaert 1047, Reineke 942. 'Sant *Martins vogel*, wol über her! daz ist nû gar der niuwe hant,' Liederb. der Hätzlerin 241^b; i.e. such careless calling upon St. Martin's bird is all the fashion now (conf. 'diu niuwe hant, alte hant,' Renner 2087—2111). A similar invocation in Reinaert: 'al heil, edel voghel, kêre herwaert dînen vloghel!' But Nemnich would make the *falco cyaneus*, a small bird of prey, the *Martin's bird*, Nethl. Martens vogel, Fr. l'oiseau S. Martin, Span. pajaro S. Martin; and this would fit in with John of Salisb.'s *albanellus* (Fr. haubereau), which expressly points to good hospitium, like Martin's bird in Reinhart [and Petr. Bles.]. I find no clue in the ordinary legends of the saint, to whom the bird must have

brought something.¹ Again, in Vintler (Sup. G, l. 158) *sant Martis-vogel* betokens luck; this spelling would almost lead to the supposition that Martinsvogel was a corruption of 'Martis avis,' which would be the woodpecker, the *Märzafüllli* (p. 673). In Ls. 3, 548 we read: '*sant Martins vögälîn diu machent mangel umbecreiz*;' while another passage (which even Reinh. cxxvii borrows) in a Pal. MS. (Altswert 77, 19) has again '*Mertiss vogelin*,' and we are told it points the way to the Venus mount, which adds to its mythical character. Our nursery rhymes give *sunte Martens vögelken* a red coat or golden wing, but they are sung on Martinmas-eve, and bring us back to the saint. So I can come to no certain conclusion about this bird. Coming back to the *crow*, we have yet more credentials, old and new. Virg. Ecl. 9, 15: '*ante sinistra cava monuisset ab ilice cornix.*' Poema del Cid 11. 12: '*ovieron la corneia diestra,*' and '*siniestra.*' Renart 10473, speaking of the oiseau S. Martin: '*assez si le hucha à destre, et li oisiax vint à senestre.*' The ancients do not leave out the raven, as Plaut. Aul. iv. 3, 1: '*non temere est, quod corvus cantat mihi nunc ab laeva manu, semel radebat pedibus terram, et voce crocibat sua.*' Olaf Tryggvason, though a christian, noticed whether the *kráka* (crow) *stood on her right or left leg*, believing it to bode good or evil to him; whence his enemies nicknamed him *krákubein*. The ON. *húngr-kráka* foretold famine, and *illviðris-kráka* ill weather. Cento nov. ant. 32: '*segnor, je vit una cornacchia in uno cieppo di salice.*' '*Or mi di, donna, verso qual parte teneva volta la coda?*' '*Segnor, ella avea volta verso il cul.*'² Conf. the charadrius or gadropt p. 853n.

The *woodpecker* too was a sacred bird, p.673-5; in Lindenblatt's Chron. p. 31: '*ir speht hatte nicht recht geflogen,*' i.e. not from the right hand. To the Romans the screeching *parra* (greenpecker? peewit?) boded mischief: '*impious parrae recinentis omen ducat,*' Hor. Od. iii. 27, 1; '*picus et cornix est ab laeva, corvus, parra ab dextera,*' Plaut. As. ii. 1, 12. In Sweden the flight of the *lom* (a sort of heron, says Ihre) is presignificant, Sup. K, 94. To see the *magpie from the front* is a good sign, *from behind* a bad, I, 158. When you hear the first *swallow* in

¹ 'The story of S. Martin and the martin is in Bosquet 219. 220.'—SUPPL.

² 'Me l' ha vaticinato la cornacchia, che la mia bella donna m' infuocchia,' is fooling me, Tommaseo 1, 224.

spring, stop at once (on your road), and from under your left foot dig a coal out of the ground, I, 217. G, l. 98 ; just as one cut out the footmark on the spot where one heard the cuckoo (p. 1129).¹ Ms. 2, 118^b. 208^b: ' nû jârlanc stêt vil hôch mîn muot, ich hôrte den sÛezen sanc von einer *svalwen dâ si fluoc*,' as she flew. Servants in Denmark notice whether they see the *stork* for the first time *flying* or *standing*, Sup. K, 130. With the *frog*, all depends on where you see him hop first, *on land* or *in water*, I, 237. To meet a *bald* or *plucked hen* was reckoned bad :

Enmi sa voie a encontrée
une geline pielée,
qui pasturoit en la charriere ;
a poi ne sen retorne arriere,
por ce quil i entendoit sort ;
à ses piez trueve un baston tort,
à la geline lest aler,
et ele sen prist à voler,
en son gelinois le maudist
 ' honte li viegne ! ' et il si fist.

Passages in Provençal poetry bearing upon *angang* are collected in Diez's *Lives of the Troub.* p. 22-3 ; they relate to the *raven*, *crow* and varieties of the falcon tribe (*albanel*, *gavanh*), the criteria being their *right* or *left* flight, their *going* or *coming*, their *crying* or keeping *silence* :

Los *destres* e'ls *senestres*, los *anans* e'ls *venens*,
 d'*albanel*, de *gavanh*, d'autras *auzels ferens*,
 del *corp* e de la *gralha*, los *crîdans*, los *tacens*.

Poes. der troub. p. 221. One would like to have fuller accounts of this bird-interpreting as practised in the Mid. Ages (see Suppl.).²

¹ Quam *primo hirundinem videris*, hoc dic ter : ' rogo te, hirundo, ut hoc anno oculi mei non lippeant,' Fundgr. 1, 325.

² The heathen Arabs watched the flight of birds ; *zeger* and *tjavet* are almost synonymous terms [meaning to expound], *zeger* being used when you throw a stone at the bird and shout to it ; if then he *flies* to your *right* hand, it is a good sign, if to your *left*, bad : *tjavet* is in general the interpretation of the names, the alighting and the cries of birds that you encounter. The science seems to culminate in the *knowledge of bird-language*, which from the time of Solomon has never fallen into oblivion in the East. The *raven* is reckoned a herald of misfortune (Rückert's *Hariri* 1, 591-2). Of Indian augury many examples might be given, for instance in the *Râmâyana* : ' hae *aves* tibi declarant horrendum periculum imminere,' Schlegel's *Ind. bibl.* 2, 225. A shepherd ascribed the discomforts that had

Our early ages appear also to have seen a meaning in the *over-flight* of certain birds. Ms. 2, 1^b on the lord of the Dürings: ‘*ob ime ein adelar (over him an eagle) z’allen zîten ist mit hôhen flûgen gewesen.*’ *Eagles* spread their wings over famous heroes to shade them from the sun: when the heathen deputies came to Charles’s hall,¹ they saw ‘*daz die adelaren dar zu gewenit wâren, daz sie scate bâren,*’ Rol. 21, 20. This evidently stands connected with the *eagle* over Charles’s palace (p. 633), perhaps even with that in Oðin’s hall, Sæm. 41^b. The *dove* hovering above was mentioned p. 148; *supervenire* and *adumbrare* are even Biblical language. By the side of ‘*drúpir iörn yfir*’ I place an important stanza of the *Hávamál*, Sæm. 12^b:

*ôminnis hegri, sâ er yfir ôldrom þrumir,
hann stelnr geði guma;
þess fugls fiöðrom ec fiötraðr varc
î garði Gunnlaðar*

(*oblivionis ardea, qui super symposiis stridet mentemque hominum furatur; ejus avis pennis captus sum in domo Gunnladae*). It is Oðinn that speaks, who, after intoxicating himself with full draughts of nectar at the house of Gunnlöð (p. 903-5), flies away in *eagle’s* shape, ‘*ôminnis hegri*’ being a circumlocution for the divine bird. *Hegri* stands for *hêgri*, *hrêgri*, AS. *hrâgra*, OHG. *heigiro*, *hreigiro*, *ἐρωδιός*, one large bird instead of another. When Oðinn swilled the drink he had longed for, and enjoyed the favour of the fair giantess, he was fettered in eagle’s feathers, i.e. put on the form of an eagle. How like the myth of Zeus, when, transformed into an eagle, he carries off Ganymede, and makes him pour out nectar for him! (see Suppl.).²

The Romans framed a system of augury of their own, not based on the flight of wildfowl, but on the domestic breed of poultry. The Greeks practised an *ἀλεκτρομαντεία* by laying

dogged him all day long to the single circumstance, that *early in the morning* a snake had crawled *across his path*.

¹ The description of this hall, and the impression its splendour must have made on the strangers, is wonderfully like what goes on in Asgard during Gylfi’s visit, Sn. 2. Conf. the similar Lombard story in the Chron. Salern. by Arichis (Pertz 5, 479).

² Those words in the *Hávamál*, portraying the sublime rapture of immortality and likewise the art of poesy, Scand. commentators have taken for a description of ordinary drunkenness, against whose consequences we are warned in an Icel. poem entitled ‘*Ominnis hegri.*’

grains of corn on the letters of the alphabet, and letting a *cock* pick them off. The Roman divination was simpler, according to the eager or sluggish *eating*, or *refusing to eat*, of *young fowls*; every legion had its *pullarius*, who bred, fed and guarded the fowls, and the consul held the augurium in his own house or tent: 'pullis regitur imperium Romanum, hi jubent acies' says Pliny 10, 24; and Procopius 1, 316 gives examples.¹ Yet they also observed the cries of the cock and hen: '*gallina cecinit*' is named amongst other bad omens for the bridegroom, in Terence's *Phormio* iv. 4, 30; the gloss of Donatus makes it mean 'superiorem marito esse uxorem.' And in our own superstition (I, 83; L, 23) a *hen* that *crowed* like a cock was held in horror. If a listener under the henroost heard the *cock* crow, the omen was happy, if the *hen* cried, it was sad (I, 105. 1055); the same thing applies to droppings of the *cock* and *hen* (I, 230). The *gander* too was supposed to prophesy (I, 847). The Esthonians distinguish between birds of *bare* and those of *shaggy foot* (M, 95).

Often it is neither the flight of wayside fowl, nor the chance encounter of a quadruped, but their appearing, their residing *in the dwellings* of men that bodes them weal or woe. The *swallow* (L, 9) and the *stork* are birds of luck (p. 672), one is glad to see storks build on one's roof (I, 215). He that first sees the stork fly in spring, is sure to go on a journey. To the Lettons the *titmouse* foretokened good, its name is *sihle*, and *sihleht* is to foretell (p. 683). A *weasel* or *snake* on the roof boded ill (Suidas sub v. Xenocrates); '*anguis per impluvium decidit de tegulis*,' Ter. *Phormio* iv. 4, 29. So does a *mouse* nibbling at your clothes, Sup. I, 184. *Raven*, *crow* or *maggie* on a *sick house* is unlucky, or of double meaning, I, 120. 158. 496 (see Suppl.).

There were *corpse-birds*, *birds of dole*, whose appearing signified actual or impending death. I suppose the turtle-dove with her melancholy wail to have been such to the Goths, by their calling her *hráivadubó* (corpse-dove); neither *τρυγών* nor *turtur* conveys this collateral sense, the bird merely mourns her lost mate;² tales about her are coll. in Aw. 3, 34. One of the way-

¹ Record of 788 in Marini no. 56, p. 94: 'et alia multa de vestra infidelitate cognovimus ad pullorum contum' (r. cantum).

² The Langobards used to erect, among the graves in their churchyards, poles (perticas) in memory of their kinsfolk who had fallen in war or in foreign parts: on

birds, the *owl*, is also, and preeminently, in place here (Sup. I, 789; L, 8). Hartmann contrasts her flight *across one's path* with that of the *mûsar*, hers appears to have been baleful, as his was wholesome: Ms. 2, 174 says 'der *iuweln fluc*' ne'er profited the world. Ovid Met. 5, 550:

foedaque fit volucris, venturi nuntia luctus,
ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen.

Here metamorphosis strikes in: the owl was an enchanted person, and *strix*, *strinx* ('*e tectis strix violenta canat*,' Tibull. i. 5, 52), *bruxa* signify at once the bird and the witch that fly by night (p.1039n.): '*ululae, upupae, bubones toto anno in tectis funebria personantes*,' p. 481n.; '*male ominatos cantus ulularum*,' Chron. S. Trudonis p. 379. The OHG. *holz-rûna*, *holz-muoja*, *holz-muwo* (Gl. Flor. 988^b. 996^b. Sumerl. 10, 65. 27, 44. 29, 74) translate *lamia*, but they rather express wailing bodeful birds, or sprites (of both sexes), who are heard whispering and muttering (rounding, mooring) in the wood, p. 433. Hence also their name of *klag-muhme* (wailing aunt), *klag-mutter*, *klage-weib*;¹ in the Ackerman v. Böhmen, ed. Hag. p. 38, 'klagmut' should be amended 'klagmuoter.' In the Upper Harz *klagmutter*, *klage-weib*, *klagefrau* mean a spectral yet winged being (Spiel's Archiv 2, 247); elsewhere it is called *weh-klage* (Sup. I, 863), *leich-huhn* (lich-hen), *grab-eule*, *todten-vogel*, and in Brunswick the *läpsch*, because of its lazy lingering flight (Brauns. anz. 1746. p. 236), '*ignavus bubo*,' which again calls up the old sense of *feig* (fey, moribundus). Other prognostics of death are, when the *raven belches*, Sup. G, l. 166, when a *cock* or *hen* trails straw, M, 77,

the top of the pole was fixed the wooden image of a *dove*, whose head or beak pointed in the direction where the loved one lay buried; Paul. Diac. 5, 34 (not unlike the gyrating eagle on the palace-roof, p. 634). The *dove* represented the sorrowing kinsman who set up the pole. Precisely so the Servians of to-day make the *cuckoo* mourn for them (p. 682): on a wooden cross 6 feet high are carved as many *cuckoos* as there are survivors, esp. sisters, to mourn the dead. A girl who has lost a brother can never hear the cuckoo sing without breaking into a flood of tears; *kukumene!* is an interjection of grief, Montenegro, Stuttg. 1837. pp. 99. 100. All this setting up of doves and cuckoos brings to mind that of *horses' heads* on poles and roofs (p. 659), of *eagles* on roofs (p. 633-4).

¹ The Lausitz Wends call our *wehklage bože sedleško*, God's little chair [saddle?]: it appears either as a *white hen*, or as a beautiful *white child*, whose piteous wailing and weeping announces impending misfortune. In Bohemian too *sedliško* is a seat and also the nightmare, perhaps because the demon mounts and rides (incubus).

when the *galadrot* (charadrius) turns his head away from the sick man (see Suppl.).

In the same way other animals give notice of a death: when a priest is called in, and his *horse* lowers his head, Sup. M, 35; when a black *ox* or *cow* has been killed in the house, I, 887, which points right back to ancient sacrifices. Also the *mole* burrowing in a human habitation 555. 601. 881, the *cricket* chirping 555. 600. 930,¹ the *woodworm* ticking 901, and *mice* nibbling at the clothes of a sleeper (see Suppl.).

Prophetic *ants*, Sup. K, 88; M, 99. A *spider* running toward you early in the morning is unlucky, but there are luck-spinners too, I, 134. Bosquet 219. A *swarm of bees* settling on a house betokens fire, I, 160 or some disaster,² from those in Drusus's camp downwards (Pliny 11, 18. Dio Cass. 54, 33. Jul. Obsequens de prodig. 1, 132). To Leopold of Austria they foretold the loss of Sempach fight in 1386: 'da kam ein *imb* geflogen, in d'linden er genistet hat, an's herzogen waffen er flog als do der selbig herzog wol für die linden zog: das *diutet frömbde geste*, so redt der gemeine man,' Wackern. leseb. 703. It is usually a *flight of grasshoppers* that announces *stranger guests* (Justinger p. 160, conf. 271), or else a *good take of salmon*, ib. 379. Other intimations of *coming guests* in Sup. I, 71-2-3. 889. 1028; K, 63 (see Suppl.).

Lifeless things, especially elements, can furnish omens. *Flames* standing on the *helmets* or *spears* of warriors were a prognostic of victory (*νίκης σύμβολον*). Sæm. 110^{a, b} mentions a fire of this kind, but not what it signified: '*hyrr leingi mun á brodds oddi bifaz*'; and more plainly 151^b: '*af geirom geislar (rays) stóðo*.' Tac. Ann. 12, 64: '*signa militum arsere*'; 15, 7: '*pila militum arsere*.' Procop. de b. Vand. 2, 2: τῶν δοράτων αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄκρα πυρὶ πολλῶ κατελάμπετο, καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ αἰχμαὶ καίεσθαι ἐπὶ πλείστον σφίσιν ἐδόκουν. Greg. Tur. mirac. Mart. 1, 10: '*dum haec agerentur, duae puerorum lanceae emissis flammis lumen euntibus praebuerunt, ibantque fulgurantes hastae*.' Before the battle of Prague in 1620 a *will o' wisp* settled on the general's

¹ Sometimes these '*heimen* or *grillen*' mean prosperity to the house, Sup. I, 313. 609.

² '*Examen apum in arbore praetorio imminente consederat*,' Livy 21, 46. '*fastigium Capitolii examen apium insedit*,' Tac. Ann. 12, 64.

flag, and was taken for a pledge of victory. This too is the Dioscuri's *flame*, that shone on the masts of ships, a saving sign under stress of storm. Further, *a candle that sneezes* (spits), *a brand that snaps over* (Sup. I, 889) betoken *guests* again; a candle that *goes out*, death (150); one that *burns roses* (forms wick-heads), good luck (252). To *spill oil* or *wine*, to *pour water* under the table, were signs to the ancients, one good, the other bad. The *table squeaking*, the *rafters creaking*, justified the gloomiest auguries (Dempster 3, 9). *Water sinking away* or *rising* indicated a death or famine (p. 590). When the *fire crackles*, or *salt is spilt*, it is a sign of strife, Sup. I, 322. 534-5. 64. Connect with this the mythic interpretation of the *bickering flame*, p. 242: the god is present in the flame as in the bodeful *thunder*. *Gaps* formed by earth tumbling in (*gropar*) prognosticate a death (M, 95); from the sound of the *first three clods* thrown into a grave, you can tell if others will die soon. A *splinter* splitting off the floor is a sign of guests (I, 71. 1032), a *hoop* bursting off a barrel, of death (I, 149)¹ (see Suppl.).

The custom of sprinkling *barleycorns* on the hot fireplace, and watching if they *leap up* or *lie still*, I find in Burchard alone, Sup. C, p. 195^d, not in later authors; the Greek *κριθομαντεία* was different.

If in time of war *two ears* of corn were found *on one stalk*, it was thought to prefigure the return of peace;² on the contrary, for the *cherry-tree to blossom twice in the year* is a sign of war, Sup. I, 1116 (see Suppl.).

Other things, without any augury or sorcery being founded on them, are considered wholesome or hurtful: particularly things *found, begged* or *stolen*. Thus the *finding* of a four-leaved clover, of three whole grains in a baked loaf (Sup. I, 685), of a nail or tooth off a harrow 539. 636, which enable the possessor to discern witches (p. 1078), *inventio acus vel oboli reservati* (E, 11 r. b.),

¹ Sueton. in Octav. 92: 'auspicia quaedam et omina pro certissimis observabat: si mane sibi *calceus* perperam ac *sinister pro dextero* induceretur, ut dirum (like Wladislaus, p. 1123); si terra marive ingrediente se longinquam profectionem forte *rorasset*, ut laetum, maturique et prosperi reditus.

² Elisab. Charlotte of Orleans writes July 17, 1695: 'I am well weary of the war; pray, dear Louise, acquaint yourself if it be true that near Giessen they have found a stalk, which the Landgraf of Darmstatt hath in safe keeping, whereon are II ears, and if the like was found at the end of the 30 years' war.' It is also believed that lightning will not strike a house where a stalk with two ears is kept.

of a needle (K, 46) according as it turns head or point toward you (I, 235), of a felloe off a wheel 351, of a horseshoe 129. 220 (Hone's Yrbk 1600); a *begged* loaf 13, a ring made of begged silver pennies 352; a *stolen* duster 431, tie of a meal-sack 216, loaf 183-8, timber 1000 (Firmenich 2, 33), fishing-tackle (K, 48), weaver's knots. In finding things the favour of fortune comes into play; to things begged the labour, to things stolen the risk of acquisition lends additional value: three gulps of begged wine drive away the hiccup. And not only stolen property in a particular case, but a thief's hand (p. 1073n.), a spur made out of a gibbet-chain (I, 385), the gallows-rope itself (386. 921. G, l. 217), possess a peculiar virtue; conf. the origin of the gallows-mannikin, Deut. sag. no. 83 (see Suppl.).

A *wheel* placed over the gateway brings luck (I, 307); is the notion of fortune's wheel (p. 866) or the sun's wheel (pp. 620. 701) at work here? *Splinters* of a tree struck by *lightning*, *coffin-splinters* are of use (I, 171. 208). The bridal bed must have only *dry wood*, but *off living trees*; ¹ other fancies about the bridal bed 486-7. No picked up feathers, no hen's feathers should be put in a bed 281. 346. 593.

Choosing of days prevailed among the Jews (Levit. 19, 26. Deut. 18, 10), Greeks, and probably all heathens. Hesiod distinguishes between mother-days and stepmother-days, he goes over all the good days of Zeus, and all the bad, *Ἔργα κ. Ἡμ.* 765 (710) seq. Even if our names for the days of the week were imported from abroad (p. 127), yet native superstitions may have been mixt up with them from a very early time. 'Nullus observet' so preached Eligius, '*qua die domum exeat, vel qua die revertatur, nullus ad inchoandum opus diem aut lunam attendat.*' Hincmar 1, 656: '*sunt et qui observant dies in motione itineris et in inchoatione aedificandae domus.*' Sueton. in Oct. 92: '*observabat et dies quosdam, ne aut postridie nundinas quoquam proficisceretur, aut nonis quidquam rei seriae inchoaret.*' Pliny 28, 5: '*ungues reseca²ri nundinis Romanis tacenti, atque a*

¹ Odofredus in I. legata digest. de suppellect. leg.: '*mulieres quando nubunt, volunt lectum de lignis siccis, sed de arbore vivente. sed in omnibus opinionibus suis fatuae sunt.*'

² The nails in general are carefully watched: when they blossom, i.e. have specks of white, luck blossoms too. Much depends on which hand and what finger the blossoms are on (Reusch). Pliny touches more than once on the

digito indice, multorum pecuniae religiosum.' Even amongst us the superstition survives, that the nails should be cut on a particular day, Friday especially. A day that will bring misfortune is called *verworfen*, castaway, accursed (Sup. G, l. 51).¹ The ancient Germans appear to have kept *Wednesday* and *Thursday* holy above all, after their chief gods Wôdan and Thunar: the Indiculus has a section 'de feriis quas faciunt Jovi vel Mercurio.' Later on I find no day more superstitiously observed than *Thursday*, p. 191; also by the Esthonians, M, 59. One should not move to a new dwelling on Thursday, for birds carry nothing to their nests that day. On the other hand, *Wednesday* and *Friday* are counted *accursed witch-days*, I, 613. 658. 745; separately, *Wednesday* 567, *Friday* 241. 800. M, 59. 60. In records of witch-trials (see the Quedlinburg), the devils mostly appear on a *Thursday* or *Tuesday*. *Monday* too is a bad day for a fresh beginning (I, 771. 821). *Tuesday* is the time to begin journeys, to form marriage contracts.² Fat Tuesday, Swed. *fet-tisdag*, Fr. *mardi gras* favours enterprises (K, 79. 84). *Sunday* is lucky (I, 243. 634). The christians had, beside the great festivals, many days in the year marked by something special, above all *St. John's*; and almost every holy day stood in a particular relation to sowing, planting, cattle-breeding and the like. The Dan. *skjer-torsdag* in K, 168-9 is Maundy Thursday. Hardly ever was a nation so addicted to day-choosing as the christians in the Mid. Ages. The old heathen yule-days and solstices coincided with Christmas and *St. John's* (see Suppl.).

Closely connected with angang and day-choosing is another widely diffused superstition. As a prosperous day's work depended on a favourable encounter at early morning, as the escort of *wolf* or *raven* augured victory; so a tribe on its travels was guided to its place of settlement by a divinely missioned *beast*. Under such guidance colonies were founded, towns, castles,

resegmîna unguium 28, 23: 'e pedibus manibusque cera permixta ante solis ortum alienae januae affigi jubent . . . digitorum resegmîna unguium ad cavernas formicarum abjici jubent, eamque quae prima coeperit trahere, correptam subnecti collo.' This significance of *nail-parings* is worth dwelling on, as our heathenism attributes to them even a greater, making the world's end depend upon them (p. 814, Naglfar).

¹ See passages in a Homily of the 8th cent. on this superst., Pertz's Archiv 6, 500-1.

² So in Bohemia and Moravia. Löwe's Denkw. u. reisen 72.

churches built; the rise of new establishments and kingdoms is hallowed by *beasts*, which, alien to all human ends, reveal the higher counsels of the gods.

Greek and Roman story teems with examples. A *raven* leads Battus and his emigrants to Cyrene (κόραξ ἡγήσατο, Callim. Hymn to Apollo 66). The Irpini are so called from irpus, the *wolf* that led them (Strabo 2, 208).¹ Flóki sacrificed for three ravens to shew him the way: 'hann fëkk at blóti miklu, ok blótaði hrafna þrjá, þá er honum skyldu leið vísa, þvíat þá höfðu hafsiglínarmenn engir leiðarstein í þann tíma í Norðrlöndum,' Islend. sög. 1, 27; the divine bird supplied the place of a loadstone to seafaring men. It can hardly be a mere accident, that the guides oftenest named are just the *raven* and *wolf*, Wuotan's favourites, who presaged victory and weal.² In the Vita Severini c. 28 the *bear* acts as guide. The *hart* and *hind* also shew the way, as Procopius 4, 5 makes the *hind* do to Cimmerian hunters. So in Jornandes of Hunnish huntsmen: 'dum in ulteriori Maeotidis ripa venationes inquirunt, animadvertunt quomodo ex improviso *cerva* se illis obtulit, ingressaque palude, nunc progrediens nunc subsistens, *indicem* se *viae* tribuit . . . mox quoque, ut Scythica terra ignotis apparuit, *cerva* *disparuit*.' Here, instead of the hunter story, Sozomen (Hist. eccl. 6, 37) has one about a herdsman, though he knows the other one too: 'forte fortuna *bos æstro percitus* lacum transmittit, sequitur bubulcus; qui cum terram trans lacum vidisset, tribulibus suis nuntiat. Sunt alii

¹ A bird admonished the Aztecs in Mexico to emigrate, by calling down from the tree 'tihu!' i.e. let us go! Majer's Myth. taschenb. 1813. p. 63.

² A name of happiest augury for a hero must have been the OHG. *Wolf-hraban*, Wolfram, to whom the two animals jointly promised victory. And I notice that no animal's name but the wolf's is ever compounded with 'gang': *Wolfgang* (Lup-ambulus A.D. 1000, Act. Bened. sect. 6 pars 1 p. 3) designates a hero before whom goes the wolf of victory; a similar presage may lie in *Wisantgang* (Goth. Visandavandalareis, Procop. de b. Goth. 1, 18 Οὐσανδος Βανδαλάριος). The heathen faith alone opens to us the meaning of old names, which are no product of pure chance. There may be good reason for supposing that in the quaint old Spell XIV *Martin* and *Wolfgang* are invoked as shepherds' saints: one had sway over the crow (raven), the other over the wolf. Servian mothers name a son they have longed for, *Vuk*, wolf: then the witches can't eat him up. So Greeks and Romans thought *Λυκίσκος Lyciscus* a lucky name, OHG. glosses render lyciscus (the animal) wolfbizo, and there may have been a man's name *Wolfbizo*, one bitten by the wolf, and thereby protected. *Vuk* sub v. 'vuko-yedina' says, if one in the family way eats of a lamb or goat that the wolf has bitten to death, the babe she gives birth to will shew a wound, which they call *vukoyedina*, i.e. wolfbizo. They also cut the wolf's bite out of a lamb or goat, smoke-dry it, and preserve it as a sanative (see Suppl.).

qui dicunt *cervum* quibusdam Hunnis venantibus, cum per lacum ab illis fugeret, *monstrasse viam*.' Hunters the stag leads, herdsman the ox, heroes the wolf. But christians, even warriors, will rather have the deer for guide than the heathenish wolf: a *doe* shewed the Franks the ford of safety over the Main, Ditm. Merseb. ed. Wagn. 245; conf. Otto Fris. de gestis Frid. 1, 43 [and a *white hart* over the Vienne]. A raven the christians would have taken for a messenger of the devil. Flodoardus in Hist. Remens. 1, 24 (ed. Duac. p. 145) relates one instance of the eagle: 'conscenso silvosi montis vertice, dum circumferentes oculorum aciem de monasterii corde volutant positione, subito sublimi coelorum mittitur *aliger index* a culmine, per quem coelos scansuro locus in terris beato depromeretur Theoderico. Nam mysticus ales *aquila* spatiando gyrans et gyrando circumvolans locum monasterii capace[m] secans aëra designavit. Et ut expressius ostenderet quid Dominus vellet, unius fere horae spatio supra ubi ecclesia construi debuit lentis volatibus stetit; et ne hoc ab incredulis casu contigisse putaretur, ipso natali Domini die quadriennio continuo supervolando monasterium circumire, mirantibus plurimis, eadem *aquila* cernebatur.' A flying *hen* indicates the site of the future castle, Deut. sag. no. 570. Boundaries are hallowed by the running or walking of a *blind horse*, of a *crab*, RA. 86. Where the fratres Philaeni had won the new frontier by running, they let themselves be *buried alive* (hic se vivos obrui pertulerunt), Pomp. Mela 1, 7; the true reason of this ratification by burial will be made clearer presently. Remus had seen six, and Romulus *twelve vultures* fly auspicious at the founding of their city, Nieb. 1, 248 (see Suppl.).

We know how the old Northmen conducted their migrations and settlements under convoy of the gods. They threw overboard the *öndvegis-síltur* or *set-stokkar* they had brought with them from the old country, and wherever these drifted to, there they landed. On such wooden posts was carved an image of the god in whom they trusted, and he pointed them to their new habitation; see esp. the Isl. sög. 1, 76-7. 234.

But not only did beasts point out a place for building on, it was often thought necessary to immure *live animals*, even *men*, in the foundation on which the structure was to be raised, as if they were a sacrifice offered to Earth, who bears the load upon

her: by this inhuman rite they hoped to secure immovable stability or other advantages. Danish traditions tell of a *lamb* being built in under the altar, that the church might stand unshaken; and of a *live horse* being buried in every churchyard, before any corpse was laid in it (p. 844). Both lamb and horse occasionally shew themselves in church or churchyard, and the apparition betokens a death (Thiele 1, 136-7). Even under other houses *swine* and *fowls* are buried alive (1, 198). Superst. I, 472 says, a long spell of good weather can be brought on by walling-in a *cock*; and 755 a cow's 'running' be prevented by bricking up a *blind dog alive* under the stable-door. In time of murrain, the Esthonians bury one *head of the herd* under the stable-door, that Death may have his victim (M, 69).¹ When the new bridge at Halle, finished 1843, was building, the common people fancied a *child* was wanted to be *walled into* the foundations. To make Liebenstein Castle impregnable, there was *walled-in a child*, whom its mother for base gold had parted with; while the masons were at work, says the story, it sat eating a roll and calling out, 'Mother, I can see you,' then, 'Mother, I see a little of you still,' and when the last stone was let in, 'Mother, I see nothing of you now' (Bechst. Thür. sag. 4, 157; conf. 206). In the outer wall of Reichenfels Castle a *child* was built in alive: a projecting stone marks the spot, and if that were pulled out, the wall would tumble down at once (Jul. Schmidt p. 153). Similar stories in Spiel's Archiv. 1, 160 with the addition, that latterly, by way of symbol, empty *coffins* were built in. A rampart had to be raised round Copenhagen, but every time it was begun, it sank down again: so they took a little *innocent maiden*, set her on a chair before a table, gave her toys and things to eat; then, while she amused herself with eating and play, twelve master-masons built a vault over her, and amid music and loud minstrelsy threw up the wall, which hath stood unshaken to this day (Thiele 1, 3). Why they kept the child playing and happy, and prevented her crying, I have explained at p. 46. It is the vulgar opinion in Greece, that whoever first goes by, where they

¹ Und hadden de delver sich mit groten unkosten an holt, balken, struk (brushwood) daran versocht, den ort to dempen, konden nicht; de olden seden, 'Animam quaeri, men scholde ein *kat* edder *hunt* *darin* *drunken*.' Als diser gebleven, wert it mit der lichte togeslagen (easily stooped up), Neocor. 2, 340. Conf. in chap. XXXVI. *inserting the shrewmouse into the ash.*

are laying the foundation-stone of a new building, shall die within a year; the builders, to avert the calamity, kill a *lamb* or a *black cock* on the stone, just as at Frankfort they made a *cock* run across the new-made bridge, DS. no. 185. At Arta a thousand masons wrought at a bridge: all that they raised in the day rushed down at night. Then sounded the archangel's voice from heaven: 'unless ye *dig thereinto a child of man*, the masonry shall not stand; yet no orphan nor stranger shall ye bury, but the master-builder's wife.' When the wife came to the workmen, the master pretended his ring had dropt into the foundation, and the woman offered to fetch it out, then swiftly they set to work to *wall her in*; dying, she pronounced a curse on the bridge, that it should tremble like a flower-stalk (Tommaseo's *Canti* pop. 3, 178). Still more touching is a Servian legend on the building of Scutari: For three years 300 masons laboured in vain to lay the foundations of the fortress; what they built by day, the vila tore down at night. At last she made known to the kings, that the building would never hold till two *born brothers* (or sisters) of *like name were put into the foundation*. Nowhere could such be found. Then the vila required, that of the three wives of the kings she that carried out food to the masons the next day should be *walled up in the ground*. When the consort of the youngest king, not dreaming of such a decree, brings out some dinner, the 300 masons drop their stones around her, and begin to wall her in; at her entreaty they left a small opening, and there she continued for some time to suckle her babe, who was held up to her once a day (Vuk 2, 5). Once, when the Slavs on the Danube purposed founding a new city, the heads of the people, after the old heathen wont, sent out men early before sunrise, to take the *first boy they met and put him into the foundation*. From this child (Serv. diète, Boh. djte, Russ. dityá pl. dèti, Pol. dziecię) the town took its name of *Detinets* (Popov's Slav. myth. p. 25). And the history of Merlin pp. 66—72 relates how, king Vortigern casting to build him a strong tower, it did alway crumble down or it were accomplished; and the wizards spake sentence, that the tower should in no wise be achieved, ere that the *groundstone were wet with a child's blood*, that was of woman born, but of no man begotten. May not we also connect with this superstition some words in a sermon of Berthold p. 167? 'und wizze, wanne

dû kint gewinnest, daz der tiuvel reht einen *torn mit den kindern* hât ûf dich *gemûret*,' has with the children reared a very tower on thy back (see Suppl.).

Sect. 23 of the Indiculus superst., 'de *sulcis circa villas*,' leads us to infer that round newly founded cities they ploughed furrows, whose sacredness was a safeguard against the entrance of evil. Precisely such was the Etruscan usage acc. to Varro: 'oppida condebant in Latio, Etrusco ritu, multa, id est, junctis bobus, tauro et vacca, interiore aratro circumagebant sulcum. Hoc faciebant religionis causa die auspicato, ut fossa et muro essent munita; terram unde exscalpserant fossam vocabant, et introrsum factum murum, postea quod fiebat orbis, urbs.' The bull and cow were white, Ov. Fast. 4, 825 on the pomoerium of Romulus:

Inde premens stivam signavit moenia sulco,
alba jugum niveo cum bove vacca tulit.

In the Comitium a vaulted chamber was *built*, and stocked with the *firstlings of all natural products* that sustain man's life, Fest. sub v. mundus. Nieb. 1, 251.

Some superstitious rites, apparently of great antiquity, are practised on such different occasions in early and in recent times, that it is hard to make out their meaning. In Burchard, Sup. C, 195^c, a *waggon is divided in two*, and a corpse on the bier is carried between; in I, 929 a girl suspected of pregnancy is made to pass through a *harvest-wain* so divided. Waggon and plough are reckoned holy implements, in the midst of which no cheating or juggling can subsist.

About walking through a *cutting in the ground* and the *cleft of a tree*, see next chap., under Remedies. It is with a different view that women creep *through the stretched membrane* in which a newborn foal has lain, or *through a horse-collar*, Swed. sela, Sup. K, 167.

Again, one is not to *stride over another person* (Sup. I, 45), nor *slip through under the pole* of a vehicle 618; nor should women in a certain condition mount *across the pole or shafts* 729. 925; they should also avoid having anything *hanging or tangled above them* 688. 933. This resembles the rule, not to *turn wood* in the Christmas week (Sup. K, 134), nor beat cattle with *turned*

wood 58, lest it cause similar twistings and convulsions in man or beast.

I close with a few words on *interpretation of dreams*. To the A. Saxons *dreám* meant jubulum, ecstasy (p. 901); so is the OS. 'Drohtines *dróm*' = heaven, Hel. 54, 11. 63, 14. 85, 21 to be taken as 'Dei jubulum, gaudium,' as opposed to 'manno, liudo *dróm*' (p. 795), the transitory dream of this world. For somnium stood the AS. *swefen*, OS. *suebhan*; the ON. *svefn* is simply somnus, and *sofna* to fall asleep, MHG. *entsweben* is sopire, lull to sleep, which again has to do with OHG. *suëp* (aer), so that sleeping and dreaming properly mean trance or ecstasy, the spirit's soaring away into the air (conf. *arprettan*, p. 1083). This is closely conn. with Lat. *sopor*, and *sompnus*, *somnus*, *somnium*. Both OHG. and ON. seem to confine their *troum*, *draumr* to the sense of somnium. The Gothic word for *ὄνειπος* (dream) is lost to us. Instead of our proverb 'träume sind schäume,' dreams are foams, I have found a more truly rhyming 'träume sind gäume' (Ettner's Chemiker 469 and Apoth. 132), i.e. observations (MHG. *goume*, *troume*, but *schûme*).¹ Even antiquity did not believe in all dreams, only in difficult ones, dreamed at particular times or places. To interpret dreams is in OHG. *antfristôn*, N. Boeth. 51, more simply *sceidan*, MHG. *scheiden*, Diut. 3, 97, *bescheiden*, Walth. 95, 8. Nib. 14, 2. 19, 2; *traumscheider* meant soothsayer. The AS. had *swefn reccan*, ON. *draum ráða* (see Suppl.).

Dreams are foretokenings of the future, rising out of images and impressions of the past; they and the figures in them might be called a writing or rune of destiny (p. 406n.), as Wolfram finely says of Parzival 245, 8: 'sus wart gestepet im sîn troum mit swertslegen umbe den soum,' so was embroidered his dream with sword-strokes round the border. Like the birds, they are *messengers of the gods*, and publish their commands; but other daemonic beings send them too: 'ir boten künftigiū leit (coming sorrows) sanden im sláfe dar,' Parz. 245, 4. On p. 905-6 we had examples of the inspiring gift of poesy being imparted in a

¹ Yet even in Diut. 3, 96: 'waz iuwe wâre *gescûmet*,' i.e. dreamt. And schaum is backed by a still worse rhyme: 'träume sind fäume' (Kirchhofer's Sprichw. 342) for *feime*.

dream. As *birds* play the leading part in *angang*, as dreams themselves are birds and come flying, we can understand why even the subject-matter of a dream is so commonly a vision of *birds*; in some few dreams of this kind we may perhaps detect an echo of ancient myths. Kriemhild dreamt that two *eagles* caught and mangled (*erkrummen*) before her eyes the *wild falcon* she had reared; so Iðunn (the *swallow*?) was seized by the *eagle* Thiassi, and Óðinn the divine *heron* pursued by the eagle Suttûngr. Such images filled the fancy of the olden time: a couple of dancers in the *Rudlieb* 8, 49 are thus elegantly described: ‘*ille velut falco se girat, et haec ut hirundo.*’ In *Roth.* 3845: ‘*mir troumte nâhte von dir, wie ein valke quâme gevlogin, und vuorte dich widir over mere.*’ In *Sv. forns.* 2, 64: ‘*jag drömte att min herres falkar, de spände mig med sina klor, de togo mitt hjerta utur mitt bröst, och gjörde sig deraf ett bo.*’ And there are disquieting dreams of *bears*, *wolves*, *boars* p. 921-3 (see *Suppl.*).

Much depends on the time when and the place where dreams are dreamt. They are truest after midnight, toward morning: ‘*post noctem mediam, quando sunt somnia vera,*’ *Ecbas.* 227. *Eracl.* 3723; ghosts appear just before dawn (a case on p. 894). Yet *Herzeloide* dreams ‘*umbe einen mitten tac,*’ *Parz.* 103, 25.

As it is a grave question with newly married folk, whose light shall burn longest at the wedding feast, which shall first fall asleep on the wedding night, or get up from the bridal bed (*Sup. I.* 15. 485. 717; *M.* 17); so the *dreams* and *visions* of the *wedding night* are prophetic (see *Childerich’s* in *Aimoin* 1, 8). Such a dream of *Hvîtastierna* in *Gothland*, which acquaints her with her posterity, is mentioned in the *Gutalag* p. 106. No less important is the *first dream in a new house* (*Sup. I.* 123; *K.* 61), but you must have counted all the rafters before going to sleep. King *Gorm* is admonished to build a house on a spot where none had stood before, and therein to sleep and dream (*Fornm. sög.* 11, 4-6; conf. *Saxo Gram.* 179)¹; whereas *Halfdan the black* (*Saga cap.* 7) is advised to dream in a *pigstye*, and the dream will come true. Of dreaming in a *new bed*, *Fornald. sög.* 1, 367. Again, a dream on *New-year’s night*

¹ ‘You’ve ideas like an *old house*’ we say on the contrary to one whose remarks are not to the point.

comes true (Sup. I, 528). In Reinh. 88, when Chanteklêr has told his ingeniously constructed dream, it is added: 'manec troum erscheinet sich über sibem jâr,' comes to pass in 7 years' time. A great many dream-interpretations, which the common people hold firmly to this day, are to be found in the very earliest times (see Suppl.).

Certain dreams are so deeply rooted in Teutonic legend, that we must place their origin far back, e.g. that of the treasure which one is to be informed of *on the bridge*¹ (see Suppl.).

Like dreams and angang, some other of the customs we have noticed evidently rest on the strength of first and fresh impressions.

We are glad to be rid of this heap of superstition; yet, while it filled the lives of our forefathers with fear, it ministered some comfort also.

¹ Agricola's Sprichw. 623. Praetorius's Wünschelr. 372. Abrah. a S. Clara's Judas I, 4. Ettner's Ung. Apoth. p. 132. Musäus's Volksm. 4, 65. R. Chambers's Fireside stories p. 12, which prove the legend rife in various parts of Scotland.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SICKNESSES.

By the anger of the gods diseases are decreed, yet also their mercy reveals healing remedies to man. All deities can be healers, they seem to give their names to the herbs and flowers whose healing virtues they make known. With the Greeks it is chiefly *Apollo* and his sister *Artemis* from whom this knowledge is derived; our *Wuotan*, where he touches *Apollo* rather than *Hermes*, represents him in the capacity of healer too (p. 149); with *Artemis* and *Athena* skilled in leechcraft, we may here match our *Holda* and *Frouwa*, replaced by *Mary* in later legend. A special god of physic, *Asklepios* or *Aesculapius*, is *Apollo's* son and a mere emanation of him. Of divine heroes, those who practised this art were *Herakles*, *Prometheus* the giver of wholesome fire, and *Chiron*: to set by the side of these, we have the Norse *Mimir*, our own *Wate* and *Wieland*, after whom a healing plant *Wielands-wurz* is named, and whose skill in smith-work resembles that of *Prometheus*; conf. chap. XXXVII.

As *Homer* celebrates *Paeon's* and *Machaon's* knowledge of medicines and wounds, so the *Gudrunlied* says of *Wate*:

Si hæten in langer zâte dâ vor wol vernomen (long known),
daz *Wate arzet* wære von einem wilden wibe:
Wate, der vil mære, gefrumete manegem an dem lîbe.

The wild wife, who doctored (made a doctor of) this far-famed *Wate*, might well be a *wise-woman*, a *half-goddess* (p. 431-2). So in Scotch tradition (R. Chamb. p. 34) the mermaid points out healing herbs. Several such women appear in the *Edda*. *Eir* belongs altogether to the circle of goddesses: 'hon er læknir beztr,' best of leeches, Sn. 36. I connect her name with the Goth. áirus nuncius, AS. árian, ON. eira parcere, and OHG. Irinc (Goth. Eiriggs?); *Eir* would be the indulgent helpful goddess and errand-woman. But another passage, Sæm. 111^a,

significantly places her among the handmaidens of wise *Menglöð* (p. 423-4):

Hlíf heitir, önnur *Hlífþursa*,
þriðja *Thioðvarta*,
Biört ok *Blíð*, *Blíður*, *Fríð*,
Eir oc *Örboða*.

Some of them seem to be *giantesses*, *Hlífþursa* and *Örboða*, who in Sn. 39 is wife to *Gýmir*, and these fit in with the notion of *wild wife*; but the majority are transparent personifications of moral ideas, *Fríð* the *mansueta* or *parca* (Goth. *freidian* *parcere*), *Hlíf* *tutela* or *parca*, from *hlífa* *parcere*, which comes to the same thing as *Eir*, and throws a welcome light on the Latin *parca* itself. All the more right have we now to place *Biört* in immediate connexion with *Berhta*, as I conjectured on p. 272 n., and *Blíð* with *Holda*: these healing women lead us on to wise women, divine women. And that the gift of healing *is* in question here, is plain from the preceding and not less important strophe:

Hyfjaberg þat heitir, en þat hefir leingi verit
siukom ok sári gaman:
heil verðr hver, þótt hafi árs sótt,
ef þat klífr kona.

I translate it: *Hyfjaberg* this rock is called, and has long been to the sick and to wounds a solace; whole becomes any woman, though she have a year's sickness, if she climbs it. So that the rock is a holy place, dedicated to *Menglöð* and her maidens, where every sick woman that climbed it has found relief. The exact meaning of *Hyfjaberg*, or as some read it, *Hyfvja-*, *Hyfara-*berg, I cannot yet determine; enough for us, that such mount of healing accords admirably with the conception one has to form of the wise-women of olden time: prophetesses, *Parcae*, *Muses*, all are imagined dwelling on mountains. *Menglöð* may without more ado be taken to mean *Freyja* (p. 306-7), in attendance on this highest goddess would stand the other maidens of like nature; and to the art of healing we have a right worshipful origin assigned. Now too it is conceivable, why *Brynhildr*, the valkyr dwelling on her mountain, had 'lif með lækníng' (*pharmaca cum medela*) ascribed to her in *Sæm.* 147^b:

she is a wise woman skilled in magic, a pharmaceutria, herbaria, and moreover understands the binding up of wounds (undir dreyrgar yfir binda, Sæm. 220^b), like *Hiltgund* in Walthar. 1408. Oddrún lends her aid to women in travail, Sæm. 239, and the Tristan has made Isote's knowledge of physic famous. At medicinal springs, by mineral waters, appears the *white lady* with the snake (p. 588n.), the beast of sovereign'st healing power, servant to Aesculapius himself. The Servian *vila* too is a physician, and heals wounds for a high fee, Vuk no. 321 [so the Bulgarian *yuda* or *samodiva*, Aug. Dozon's Bolgarski pèsni no. 3, etc.].

We see from all this, that medical science in heathen times was half priestly, half magical. Experience and higher culture gave the priests a knowledge of healing powers in nature, from the sacredness of their office proceeded salutary spells, the use of remedies was backed by sacrifice, nay, great cures and the averting of pestilence could only be effected by sacrifice. Thus all through the Mid. Ages we find the christian priests also possessors, above other men, of medicine and the art of using it. Yet some part of the old pagan science passed into the hands of wise men and women, who by retaining superstitious rites, and misusing real remedies, incurred the reproach of sorcery. Like witchcraft (p. 1038-9), and for the same reasons, the old ways of healing fell mainly into the hands of women (see Suppl.).

A physician was called in Goth. *lékeis*, OHG. *lâhhî*, AS. *læce*, ON. *læknir*, *læknari*,¹ Swed. *läkare*, Dan. *læge*; the Engl. *leech* has sunk into the sense of peasant or cattle doctor. The MHG. *lâchenære*, *lâchenærinne* meant sorcerer, sorceress (p. 1037), though still perhaps implying the use of remedies, as in 'lâcheneu und fürsehen,' Superst. D, 38 r., and *lecken* = healing, Quedlinb. witch-trials p. 77. From Teutonic nations the word must in very early times have spread to Slavs, Lithuanians, Finns: O.Sl., Boh., Russ. *lëkar'*, Serv. *liëkar*, Pol. *lekarz*, Lith. *lekorus*, Fin. *lääkäri*; or can we have got it from the Slavs? I have tried to shew a Teutonic root for it no. 300, a Slavic might be harder to find: to Sl. *liek*, *lek* (remedium) answers our OHG. *lâhhan*. Other

¹ 'Læknis hendur'; 'læknir vera, ok kunna sár at siá,' Sæm. 194-5*.

names are taken from the notion of helping, bettering, as *bétan*, *böten* (mederi p. 1036) ; ON. *grœða* (sanare), *grœðari* (chirurgus, medicus), from *grôð* (growth, getting on, gain) ; MHG. *heilære* (medicus), Karl 45. Our *arzt* appears already in OHG. as *arzât*, O. iii. 14, 11, MHG. *arzet*, M.Nethl. *ersetre*, Diut. 2, 223^a ; O.Fr. *artous*, *artox* ; the root seems to be the Lat. *ars*, though *arzât* cannot come straight from *artista*.¹ The Prov. *metges*, Ferabr. 547. 1913, *mege* (Raynouard 3, 173), O.Fr. *mires*, *mirre* are from *medicus*.² The ON. 'lif' imputed to Brynhild is better spelt *lyf*, being the Goth. *lubi* (which I infer from *lubja-leisei*, herb-leasing = *φαρμακεία*, Gal. 5, 20), OHG. *luppi*, MHG. *lÿppe* ; from the sense of permissible, healing *φάρμακον*, arose that of poisonous, magical, just as our *gift* meant at first *donum*, then *venenum*. The *luppari* (veneficus) has a *lupparâ* (venefica) to match him, the herb-man his herb-woman, *herbaria*, *pharmaceutria*. In Saxo Gram. 16 a maiden cures wounds, at 25 he calls Wecha *medica* ; and Thorlacius in Obs. 4, 279 has collected other instances of women healers.³ Amongst our peasantry there are *old women* still who profess 'böten,' stroking, pouring, and charming by spells (Sup. I, 515. 865). It is remarkable that healing spells can only be handed down from *women to men*, or from *men to women* (I, 793 ; conf. p. 1107) : we have seen how so ancient a worthy as Wate had learnt his art of a *woman*. It is principally *shepherds* that now pass for cunning mediciners (Sup. L, 35 French) ; formerly any kind of *herdsmen* and *hunters* : 'bubulcus, subulcus, venator,' C, int. 43. In the Mid. Ages *itinerant leeches* went about the country cheapening their drugs and skill to the people, usually attended by a man who played amusing tricks ; for proofs see Rutebeuf's *Diz de l'erberie* (Méon nouv. rec. 1, 185—191 ; œuvres 1, 250—9 ; simil. in 1, 468—477), and the Easter play in Hoffm. *Fundgr.* 2, and in O. Boh. in Hanka 7, 198. These vagrant herbalists, quacks, lithotomists,

¹ 'Temperie (medicine) ûz wûrze kraft,' Parz. 643. 23. 'Lâhthinônto *temperando*,' conf. Mous. 393. [Arz-ât, ers-etre are prob. from *ἀρχ-ιατρός* : the Greek prefix arch- becomes erz- in German words.—TRANS.]

² The Ed. of the Garin 2, 89 would derive *mire* from the Arabic *emir* ; but a Fr. *r* is often developed out of *d*, *t*, as *lerre latro*, *beurre butyrum* [these by assimilation with an *r* already present].

³ Pomp. Mela 3, 6 of Gaulish women : 'putabantur ingeniis singularibus *praeditae*, et sanare quae apud alios insanabilia sunt ; whereas at Rome we find women forbidden to treat certain diseases.

are a mine of information on the methods of popular leechcraft. Greg. Tur. 9, 6 mentions a conjuror and doctor Desiderius, who wore a coat of goat's hair; the O. Slav. *bali* means physician, but strictly conjuror, Glagolita 67^b (see Suppl.).

Crescentia, a pious persecuted saint, receives from Peter or Mary, who fill exactly the place of pagan gods, the gift of healing all diseases, Kolocz. 267, or acc. to the O. Fr. poem (Méon n. r. 2, 71-3) only leprosy. She herself might pass perfectly for a wise woman, and is actually charged with being a sorceress. Queens too in ancient times are credited with power to quench certain maladies by their touch: in Rother 32^b. 33^a the queen strokes the lame and crooked with a stone; and a similar virtue was ascribed to hereditary sovereigns of France and England (Hone's Yrbk p. 799). If a woman has had seven sons in succession, the *seventh* can heal all manner of hurt (Sup. I, 786); by Ettner's Hebamme 906, Maulaffe 699, his touch cures wens at the throat. French Sup. L, 22 makes it the *fifth* son. There is no end of superstitions about this seventh or fifth son: in E. Friesland they say he becomes a *walrider*; does that mean one who rides to the foughten field? conf. wel-recke, p. 418n. What seems a counterpart of it is, that when 7 girls running are born of one marriage, one of them becomes a *werwolf*, I, 1121. A child that has never known its father is able to disperse tumours (foudre les loupes), L, 21. A firstborn child, that has come into the world with teeth, can cure a bad bite, K, 29. 37. All this borders closely on the power to bequeath or transfer the gift of prophecy and the art of weather-making, pp. 1088. 1107: the healing art was as much sacerdotal as the business of fortune-telling (see Suppl.).

The distinction between *sacrifice* and *healing* would perhaps be stated most correctly by saying, the one was aimed at sickness threatened, the other at sickness broken out. Preventive sacrificial rites have no doubt been preserved longest in pastoral life: herdsmen made their cattle run through the flames, once a year,¹

¹ One Roman rite I quote from Cato de re rust. 83: *Votum pro bubus, ut valeant, sic facito. Marti Silvano in silva interdius, in capita singula boum votum facito, farris adorei libras iii. et lardi p. iv s. et pulpae iv s., vini sextarios tres. Id in unum vas liceto conjicere, et vinum item in unum vas liceto conjicere. Eam rem divinam vel servus vel liber licebit faciat. Ubi res divina facta erit, statim ibidem consumito. Mulier ad eam rem divinam ne adsit, neve videat quomodo fiat. Hoc votum in annos singulos, si voles, licebit vovere.*

or whenever pestilence approached. But sacrifices were also performed in severe cases of actual sickness.

Our medical learning of today, as it did not proceed from the people, has by degrees banished nearly all our native names for diseases, and replaced them by Greek or Latin words. But as those names often bring us face to face with old-world notions about sickness and its cure, it will be needful to present at any rate the most important.

In the Mid. Ages *krank* has only the sense of *debilis, infirmus*, OHG. *wana-heil*, not of *aeger*, for which the term was *siech*, Goth. *siuks*, OHG. *sioh*; hence *morbus* was expressed not by *krankheit*, but by *sucht*, Goth. *saúhts*, OHG. *suht*, ON. *sótt*, whereas now we attach to *sucht* the moral notion of hankering, and only retain its old meaning in a few compounds such as *schwindsucht, gelbsucht*, etc. There is the same relation between the ON. *þrá* (*desiderium, aegritudo animi*) and *líkþrá* (*lepra*), conf. Sw. *trä, helleträ*, Dan. *traa, helletraa*, DV. 2, 180. General words, expressing also the bodily pain of sickness, are OHG. *süero*, MHG. *swer*, and OHG. MHG. *wê, wêtago, wêtage* (like our *siechtage*). But a sick man is also called in OHG. *bettiriso* (*clinicus*), O. iii. 14, 67; MHG. *betterise*, Parz. 502, 1. 813, 16; AS. *beddrida* *bedridden*: a term specially used of men enfeebled by age, 'der alte betterise,' who can no longer rise out of bed. In Scand. this painless ailment of great age was called *Ana sótt*, from king Öu or Ani, who had secured long life by sacrificing his sons (p. 46), and at last lived on milk like a child again, Yngl. saga cap. 29 (see Suppl.).

It was christian to hold sickness a *dispensation of God*, heathenish to see in it the handiwork of sprites, and something *elvish*. Accordingly it is *personified*: it comes upon, surprises, attacks, seizes, takes hold of, overpowers man: *δαίμων ἐπέχραε, στυγερὸς δὲ οἱ ἔχραε δαίμων*, Od. 5, 396 [the daemon afflicts; in the next line the gods heal]. In the Hel. 92, 1: 'mid *suhtium bifangan, bedrogan hebbiad sie dernea wihti. thea wrédon habbiad sie giwittiu benumune;*' and in Versus Hartmanni (Canisius ii. 3, 203: 'fugit pestis ab homine, quam *daemon saevus miserat.*' No wonder that in the Edda an oath is exacted from *diseases*, as from living creatures, to do no harm to Balder, Sn. 64. Like death or destiny (p. 406), pestilence carries off: 'suht farnam,'

Hel. 125, 20; in the Swed. oath 'trä mig!' we must supply 'tage' take: ita me morbus auferat! In the Cod. Vindob. th. 428 no. 94 I find the phrase 'eine suht ligen, zwô suht ligen,' to lie one sickness, two s.; 'sich in die suht legen,' lay oneself (lie down) into, Reinh. 302. 320.

This daemonic nature of diseases makes people call them by friendly *flattering names* to keep them away, just as they do to horrible uncanny beasts, and avoid uttering their right name; they call a disease *the good, the blessed*, Schm. 2, 87. 3, 212. 222, and the pestilence is addressed as *gossip*. There will be more examples to quote in speaking of particular diseases (see Suppl.).

Fever, OHG. *fiobar*, AS. *fefor*; Goth. *heitó*, Mat. 8, 15 and *brinnó*, Mk 1, 31. Lu. 4, 38, both for *πυρετός*, and both fem.; OHG. has no corresp. *hîzâ*, *prinnâ*. The Swiss have *hitz* and *brand* (Tobler 74^a), and the AS. *ádl*, Beow. 3469. 3692 seems to be burning fever, from *âd ignis*, so that the OHG. would be eital. An OHG. *rito* masc., Gl. Mons. 391, from *rîtan* to ride, not from *rîdan* to writhe, as fever does not twist like the cramp; and the AS. word should be spelt *rida*, not *wriða*; Lye has *rideroð* febris. It is imagined as an *elf* who *rides the man* with rein and spur: 'der *alp* zoumet dich,' bridles thee; 'der *mar rîtet* dich,' p. 464; ON. '*mara trað* hann,' Yngl. s. cap. 16; 'der *rite* bestuont in,' stood upon him, Alex. 2208. In En. 10834 and Eracl. 3166 *suht*, *fiobar*, *rite* are named side by side, are therefore distinct; in En. 10350 '*suht und rite*'; 9694 '*suht und fiobar*'; 9698 '*diu minne tuot kalt und heiz mêr dan der viertage rite*,' love makes hot and cold like the quartan ague. In curses: 'habe den *riden* und die *suht* umb dînen hals!' about thy neck, Morolt 715. 'die *suht* an iwern lôsen kragen!' your unruly neck, Reinh. p. 302-12. 'nu muoze der *leide ride* vellen!' sore fever fell him, Karlmeinet 110. *Ride* seems to be especially ague, which is sometimes called *frörer*, Sup. I, 183; though we also hear of '*ritten frost*' and '*ritten hitze*.' Imprecations common in the 15-16th cent. are: 'may the *ritt* shake you, the *jarritt* (yearlong fever), the *gæhe rite* (swift r.) be at you!' 'May the *ritt* shake you to your bones,' Garg. 96^a. 'Ins *ritts* namen habt rhu,' H. Sachs iii. 3, 10^c. They said: 'whence brings him the *ritt*?' the same as the devil, p. 1113. Boner's well-told Fable 48 deserves attention: the *rite* appears in person (in what shape?),

and holds a dialogue with the flea. It is plainly [not ?] of Mid. Age invention ; Petrarch epist. 3, 13 relates it of the spider and the gout, and calls it *anilis fabella*. In Bavaria fever is personified as *beutelmann*, shaker, Schm. 1, 219 ; a spell against fever speaks of 72 fevers. Russian superstition supposes *nine sisters* who plague mankind with fevers ; they lie chained up in caverns, and when let loose, pounce upon men without pity (Götze's Russ. volksl. p. 62). My explanation acquires certainty from the Esthonian phrase '*ayan walged, ayan halli,*' I ride the white, I ride the gray, i.e. I have the ague (Rosenplänter's Beitr. 12, 42-3).

The Greek *ἐπιάλτης, ἐφιάλτης*, literally on-leaper, was a daemonic incubus, an alp, elf, who causes the feverish oppression of nightmare ; and *ἠπιάλης, ἠπιόλης* nightmare, and *ἠπιάλος, ἠπιόλος* fever, fever-chill, meant the same thing, though grammarians tried to separate them by difference of accent. Add to this, that in Aristot. hist. an. 8, 26 *ἠπιόλος* turns up in the sense of *butterfly*, and the notions of spirit, elf and butterfly constantly run into one another (pp. 829. 917). In Lith., *drugis* is butterfly and fever-bird, in Lett., *drudsis* flying moth and fever. Lith. *drugis kreczia*, Lett. *drudsis kratta* ; the fever shakes (one).

An AS. manuscript on diseases and remedies quoted by Wanley pp. 176—180 (conf. supra p. 140) has at p. 180 *ælf-ádle læcedóm*, cure for elf-burn, *ælfcynne-sealf*, elf-salve, *nihtgengean sealf*, night-wives' salve.¹ Elsewhere I find an ailment *ælf-sídenne*.

By the *red* and the *white dog* in Ettner's Unw. doctor 436 we prob. are to understand measles or rose-rash ; *red dog* again in the Leipz. avanturier 1, 86. The Persians call scarlet-fever *al*, and picture it as a *rosy maid* with locks of flame, Atkinson p. 49. 50 (see Suppl.).

By *gout* (gicht f.) we understand a pain in the limbs, arthritis ; in older Germ. it was neuter : '*daz gegihthe brichet* (breaks) sie,' a. Heinr. 886. Ulr. Trist. 1461. '*daz gegihthe brach ir hend und fúeze,*' Ráb. 1060 ; hence our '*gicht-brüchig,*' palsied. '*daz wüetende gihthe,*' Renner 9904. As we also find *darm-gicht* (intestinal g.) for colic, and '*sun-giht*' on p. 617n. meant the sun's

¹ Ibid. '*wið ælfceynnesælf and wið nihtgengan, and þám monnom þe deofol mid hæmð,*' against elf-salve and nightgangers and the men the devil homes (consorts) with (sup. p. 890).

gait, going, turning, I think *gicht* was a general term denoting the *shooting*, *twisting* and *tugging* of pain in the body; and a derivative corresp. to the Goth. *gahts* (innagahts, Gramm. 3, 518). M. Nethl. *jicht*, Icel. *ikt*, Sw. *gikt*, Dan. *gigt*. The Gothic renders *παραλυτικός* by *us-līþa*, as if beside one's limbs, having no use of them; an OHG. *urlido* is not found. 'Ein siechtuom heizet *pógrát*' = leme, a lame palsied state, Parz. 501, 26 is a corruption of podagra, which was also twisted into podagram. More Teut. are *fuoz-suht*, AS. *fót-ádl* (podagra); *zipperlein* I do not find before the 16th cent. M. Nethl. *fledersîn*, *fledercine* (arthritis), Leven van Jesus p. 52, and '*fl. in vote ende in lede*,' Doctrinale 3, 1030; in D'Arsey's *Woordenboek*, Amst. 1699, '*fledeciyn, flereciyn, la goutte* (chiragra)'; did the word mean a moth or butterfly that brought on the disease? (see Suppl.).

The flying gout that shifts from one part to another (arthritis vaga) was called in N. Germany (Holstein, the Baltic coast), at least as late as the 17th cent., '*dat varende, lopende deer*,' and in some parts of L. Sax. and Westph. '*de varen, de varende, de lopende varen*,' the faring, running (sprites or things). So that this disease again was regarded as a spiritual-animal being which had been conjured into the body. Still plainer are the names '*die fliegenden elbe*,' '*die gute kinderen*' (Brunswk), '*die gute holde*' (abt Göttingen), exactly what the elvish 'things' were called that witches conjured into people (p. 1074). And they likewise were imagined in the form of *butterflies* or *worms*, which caused gnawing pains and swellings in the joints of the hands and feet.¹ The disease being an obstinate one, and often hard to cure, the common people set it down as the work of witches. It is also called the *hair-worm*, and in the Netherlands *jumping gout*. A spell classifies gouts as *running*, *staying*, *trembling*, *evening*, and *growing* gegicht.

But the operations of the *holden* must have been far more extensive, and concerned in many more diseases. The *Hollenzopf*, *Wichtelzopf* (plica polon.) was spoken of, pp. 464. 474. In Russ. the plica is *volosets*, which borders on *Vólos* p. 625n., but comes from *vólos*, vlas, hair. A witch confessed (Voigt's Abh. p. 122)

¹ Joh. Weyer's *Arzneibuch* (J. Wier, Piscinarius, b. at Grave in Brab. 1515, d. at Tecklenb. 1588), Frkft 1583, p. 27. Henr. Meibom de *arthritide vaga scorbutina*, Helmest. 1668. 1, cap. 1.

that there were *nine sorts of holdichen*: the riding, splitting, blowing, wasting, flying, swelling, deaf, dumb, blind.

The Poles also call *worms* that breed diseases in man *białe ludzie*, white folk, i.e. elves (Biester's Neue Berl. mon. schr. 1802. 8, 230).

We apply the term *fluss* (rheuma) to several morbid affections, some slight, others dangerous to life, as *stickfluss* catarrh, *schlagfluss* apoplexy. The latter is said to touch, hit, strike; MHG. der *Gotes slac* (stroke); later, *die gewalt* (might) *Gottes*, *die hand Gottes*, Etnn. univ. doct. 224. 'traf mich *Gottes gewalt*' = I had a stroke, Brunsw. anz. 1745. p. 2022 (from Life of Mat. Schwarz, an. 1547); conf. supra p. 19n. Yet the 'stroke of God'¹ expresses also the *quickness* and *ease* of this mode of death (*mors lenis repentina*), compared with those that chain us long to a bed of pain: hence another name for apoplexy was '*das selig*,' the blessed. We may compare the dwarf-stroke, *dverg-slagr*, palsy, p. 461. The Bohemians distinguish *Božj moc* (God's might) epilepsy, from *Božj ruka* (God's hand) apoplexy (see Suppl.).

The term *falling sickness* for epilepsy occurs as early as Diut. 2, 193^b, '*valjandia suht* (caducum morbum)'; '*daz fallende übel*,' Fundgr. 325; '*fallender siechtag*,' Hutten 5, 171. Otherwise: the *sorrow*, the *misery*, the *sore trouble*, the *evil being*, the *scourge*, the *weed* (Jul. Schmidt p. 136). M. Nethl. *vallende evel*, Mod. Nethl. *vallende ziekte*, *Sint Jans evel*, *grôt evel*, *gramschap Goods*, wrath of God, Huyd. op St. 1, 569. In Melander's *Jocoser*. 1, 434: 'may the *gnücken* touch you!' *gnük* being LG. for knock. 'The *tropf* has touched him,' Erasm. Alberus 39, i.e. the stroke [apoplexy?]; M. Lat. *gutta*, *gutta cadiva*, O. Fr. *la goute*: '*cheent de gote*,' Ren. 25203, brought on by holding the *plompe* (lotus, p. 654) in the hand. A particular species of the drop occurs under the name of *nesch* or *nesch-tropf*. Schmid's Swab. Dict. gives from a MS. *näsch* as hiccough, *singultus*, which (like sneezing, p. 1116) seems to have been regarded as a mild case of apoplexy; Popowitsch p. 511 quotes *noschen* as hiccough, and in OHG. we find *nescazan* as well as *fnescazan*, *singulture*, Graff 3, 782. I derive them all from the Goth. *hnasqus*

¹ Διὸς μαστιγῆς, Il. 12, 37. 13, 812; but not meaning a disease.

mollis, delicatus, AS. hnesc [Engl. nesh, Sl. nèzhno], to which also belongs OHG. hnascôn, nascôn, our naschen, to have a sweet tooth. Mone's anz. 6, 463 pronounces nösch-tropf to be flying gout, and gives a *nösch-segen* (-charm): 'I command thee, *nösch*, with all thy fellows, for with thee are the *stech* and the *krampf*, *gespat*, *geschoss*, *geicht* and *gesicht*.' A further charm speaks of 77 nöschen: 'we will go into the man's house, and suck his blood and gnaw his bones and eat his flesh'; but they get conjured into a withered tree. A severer, longer ailment than hiccough seems to be meant; Mone connects nösch with 'nesso' in the OS. spell, but a LG. *ss* answers to a HG. *hs*, not to *sk*, *sch*; to me the connexion of the word with naschen, explain it how you will, seems indisputable: 'sô dich diu suht *benasche* (nibble at), daz dir hât und hâr abe gê!' skin and hair come off (see Suppl.).

Krampf, spasm, convulsion, in children usually *freise*, *freisig*, *gefrais*, Sup. I, 474. 722, *fräsel*, Jul. Schmidt p. 121. 137. *Schäuerchen*, LG. *schürken* (jumping toothache, tic douloureux), liter. little shiver, twitch. But *freis*, *frais* often stands for epilepsy too (Abele's Gerichtsh. 2, 429. 4, 218. 311).

Leib-weh, *grimmen* (krimmen, Nethl. krimpen), gripes, belly-ache; die obere *grimme*, *manns-mutter* (Wier 107^a); *hachmutter*, *bärmund*, *bärmutter*, Stald. 1, 136; 'the *bermutter* has bit me,' I have the colic, Schm. 1, 217; Austr. *bervater* and *bermutter* (Höfer 1, 77-8); *tvärmund*, Stald. 1, 334; *tribe*, Fundgr. 321, 9 also means colic acc. to Hoffm.—*Ruhr* (dysentery), *durchlauf*, *darmgicht* (acc. to Gloss. Flor. 984^a) *ûzsuht*, Gl. Flor. 984^a *zuzsuht*; further, in Stald. *aussucht* (diarrh.). *Rothe ruhr* (bloody flux), 'der rothe schaden' (Anshelm 3, 236).

Lungensucht, AS. *lungenâdl* (pneumonia); 'schwinge- oder lunge-sucht' in Schweinichen 2, 256 is surely for *schwind-*? In Austria 'der *schwund*,' our *schwind-sucht* consumption; Abele's Gerichtsh. 2, 303 says it seizes an ell's length of gut every year.

Seiten-stechen (pleuritis), OHG. *stechido*; M. Nethl. *lanc-evel*, Rein. 5401. Huyd. op St. 1, 569, from lanc, Fr. flanc, OHG. *lancha* = ilia, lumbus, but I have not found an OHG. *lanch-upil* morbus ilium.

Wasser-sucht, dropsy. OHG. has also *wazar-chalp* (water-calf) hydrops, Diut. 2, 181. Mone 8, 494; conf. *mond-kalb* (mola,

caro in utero nascens), Melander's *Joc. ii. no. 450*, Engl. *moon-calf*, misbirth, about which there must be some floating mythical notions, for we also find a proper name *Sonnenkalb*, and *aberkalb*, *afterkalb* or *eberkalb* means an illegitimate child (see *Suppl.*).

For *abortus* we have *misgeburt*, *fehlgeburt*, *miskram*; verbs: to upset, tip over, spill, etc. 'zy heft de kar omgeworpen,' *Tuinman's Spreekw. 1, 88*; 'tis gone wrong with her, *Schwein. 2, 314, conf. 321*; not straight, *Kantzow 2, 30*; Dan. 'at giöre omslag'; of proper birth: to bring to the (right) place. *Esth. tüyad nurgad* (empty corners), *mooncalf*; 'ulle kätte minnema,' slip out of (miss) the hands, opp. to 'last pölwede peälet töstma,' get (lift) the child on the knee. We have: 'there's a row,' 'the house cracks' (the birth is near), 'the house has tumbled' (it is over), *Sächs. prov. blätt. 14, 127*; 'the oven breaks down,' *Schm. 1, 33*. In *MHG.* 'diu kamer wart entlochen,' unlocked, *Mar. 46*. *Bermutter*, which is used of colic, strictly denotes the *hysterica passio*, and is represented not only as a *toad*, *Schm. 1, 188*, but as a *mouse* that runs out of the body, and has a sword laid across the stream for it, *Etnn. hebamme p. 194-5*, as in the superstition described above, p. 1082 (see *Suppl.*).

Herz-gespan, tension of heart (cardialgia), *herz-spann*, *Sup. I, 873. 949*, otherwise *herz-weh*, *herz-kulk* (*ventriculi colica*): 'something lies and stands before my heart.' *MHG. herze-swer*; *swermage*, *Diut. 2, 273*. This is not the same thing as the *heart-worm*, of which it is vulgarly supposed that every man has one in him, and would die if it crept out of his mouth (*Etnn. hebamme p. 890*), or got on his tongue, *Chr. Weise's Drei klügste leute pp. 8. 9*. The ancients called a swelling of the tongue *βάτραχος* and *rana*. The *heiss-hunger* (hot-), *βούλιμος*, *appetitus caninus*, was also accounted for by an animal: '*vermis lacertae similis* in stomacho hominis habitat,' *Gl. Jun. 381*. 'wir suln uns alle bröeten, den *zadelwurm* töeten (kill) der uns dicke hât genâgen,' oft has gnawed us, *Seifr. Helbl. 3, 247*.

Headache, *houbit-wé*, *Fundgr. 320-1*; *houbit-suht*, *Diut. 270*; *farren*, *Sup. I, 865*. perh. the 'faren' of p. 1156. *Tobe-suht* (*amentia*), *Iw. 3233*, brain-sickness. *Wirbel-sucht*, *vertigo*, *I, 436*.

OHG. huosto, cough, *MHG. huoste*, our *huste* (in *Zürich wüeste*),

ON. *hósti*, AS. *hwósta*, Engl. *whoost*. A cold in the head: *schnupfe*, *schnaube*, *schnuder*, in Switz. *pfwüsel*; Hildegard has *nasebóz*, *coryza*. MHG. *strúche*, Fundgr. 321, 1. Ls. 1, 403-4. Hoarseness: *kramme*, Fdgr. 322. Catarrh: OHG. *tampho*, Graff 5, 142, *dumpho* in Hildeg. St. Anthony's fire (because healed in his hospitals?): *rothlauf*, in Switz. *wolken*, *fliegende wolke*, flying cloud, Stald. 2, 456 (see Suppl.).

Gelbsucht, elephantiasis in Gl. Mons. 384; our *gelbsucht* is the jaundice. 'To fasten *yellow smocks* on folk,' is that to conjure the jaundice into them? Gelesucht and *fich* are *ficus morbus*, piles, AS. *fic-ádl*; in Altd. bl. 2, 199 'der rot *vich*' for hæmorrhoids; in Helbl. 2, 1190 'der rôte siechtuom und daz *víc* macht iuch bleich unde gel.'—OHG. *misal-sucht* (lepra), Graff 2, 875; Goth. *þruts-fill*, which in Gramm. 2, 20 I traced correctly to þriutan [to trouble, tease, our driessen, verdruss], and 2, 598 recognised þruts as anom. Gen. for þrutis. Þruts is torment, vexation, and applied to sickness, leprosy; the OHG. form would be *druzis-fel*. In Slavic languages *trud* is trouble and illness, the Boh. *trud* having exactly the two meanings of dolor and lepra, Pol. *trąd* eruption. OHG. *hriupî* (scabies), *rúda* (impetigo), Gl. Flor. 988^b, *zittarlús*, tetter-louse, ringworm (impetigo), Diut. 1, 496^b. A modern slang term is *schneider-courage* (Adelung v. *krätze*), *schneider-kurzweil*, tailor's pastime (Ettm. univ. doct. 349). The AS. *gicða* (scabies, impetigo), Engl. *itch*, is the OHG. *juchido*, Graff 1, 593. The *rose* (erysipelas), *running fire*, *ignis sacer* (Ivonis epist. p. 85^a. 184^b), OHG. *omo*, AS. *oma*, ON. *âma*. Of red spots on a child's face they say 'the Jüdel has burnt him,' Sup. I, 473. AS. *þeor*, *þeorweorc* is inflammation, *þeorwyrn* impetigo vermicularis ¹ (see Suppl.).

Stone, gravel, calculorum dolor: in Götz. v. Berlich. 103, 'der reissende (tearing) stein.'

A sort of excrescence or fungus (suam) was called *mal-annus* (das übel jâr), Spell VII; in Ratherii opp. ed Ballerini p. 15: 'carbunculi vel malae pustulae, quem malum vulgo dicunt *malampnum*.' And the plant used in healing it bore the name of *malannus* too, OHG. *achalm*, Graff 1, 132 (see Suppl.).

¹ The Greeks too fancied the impetigo was caused by a small beetle. Pliny 27, 11 (75): lapis vulgaris juxta flumina fert muscum siccum, canum; hic fricatur altero lapide, addita hominis saliva; illo lapide tangitur impetigo. Qui tangit, dicit, *φέγγετε, καθαρίδες, λύκος άγριος ύμμε διώκει*, beetles begone, the wild wolf chases you.

Many other names of diseases I suppress; a still greater number must have eluded my research. My design was, out of this neglected mine of wealth in our language to bring specimens that should prove what mythical fancies the people associated with the origin of diseases. Like other evils, they seemed to be destined and devised by gods, spirits, magicians; nay, to become themselves malign living agents (p. 1153). Much remains obscure: what is meant by *ülfeit*, that plague of plagues (p. 442n.)? what by the *haupt-geschein* which is exorcized in Ayrer's Fastn. sp. p. 148-9, and turns up in other stories too (Schm. 3, 366)? Now in Renner 12180 we find 'ir habt daz *houbt-geschide*' (rh. vermîde), meaning apparently folly, infatuation. If 'head-sheen' be right, I would explain it by the OHG. *houbet-skîmo* (capitis radii), N. Cap. 63: for it is an ailment that throws a nimbus or nebula round one's head, and makes one see everything double; H. Sachs names it 'der *plerr*, *augenplerr*,' ii. 2, 27^b. iii. 3, 9^d. iv. 3, 13^{a,b}, and we still say 'die *blerr* kriegén,' to be lost in amazement [blurred?]. Eating chervil is supposed to produce this doubleness of vision, Fragm. 37^{b,c}. Garg. 148^a.

A Finnic song makes an old woman, Launawatar (Schröter p. 48 seq.) or Louhiatar (Kalev. 25, 107) become the mother of nine sons (like the nine holden above): werewolf, snake, risi (?), lizard, nightmare, joint-ache, gout, spleen, gripes. These maladies then are brothers of baneful monsters; and in the song the last-named disorder is singled out for exorcism.

The Mod. Greeks picture the *smallpox* as a woman frightful to children, and euphemistically name her *συγχωρεμένη* indulgent, exorable (conf. ON. Eir), or more commonly *εὐλογία* one to be praised and blest (Fauriel's Disc. préL. lxxxv).

One more disease has to be noticed, which from quite the early part of the Mid. Ages was ascribed to demonic diabolic agency. I begin with a passage in the Vita Caesarii Arelatensis (d. 542), said to have been written by his pupils Cyprianus, Messianus and Stephanus, lib. 2 cap. 14 (Acta Bened. sec. 1, p. 673): 'Ille autem, quid infirmitatis haberet? interrogavit. Dixerunt, *daemonium* quod rustici *Dianam* appellant; quae sic affligitur, ut paene omnibus noctibus *assidue caedatur*, et saepe etiam in ecclesiam ducitur inter duos viros ut maneat, et sic *flagris diabolicis* occulte fatigatur, ut vox continua ejus audiatur. . . .

Oculis meis vidi plagas, quas ante aliquos dies in dorsum et in scapulas acceperat, in sanitatem venire, pridianas autem et in ipsa nocte impressas recentes inter illas intextas, quas prius perpessa fuerat.'—Greg. Tur. mir. 5, Mart. 4, 36: 'Cum de cultura rediret, subito inter manus delapsa comitantium terrae corruit, ligataque lingua nullum verbum ex ore potens proferre, obmutuit. Interea accedentibus accolis ac dicentibus eam *meridiani daemonis* incursum pati, ligamina herbarum atque incantationum verba proferebant.'—Ducange has other passages sub v. *daemon meridianus*; the name seems to have arisen out of Ps. 91, 6, where Notker translates 'mittetagigo tiefel,' whom Greek writers also call *μεσημβρινὸς δαίμων*: the disease must have been of an epileptic nature. The Bohemians name it *polednice* (*meridiana*), but the Poles *Dziewanna* (p. 993n.), which is *Diana* again, and as *Diana* often means the same thing as *Holda*, it is essential to remember that this goddess also loves to appear *at the hour of noon* (Praetor. weltbeschr. 1, 476), and that *white ladies* are seen at the same season (p. 963-4-6), whose original is *Berhta* the bright. So that the malady can safely be traced to the operation of deities and elves. That here *Holda* and *Berhta* do strike in, has already been inferred on other grounds, p. 477-8, in speaking of the *aunt in the rye*, the *woman in the wheat*, who passes through the corn at noontide, like the Wendic *pshi-polnitsa*: some call her *pshi-polontsa*, she appears between 12 and 1 to labourers in heathy districts, especially to women weeding flax, she is clothed in white, and talks of flax-raising, how it is planted, reared, worked and spun; she is said to have wrung the necks of women that would not answer her; the people dread her, and are glad she has not shown herself this long while past. Observe, that in Gregory too the demon appeared to the woman at her field labour, and she falls to the ground, as the Russian peasants do before the 'weeping widow' who breaks their bones: in Gaul it was taken for a mental disorder. But in all these shapes of terror we cannot fail to recognise the motherly divinity of the heathens.

Of course, spirits have equally to do with animal diseases. An OS. formula adjures the *nesso* and his *nine young ones* to depart out of the flesh and skin of the spur-lamed horse. Dog's madness is said to come of a *worm* seated under the tongue, and this 'tollwurm' can be cut out. One ailment of horses is called the

blowing worm (Spell XV), which reminds of the blowing holden, p. 1157. Another, of horses or of oxen, is the *hünsche*: Stald. 2, 61 makes it burning of the spleen or cold tumour, otherwise called 'the evil wind,' Tobl. p. 70; in Lower Hesse it is swollen udder in a cow, and the charm there muttered against it is:

Die *hünsche* und der drache (dragon) '

die giengen über die bache (beck);

die *hünsche* die vertrank (was drowned, al. verschwank

vanished),

der drache der versank.

A charm in Mone's Anz. 465 begins: 'there went three blessed virgins over a *hüntschen* hill, the *hüntschen* meets them, and one says, here is the *hüntsche*.' Certainly the word seems to contain the OHG. adj. *hünisc*, MHG. *hiunisch*, and may refer to giants or to Huns (p. 523); the '*hünische berg*' tells in favour of the first, in case a giant's mount is meant. Adelung writes '*der hüntsch*,' and explains it as asthma. A LG. formula substitutes for *hünsche* *slie*, i.e. *schleihe*, tench (see Suppl.). In popular belief a witch can charm her elves or holden alike into man and beast. The Servians call an incurable disease in sheep *metil*. They say, once the Germans having caught the Devil, asked him what was a cure for the *metil*? He answered, when all the sheep were dead but one, they must carry the remaining one round the pen, and then no more would die but that one (Vuk sub v.). In other cases the first head of cattle that falls is to be buried, and a *willow shoot* be planted on the mound.

As the several diseases and plagues were ordained and sent by gods or daemons, there were also special *remedies* and *cures* that proceeded from such higher beings first of all. In the Catholic superstition of the later Mid. Ages there had grown up a regular system, as to which particular saint, male or female, was to be invoked for the several pains and sorrows of almost every limb in the body¹ (see Suppl.).

Out of a mass of superstitious *modes of healing*, I select the following.

A very ancient custom was, to *measure* the patient, partly by

¹ Haupt's Zeitschr. 1, 143-4. Roquefort sub v. mal.

way of cure, partly to ascertain if the malady were growing or abating. We might even quote the Bible under this head, 1 Kgs 17, 21. 2 Kgs 4, 34, where Elijah and Elisha *measure* themselves over the lifeless child, and thereby restore him to life. And the practice of *measuring the limbs* when handing tapers up to the altar (Diut. 2, 292) is worth considering, though it is supposed rather to keep away coming evils. In the Bîhtebuoch p. 46 the question is asked: 'ob dû ie geloubetôst an hecse und an lâchenerin und an segenerin, und ob dû tæte daz si dir rieten (got them to advise thee)? und ob dû ie geseget oder gelâchent wurde oder *gemezen* wurde, und ob dû ie bekort wurde?' In Ls. 3, 9 a woman, wishing to fool her husband, says: 'tuo dich her, *lâ dich mezzen,*' come and be measured; then 'alsô lang ich in *maz*, unz er allez vergaz,' I measured him till he forgot everything. Another, who wants to persuade her husband that he is 'niht guoter sinne,' not of sound mind, says to him, Cod. kolocz. 141:

'Sô habt her, und *lât iuch mezzen,*
 ob ihtes (aught) an iu sî vergezzen.'
 Sie was ungetriuwe,
 sie nam ir rîsen (rods) niuwe,
 sie *maz in nâch der lenge,*
 dô was ez im ze enge,
 sie *maz im twerhes* (across) *über haupt* :
 'swaz ich spriche, daz geloupt,
 blâset dar durch (blow thro' these) mit gewalt,'
 sie nam die rîsen zwîvalt,
 'und tret mir ûf den rehten fuoz,
 sô wirt iu iuwer sûhte buoz ('twill boot your sickness);
 ir sult iuch in daz bette legen
 und sult iuch niergen regen (not stir),
 biz daz ir derhitzet (till you get warm)
 und ein wênc (a little) erswitzet,
 sô ezzet drithalp rockenkorn ($2\frac{1}{2}$ grains of rye),
 sô wirt iuwer suht gar verlorn.'

Renn. 12183: 'strecket iuch nider, und *lât iuch mezzen.*' This *measuring* is also quoted among sorceries (Sup. D, 38 r. 140 r.).

Pregnant women *measure* a *wick* the length of the saint's image, and tie it round their body (F, 31). Wier's *Arzneibuch* p. 31-3 mentions a disease called in the Treves country *nacht-grif* (brought on by the grip of a night-spirit?); to ascertain its presence, you proceed thus: draw the sick man's belt about his naked body, lengthwise and breadthwise, then take it off, and hang it on a nail with the words 'O God, I pray thee by the three virgins Margarita, Mariamagdalena and Ursula, be pleased to vouchsafe a sign upon the sick man, if he have the *nightgrip* or no'; then *measure again*, and if the belt be shorter than before, it is a sign of the said sickness. By the Schles. prov. bl. 1798. 27, 16—20, scarce a village in the Liegnitz country but has its *messerin*, always an old woman. When she is asked to say whether a person is in danger from consumption, she takes a thread and *measures* the patient, first from head to heel, then from tip to tip of the outspread arms; if his length be less than his breadth, then he is consumptive: the less the thread will measure his arms, the farther has the disease advanced (conf. p. 1158); if it reaches only to the elbow, there is no hope for him. The *measuring* is repeated from time to time: if the thread stretches, and reaches its due length again, the danger is removed. The wise woman must never ask money for her trouble, but take what is given. The Märk. *forschungen* 1, 247 says a woman is stript, and *measured* with a piece of *red yarn* spun on a Sunday. Compare the *measuring* of corn and water, Sup. I, 258. 953, and *supra* p. 491-7 (see Suppl.).

Much can be done by *stroking* and *binding*. A patient's body is commonly stroked with the hand or sleeve or the back of a knife; often a thread is also *tied* round the part affected, or the medicine tied on by it. Of this binding more hereafter.

In Poland, when the white folk (*białe ludzie*, p. 1157) torment a sick man, a bed of pease-halm is made, a sheet spread over it, and the patient laid thereon; then a person walks round him, carrying a *sieve-ful of ashes* on his back, letting the ashes run out, till the floor all round the bed is covered with them. The first thing in the morning they *count* all the *lines in the ashes*, and some one goes silently, greeting no one on the way, and reports the same to the wise woman, who prescribes accordingly (Biester's *Mon. schr.* as above). The spirits leave their tracks in

the *ashes*, which are *strewn* as for the earth-mannikin p. 451 n.; conf. Sup. M, 40 (see Suppl.).

On the *drawing* and *pouring of water* by the wise woman, see Sup. I, 515. 865. Charming of apoplexy by a hatchet *on the threshold*, G, line 70.

The efficacy of *fire* and *flame* was proved on envenomed wounds, by burning them out; Sæm. 27^b already mentions '*eldr við sóttum*,' fire against sicknesses. On erysipelas they *struck fire* [out of flint], Sup. I, 710. To insure cattle against fire, they drove them over the holy *needfire*, p. 604 seq. (see Suppl.).

An old cure for fever was, to lay the child on the oven or the roof: '*mulier si qua filium suum ponit supra tectum* (conf. p. 1116) *aut in fornacem pro sanitate februm*,' Sup. C, 10, 14. '*posuisti infantem tuum juxta ignem*,' C, p. 200^a. If a child does not get bigger, it has the *elterlein* (elderling); push it *into the baking-oven* a few times, and the *elterlein* will leave it, I, 75. This mode of cure follows the plan of goddesses and night-wives in laying children by the *flame*, p. 1059.

A salutary process for *children* and *cattle* was to make them walk or creep through *tunnelled earth*, *hollow stones* or a *cloven tree*. This either prevented or neutralized all magic, or worked homeopathically. So early as the *Canones Edgari*, acc. to the AS. version in Thorpe p. 396: '*treow-wurðunga and stân-wurðunga and þone deofles cræft, þær ma þa cild þurh þa eorðan tihð*.' '*Mulieres, quae habent vagientes infantes, effodiunt terram et ex parte pertusant eam, et per illud foramen pertrahunt infantem*,' Sup. A. Nurses take a new-born babe and *thrust it through a hole*, G, line 137; a child that will not learn to walk is made to crawl *under blackberry-vines* fixed in the soil at both ends, I, 818. Sheep, when sick, have to creep through the *cleft of a young oak*: '*nullus praesumat pecora per cavam arborem aut per terram foratam transire*,' A.

Perforated stones are occasionally mentioned in early records: '*from þyrelan stâne*,' Kemble 2, 29 (an. 847); '*durihilin stein*,' MB. 2, 296 (an. 1130). Ital. *pietra pertusa*. Some are called *needles' eyes*, one of which stood between Hersfeld and Vacha near Friedewald; and they seem to have been placed on the former site of hollow trees, which were held in high esteem, but had died: '*Nadel-öhr est lapis perforatus, in locum arboris*

excavatae, in media silva venatoribus ob ferarum silvestrium copiam frequente, a Mauritio Hassiae landgravio ad viam positus, per quem praetereuntes joci et vexationis gratia *proni perrepere* solent.¹ This handseling of huntsmen and travellers went on long after all faith in the healing power had evaporated. In Gaul it seems to have kept a firmer hold, and taken a wider range; e.g. in Poitou: 'les enfants trop faibles reprennent des forces, lorsqu'ils ont été *assis dans le trou de la pierre* saint Fessé; cette pierre informe placée au milieu d'un champ est respectée par les laboureurs, et la charrue laisse un espace libre à l'entour,' Mém. des antiq. 8, 455; similar traditions ib. 1, 429. 430.

This creeping through a gap in oak, earth or stone seemingly transferred the sickness or sorcery to the genius of the tree or soil.² From Magdeburg country I have heard the following: Let two brothers (if twins, the better) *split a cherry-tree in the middle*, and pull any sick child through, then bind the tree up again; as the tree heals up, so will the child. Near Wittstock in the Altmark stood a stout gnarled *oak*, whose boughs had grown into and made *holes* in each other: the afflicted who *crept through these holes* recovered; all round the tree lay numbers of crutches that convalescent cripples had thrown away (Temme p. 116-7). In Sweden these round openings in intertwined boughs are called *elf-bores*, and women in labour are forced through them. We are not always told what diseases were cured by this method; here is a passage proving that as late as last century the English peasantry still practised it for ruptures: 'In a farmyard near the middle of Selborne (Hants) stands at this day a row of *pollard-ashes*, which, by the seams and long cicatrices down their sides, manifestly shew that in former times they have been cleft asunder. These trees, when young and flexible, were severed and held open by wedges, while *ruptured children* stript naked were *pushed through the apertures*, under a persuasion that by such a process the poor babes would be cured of their infirmity. As soon as the operation was over, the tree in the suffering part was plastered with loam, and care-

¹ Pauli Hentzneri itinerar. (an. 1598-9), Breslau 1617. p. 5.

² N.B., in the O.Fr. Tristan 1321—34 when the dwarf Frocine confides to the blackthorn the secret of king Mark having horse's ears, he first puts his head *under the hollow root*, and then speaks. His secret thus passes on to the thorn.

fully swathed up. If the part coalesced and soldered together, as usually fell out where the feat was performed with any adroitness at all, the party was cured; but where the cleft continued to gape, the operation, it was supposed, would prove ineffectual. We have several persons now living in the village, who in their childhood were supposed to be healed by this superstitious ceremony, derived down perhaps from our Saxon ancestors, who practised it before their conversion to christianity. —At the south corner of the area near the church, there stood about twenty years ago a very old grotesque hollow *pollard-ash*, which for ages had been looked on with no small veneration as a *shrew-ash*. Now a *shrew-ash* is an ash whose *twigs* or branches, when gently *applied to the limbs of cattle*, will immediately relieve the pains which a beast suffers from the *running of a shrewmouse* over the part affected. For it is supposed that a shrewmouse is of so baneful and deleterious a nature, that wherever it creeps over a beast, be it horse, cow or sheep, the suffering animal is afflicted with cruel anguish, and threatened with the loss of the use of the limb. Against this accident, to which they were continually liable, our provident forefathers always kept a *shrew-ash* at hand, which, when once medicated, would maintain its virtue for ever. A *shrew-ash* was made thus:¹ into the body of the tree a deep hole was bored with an auger, and a poor devoted *shrewmouse was thrust in alive and plugged in*, no doubt with several quaint incantations long since forgotten. As the ceremonies necessary for such a consecration are no longer understood, all succession is at an end, and no such tree is known to subsist in the manor or hundred. As to that on the area, the late vicar stubbed and burnt it when he was waywarden, regardless of the remonstrances of the bystanders, who interceded in vain for its preservation² (see Suppl.).

¹ Rob. Plot's Nat. hist. of Staffordshire, Oxf. 1686. p. 222: 'A superstitious custom they have in this county, of making *nursrow trees* for the cure of unaccountable swellings in their cattle. For to make any tree, whether oak, ash or elm, a *nursrow tree*, they catch one or more of these *nursrows* or fieldmice, which they fancy bite their cattle and make them swell, and having bored a hole to the center in the body of the tree, they put the mice in, and then drive a peg in after them of the same wood, where they starving at last communicate forsooth such a virtue to the tree, that cattle thus swoln *being wiped with the boughs of it* presently recover: of which trees they have not so many neither, but that at some places they go 8 or 10 miles to procure this remedy.'

² White's Nat. hist. and antiq. of Selborne, Lond. 1789. 4, p. 202—4.

This superstition of the *mouse-ash* holds together with some things we have already touched upon. Thus, plugging the mouse in is very like shutting up one's ill-luck in the hollow oak, p. 878; and we are helped out by a statement in Luther's Table-talk (ed. 1571. fol. 53^b): 'a hole is bored in a tree, the *soul* placed therein, and a plug driven in after, that it may stay in.' We know that on other occasions, when soul or spirit quits the body, it takes the shape of a *mouse*, p. 1082.

Raibiht is what the Lettons call a fancied cure for headache: the sufferer is *measured* a few times round the head with the inner bark of the lime, and then has to *crawl through this bast*. We also find that through *holes bored* in this healing tree water is poured and drunk.¹

It partakes of *angang*, that the *first three corn* or *sloe blossoms* one sees in the year should furnish a remedy for fever, Sup. I, 695. 718. 784. 1018; conf. the 2½ grains of rye, p. 1164.

At the Vogelsberg gouty persons wear on the ring-finger of the right hand *iron rings* made out of *nails on which men have hung themselves*. Gout-charms are worn on the breast, wrapt in unbleached linen, with flaxen *threads without a knot*. Both fall under the head of amulets and *adligatio*. *Healing girdles* were already known to Marcellus, AS. hom. 2, 28.

Diseases and remedies are also *buried in the ground*: in the ant-hill, Sup. I, 864. Of this class is a cure of epilepsy performed in the 10th cent. by burying peachblossoms, which RATHERIUS in PRAELOQUIIS lib. 1 (ed. Mart. et Dur. p. 808. ed. Baller. p. 31) relates doubtingly: Factum sit, infectum sit, narratum est quod refero. Cujusdam divitis filius *gutta* quam *cadivam* dicunt laborabat. Medicorum omne probatissimorum erga eum inefficax ingenium ad desperationem salutis paternum atque maternum deduxerat animum, cum ecce unus servorum suggerit, ut flores arboris persicae optime mundatos primo lunis

¹ Physica Hildegardis 3, 10 de cupresso: Quod si aliquis homo a diabulo vel per magica irretitus est, praefatum lignum, quod *cor* dicitur, cum *terebro* perforet, et in fictili vase aquam vivi fontis tollat, et eam *per idem foramen* in aliud fictile vas fundat, et cum jam infundit dicat: 'ego fundo te, aqua, per foramen istud in virtuosa virtute, quae Deus est, ut cum fortitudine quae tibi adest in natura tua fluas in hominem istum qui in sensu suo irretitus est, et omnes contrarietates in eo destruas, et eum in rectitudinem in quam Deus eum posuit, in recto sensu et scientia reponas.' Et aquam istam per novem dies jejunos bibat, et etiam tociens hoc modo benedicatur, et melius habebit.

(i.e. lunae) die Aprilis mensis in vase vitreo colligerent, quod *sub radice ejusdem arboris, insciis omnibus*, ab uno quo vellent *suffoderetur*, eodem die reversuro ipso a quo positum est, anno vergente, si fieri posset hora quoque eadem, et effosso vase *flores in oleum conversos, arborem siccata* inventuro, quod sub altare positum presbytero quoque ignorante, *novem missis* super eo celebratis sanctificaretur, et statim post accessum ejusdem morbi *novem vicibus* in haustum diatim scilicet aegro daretur, cum oratione Dominica, ita duntaxat ut post 'libera nos a malo' a dante diceretur 'libera Deus istum hominem (nomine ill.) a gutta cadiva,' et quibus novem diebus missam quotidie audiret, azymum panem cibumque quadragesimalem post jejunium caperet, atque ita Deo miserante convalesceret. Si tamen factum est, ille convaluit, servus emancipatus est, etiam heres adscriptus, medicina ab innumeris adprobata multis quoque salutis contulit remedia.

The elder-tree is good for toothache and ague: for the former the sufferer *sticks an elder-branch into the ground* with the words 'begone, bad spirit'; in the case of ague he puts it in without saying a word, but his fever sticks to the elder, and then fastens on the first person who comes to the spot unawares, Dan. Sup. K, 162. Specially wholesome is an elder that grows over beehives (op bjintjekoven); the bast is peeled off *upwards* (not down), and a decoction of it is given the patient to drink (Lapekoer fen Gabe scrôar. p. 31-2).

It is worth noticing how the sickness is *transferred to a tree*, i.e. to the spirit who inhabits it. Spell no. xxvi begins with the words: '*bough, I bend thee, so fever leave me*'; another has: '*Lift thee up, elder bough! Antony's fire, sit on it now! I've had thee a day, thou have it alway!*' One that has the gout must go three successive Fridays after sunset under a *firtree*: '*firtree, I complain to thee, the gout torments me sore, etc.*'; the fir withers, and the gout leaves off. '*Deus vos salvet, sambuce, panem et sal ego vobis adduco, febrem tertianam et quotidianam accipiatis vos, qui nolo eam.*' Westendorp p. 518 reports a Nethl. custom: to be rid of ague, one goes early in the morning (in der uchte) to an old willow, *ties three knots in a bough*, and says to it: '*goe morgen, olde, ik geef oe de kolde, goe morgen, olde!*' then he turns, and runs away fast without looking round. Sup. 1, 1074: he that has 'fever-frost' shall go in silence, and

across no water, to a *hollowed willow*, *thrice breathe his breath into it*, *quickly block up the hole*, and hasten home, neither looking behind nor speaking a word; and the fever shall keep away. In Spell xlv the gout is *handed over* to a young pinetree with a courteous 'good morrow, *dame Pine!*'

Diseases can likewise be transferred to animals. 'Præcordia vocamus uno nomine exta in homine, quorum in dolore cujuscunque partis si *catulus lactens* admoveatur apprimaturque his partibus, *transire in eum morbus* dicitur, idque in exenterato perfusoque vino deprehendi, vitiato viscere illo quod doluerit hominis; et *obruï tales religio est*,' Pliny 30, 4 [14]. 'Sunt occulti interaneorum morbi, de quibus mirum proditur: si *catuli, priusquam videant*, applicentur triduo stomacho maxime ac pectori, et ex ore aegri suctum lactis accipiant, *transire vim morbi*, postremo exanimari, dissectisque palam fieri aegri causas; rori et humari debere eos *obrutos terra*...Quod præterea traditur in torminibus mirum est: *anate* apposita ventri, *transire morbum*, *anatemque emori*,' 30, 7 [20]. So, even within the last few centuries, people have put *young whelps* to the human breast, and let them suck. That a corn (*clavus*, ἦλος) should be called by us *hen's eye* (Boh. *kuřj oko*), *magpie's eye* (Nethl. *exter-ôg*), and *crow's eye*, arose out of a belief in the possibility of these transfers. Tobler 18^b tells us, if a Swiss calls out on the spot where a magpie has sat, '*zigi, zigi, ägest, i ha dreu auga* (I've 3 eyes), *ond du gad zwä*,' he gets rid of his magpie's eye.

The flying gout is cured by the patient being *completely swathed in clean flax*: when he lies in it snug as a bug in a rug, a *sheepskin* is spread over him, and the sweating medicine administered. This envelopment is a remedy renowned in the old Beast-fable. The lion taken with a fever is to *wrap himself in the hide of a wolf* of 3½ years who has been flayed alive, and to sweat; this we have already in the Aesopic fable (Reinh. cclx). Our old German poem goes more into minutiae: the lion's illness was caused by an ant having crept into his brain; Reynard prescribes *wrapping the hide of an old wolf* about him, putting a *bearskin* on him, and a *catskin hat* on his head: when the cat's fur is warmed, the ant creeps out into it. Such wrapping in the newly stript hide of an animal was really practised in the Mid. Ages on various emergencies, for puny infants prematurely born,

for those cut out unborn (p. 388), for a bad fall. In a Nethl. comedy of the 16th century, 'De böse frouwens,' they sew up the sick woman in a page's skin, 'in eine *vriske pagenhut beneijen.*' Schmidt on the East Mongols p. 229 remarks, that these tribes also, to cure a disease, put their feet in the opened breast of a *horse fresh killed.* The application of warm flesh is several times mentioned: '*vivum gallinaceum pullum per medium dividere, et protinus calidum super vulnus imponere sic ut pars interior corpori jungatur,*' Celsus 5, 27; '*cut open a black hen, and lay it on the shaven head,*' Ettn. hebamme 795; '*fresh-killed flesh on a wound,* Belg. mus. 7, 446 (see Suppl.).¹

Again, the *hirzîn rieme*, hart-strap, cut out of Randolt's hide for the sick lion (Reinh. 1951), is found actually prescribed as a remedy, Bresl. MS. of the 14th century in Fundgr. 1, 325: 'Für daz vallende ubel. Du salt warten, swenne iz en an-ge (attacks him), so nim einen *hirzinen riemen*, unde bint im den umbe den hals (round his neck) di wile im we si, unde sprich, "In nomine, etc. so binde ich hie den sichthum dises menschen in disem knopfe," unde nim den selbem riemen denne, unde knupfe (tie) einen knoten dar an; den selben riemen sal man denne binden dem siechen umbe den hals; unde derselbe mensch sal sich enthalden (abstain) von dem wine unde von dem fleische, biz (till) daz er kume da (where) man einen toten man begrabe (burying), da sal man den riemen losen dem siechen von dem halse, unde sal den selben riemen begraben mit dem toten manne, wan der selbe rieme sal *dem toten geleget werden under die schulter* (laid under the dead man's shoulder), unde sal einer sprechen, der den riemen leget, etc. der sichthum gewirret im nimmer mere.' Elsewhere it is prescribed for epilepsy, to *gird oneself with a wolfskin*, Belg. mus. 6, 105 (see Suppl.).

The modern pharmacopœia is almost confined to vegetable and mineral medicines; the ancient comprised all manner of animal

¹ 'His diebus occulto Dei judicio idem Eraclius (episc. Leodiensis, d. 971) morbo, qui *lupus* dicitur, miserabiliter laborabat. Patiebatur autem in natibus, erat igitur videre miseriam; tam graviter enim vis valetudinis grassabatur, ut mirum in modum carnes viri lupino modo consumeret, corroderet, devoraret; solumque solatium, non quidem spes evadendae aegritudinis, sed saltem dilatio mortis erat, quod quotidie duo pulli gallinarum eplumes et viscerati mane, duoque vespere, vice carniū viri consumendi morbo, ac si lupinae rabiei, apponebantur.' The chickens were fastened on with bandages, Chapeaville 1, 191-4. Skin inflammation and eating ulcers are called *wolf*: one walks, rides, till he gets the wolf, Lat. *intertrigo*, Gr. *παράτριμμα*. [Sheepskin proposed for Prince of Wales].

stuffs. The hearts of certain birds, the flesh, blood and fat of certain beasts possessed a peculiar healing power.¹ *Monkey's flesh* does the sick lion good (Reinh. cclx), though the ignorant wolf recommends that of the goat and ram.² The *blood* of birds and of the fox heals wounds, Pentam. 2, 5. *Crow's blood* bewitches, Sup. G, l. 202. *Blood* from the cock's comb, *brains* of the female hare are of service, Etnn. hebamme 875. Of a piece with this is the superstitious healing of leprosy by the *blood* of innocent boys and pure maids, that of the falling sickness by the *blood* of slain malefactors, Sup. I, 1080. *Spittle*, and even mere *breath*, are medicinal³ (see Suppl.).

A great many appliances heal or hurt *by sympathy*. Thus jaundice is rendered incurable by a yellow-footed hen flying over the patient, Sup. I, 549; it is cured by looking into black carriage-grease (66). Spanning a pot or bowl with the hand brings on tension of the heart (11. 949); twisting osiers gives a wry neck or the gripes (373; conf. p. 1146). Fever is *abated* or *laid* by laying a field under flax while repeating a charm: as the seed comes up, the fever goes off (Höfer 3, 131). On rose or red rash (erysipelas) you are to strike sparks with stone and steel (I, 383. 710); to make evil bounce off your body, as water off the millwheel (p. 593); to break a loaf over the head of a tongue-tied child (I, 415); to knock a tooth that is pulled out into the bark of a young tree (630). The people have many such specifics for hiccough, earache, toothache, etc., I, 151. 211. 280. 581-4. 722. 950 (see Suppl.).

Remedies are very often *tied on*, are *worn fastened round the arm, neck, or waist*. These the writers of the early Mid. Ages call *ligamenta, ligaturae, phylacteria*. Φυλακτήρια are preservatives, protective pendants, amulets, often of thin metal plate (blech), so that OHG. glosses render them *pleh, plehkir*, but also of glass, wood, bones, herbs, silver and gold; *ligaturae* apparently mere ties of thread. The later word is *an-gehenke*,

¹ Wanley p. 75 (conf. 220) cites a 'tractatus Idparti fabulosus': Medicina ex quadrupedibus.

² 'Mit der belchen (fulcae atrae) füezen wirt dem man mazleide buoz,' Ls. 3, 564.

³ Herodotus 2, 111 speaks of a blind man recovering sight γυναικὸς οὐρῶν νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἦτις παρὰ τὸν ἐνωτῆς ἀνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν εἶσα ἀπειρος.

appendage, I, 869. 870. Cipher-writing and runes were also appended, not always for healing, but contrariwise to bewitch and injure. Here are testimonies to both kinds: 'Ut clerici vel laici *phylacteria* vel *falsas scriptiones* aut *ligaturas*, quae imprudentes pro febribus aut aliis pestibus adjuvare putant, nullo modo ab illis vel a quoquam Christiano fiant, quia magicæ artis insignia sunt,' Capitul. 6, 72. 'Admoneant sacerdotes non *ligaturas ossium* vel *herbarum* cuiquam adhibitas prodesse, sed hæc esse laqueos et insidias antiqui hostis,' Capit. add. 3, 93. In Greg. Tur. mirac. 2, 45 we read of a sick boy to whom the wizard (ariolus) was fetched: 'Ille vero venire non differens, accessit ad aegrotum, et artem suam exercere conatur, incantationes immurmurat, sortes jactat, *ligaturas collo suspendit.*' In Lex Visig. vi. 2, 4: 'Qui in hominibus vel brutis animalibus, seu in agris seu in vineis diversisque arboribus, maleficium aut diversa *ligamenta* aut etiam *scripta* in contrarietatem alterius excogitaverit facere.' In Lex Sal. 22, 4: 'Si quis alteri aliquod maleficium superjactaverit, sive cum *ligaturis* in aliquod loco miserit.' The Indiculus (Sup. B; C int. 43 and p. 195^b) speaks of such *ligaturæ* and *nefaria ligamenta*, both healing and hurtful; Kopp's Palaeogr. 3, 74 seq. gives other passages on amulets and ligatures. Hincmar 1, 654 says: 'Turpe est fabulas nobis notas referre, et longum est sacrilegia computare, quæ ex hujusmodi de *ossibus mortuorum* atque cineribus *carbonibusque* extinctis (supra p. 621) . . . cum *filulis colorum multiplicium*, et *herbis variis* ac cocleolis, et serpentum particulis composita, cum carminibus incantata deprehendentes comperimus.' These particoloured threads remind one of Virgil's verse: '*terna tibi hæc primum triplici diversa colore licia circumdo,*' and '*necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores*' (Ecl. 8, 73-7).¹ If it was the Romans that taught our fathers the use of amulets, they must have done it very early, for what says Boniface? Epist. 51 (an. 742): 'Dicunt quoque se vidisse ibidem mulieres *pagano ritu phylacteria* et *ligaturas* in brachiis et cruribus ligatas habere, et publice ad vendendum venales ad com-

¹ Among the Lettons the bride on her way to church must throw a bunch of *coloured threads* and a coin into every ditch and pond she sees, and at each corner of the house, as an offering to the water and home sprites. Merkel's Letten, p. 50; conf. Sup. M, 11.

parandum aliis offerre.' And Beda 4, 27: 'Nam et multi . . . ad *erratica idolatriae medicamina* concurrebant, quasi missam a Deo conditore plagam per incantationes vel *phylacteria* . . . cohibere valent.' A phylactery with relics from neck to breast in Sigeb. Gembl. 828. In Bonaventurae centiloq. 1, 29 (Opp. ed. Venet. 5, 130): 'Maleficium est peritia per quam mulieres faciunt aliquas *ligaturas* in damnum vel in commodum alicujus, ut de *crista galli* et de *rana* et de imagine cum eis.' Even Pliny 30, 1 [30] speaks of tying *beetles* on. The *fülizant*, foal's tooth, Ms. 2, 160^b I have noticed p. 658n.; Pliny 28, 19 [78] alludes to this custom also: '*dentes qui equis primum cadunt* facilem dentitionem praestant *infantibus adalligati*.' The godfather mentioned with '*fülizant*' is, I suppose, to put it round the godchild with his own hands? The tying-on of simples is treated more fully in the next chap. (see Suppl.).

Bewitching a newly-married couple was alluded to, pp. 1073-96. The witch, by merely *muttering* a spell during the wedding, if she be present, can incapacitate both husband and wife for having children. Hincmar 1, 654 relates a case, and states the composition of the material employed as a charm; on his statement is founded a passage in Gratian's decree ii. 33, 1 §4. Such sorcery is named *tying the senkel* or *nestel*, *turning the lock*, *binding*, because it is accompanied by the secret tying of a knot or locking of a padlock.¹ *Nestel* means a tie (ligula); it is a *senkel* when the ends are tipped with metal, to make it sink faster. It is also called *tying up the breach*, tying the tippet or nether garment, Fr. *nouer l'aiguillette*. There are said to be fifty sorts of these ties, and a vast number of unintelligible *tie-spells*.² The lock when fastened, the knot when tied, was thrown away, not hung on the bewitched.

Many forms are observed in *pregnancy* and *childbirth*, Sup. I, 41. 176. 293. 337. 364. 489. 561. 654. 673-4. 688. 691. 702. 724—732. 817. 859. 924-5. 933. M, 12. 18—23. If the woman put her husband's *slippers* on, if on the wedding-day the bridegroom tie the bride's *garters*, she will have easy labours. Does this account for the custom, whose antiquity I shall presently prove; of the bride on the wedding-night *exchanging her shift* for the

¹ Antidotes in Etnn. hebamme p. 294-6. Wegner's Schauplatz p. 625 seq.

² Bodin, transl. by Fischart, p. 74-5. [Tie as many knots as one has warts, etc.]

bridegroom's shirt? Vintler says, Sup. G, l. 170: 'da sind dan etlich briute (some brides), die legent *ir hemd* an irs mannes ort (place).' More clearly in Turlin's Wh. 148: 'diu künigîn wart gebrîset in ein *hemede*;

als er dir sî gelegen bî (lain down beside thee),
 und er dar nâch entslâfen sî (gone to sleep),
 sô lege tougen (stealthily) *sîn hemede* an;
 und ob dîn sin gesuochen kan (wit can contrive),
 daz ez werde heimlich getân (be secretly done),
 sich (see), daz dich iht verdrieze (fail not),
dîn hemde sîn houpt beslieze (envelop his head);
 daz sol an dînem vlîze stên (depend on thy pains):
 dar nâch soldu über in gên
an sîme hemde, daz wirt dir vromen (profit thee).

Among the Greeks a birth was forwarded or checked by superior divine beings, the *eileithyiai*, handmaids of Hera, who were gradually merged in a single *Eileithyia*, the Roman *Lucina*. In our Edda *Oddrûn* the sister of Atli has skill in childbirth, she posts over land to the expectant mother, flings the saddle off her steed and strides into the hall (Sæm. 239), kneels down before the maid, and speaks her charm. They spoke of '*kiôsa mæðr frá mögum*' (exsolvere matres a pueris), Sæm. 187^b, and gave the office to norns. There must have been from the earliest times sympathetic means of *delivering* and of *obstructing*, which are practised to this day: to cross the legs, to fold the hands before the woman in labour was obstructive, to leave loose or disengage was helpful; probably the energetic unsaddling of the steed had this meaning. Ovid's Met. 9, 298:

Dextroque a poplite laevum
 pressa genu, *digitis* inter se *pectine junctis*
 sustinuit nixus; tacita quoque carmina voce
 dixit, et inceptos tenuerunt carmina partus.

310. Divam residentem vidit in ara,
 brachiaque *in genibus digitis connexa* tenentem.
314. Exsiluit, junctasque manus pavefacta remisit
 diva potens uteri: *vinclis levor ipsa remissis*.

‘*Assidere gravidis, vel cum remedium alicui adhibeatur, digitis pectinatim inter se implexis veneficium est, idque compertum tradunt Alcmena Herculem pariente. Pejus si circa unum ambove genua; item poplites alternis genibus imponi,*’ Pliny 28, 6 [17]. ‘*Ferunt difficiles partus statim solvi, si quis tectum in quo sit gravida transmiserit lapide vel missili ex his qui tria animalia singulis ictibus interfecerint, hominem, aprum, ursum. Probabilius id facit hasta velitaris, evulsa e corpore hominis, si terram non attigerit,*’ 28, 4 [6], (see Suppl.).

A poisoning case was sometimes met by forcible remedies: the man was hung up by the heels, and after a time one of his eyes pulled out, in hopes of the venom oozing out at that aperture: ‘*tamen intoxicatus Albertus in Austria, et diu per pedes suspensus, oculum perdens evasit,*’ Alb. Argent. (ed. Basil. 1569) p. 167 (see Suppl.).

Water, springs, fire (pp. 1166. 1173) have power to preserve health or restore it (pp. 586-8. 605-6. 618-9. 621—4); especially a *spring* that has burst out of the rock at the bidding of a god or saint. The *snake* that lies coiled round the holywell, or is seen beside it (p. 585-8n.), may be likened to the serpent-rod of Aesculapius. Healing water or oil trickles out of rocks and walls. The mother that was walled in (p. 1143) continued for a time to nourish her babe through a hole in the wall, till at last she died. At that hole there is a *continual dropping*, women whose *milk has run dry* go there to get healed: the mother’s milk had streamed so long that it sets other breasts flowing too. I know of a similar story in Italy: ‘*est quoque non procul ab hoc oppido (Verona), in valle quadam Policella dicta, locus Nogarina nomine, ubi saxum durissimum visitur, in quo mammae ad justam muliebrium formam sculptae sunt, ex quarum papillis perpetuae stillant aquae, quibus si lactans mulier papillas asperserit et laverit, exsiccatus aliquo (ut fit) vel morbo vel alio casu illi lacteus humor revocatur,*’ Hentzneri itinerar. p. 201. A rock which drops milk is mentioned in Fel. Faber’s *Evagator*. 1, 449; and the Lith. *Laumés papas* (teat) is the name of a hard stone.

To the *tombs of saints* a direct healing power was ascribed in the Mid. Ages, everything in contact with them brought help, even a draught of the water poured over bones, garments, splinters and earth. Turf and dew off the grave can heal (Greg.

Tur. vitæ patr. 6, 7).¹ Beda 3, 9 tells of St. Oswald: 'In loco ubi pro patria dimicans a paganis interfectus est, usque hodie sanitates infirmorum et hominum et pecorum celebrari non desinunt. Unde contigit ut pulverem ipsum, ubi corpus ejus in terram corruit, multi auferentes et in aquam mittentes suis per haec infirmis multum commodi afferrent: qui videlicet mos adeo increbuit, ut paulatim ablata exinde terra fossam ad mensuram staturae virilis reddiderit.' 3, 11: 'De pulvere pavimenti in quo aqua lavacri illius effusa est, multi jam sanati infirmi.' 3, 13: 'Habeo quidem de ligno in quo caput ejus occisi a paganis infixum est . . . tunc benedixi aquam, et astulam roboris praefati immittens obtuli aegro potandam: nec mora, melius habere coepit.' 4, 3 of St. Ceadda (d. 672): 'Est autem locus idem sepulcri tumba in modum domunculi facta coopertus, habente foramen in pariete, per quod solent hi qui causa devotionis illo adveniunt manum suam immittere, ac partem pulveris inde assumere, quam cum in aquas miserint atque has infirmantibus jumentis sive hominibus gustandas dederint, mox infirmitatis ablata molestia, cupitae sanitatis gaudia redibunt.' 4, 61 of Earconwald: 'Etenim usque hodie feretrum⁴ ejus caballarium, quo infirmus vehi solebat, servatum a discipulis ejus, multos febricitantes vel alio quolibet incommodo fessos sanare non destitit. Non solum autem suppositi eidem feretro vel appositi curantur aegroti, sed et astulae de illo abscissae atque ad infirmos allatae citam illis solent afferre medelam.'—Relics not only heal, but bring fortune, peace and fruitfulness, pretty much as the jewels of elves and dwarfs did in particular families: 'ubicunque hae reliquiae fuerint, illic pax et augmentum et lenitas aëris semper erit' (Pertz 1, 71).²

¹ Greg. Tur. mirac. 1, 21 takes from Eusebius 7, 18 the tale of a metal image of the Saviour and the woman of Caesarea, whose issue of blood was stanchèd: 'Hujus ad pedem statuae in basi herba quaedam nova specie nascitur. quae cum exorta fuerit, crescere usque ad stolae illius aereae indumenti fimbriam solet. quam cum summo vertice crescem herba contigerit, vires inde ad depellendos omnes morbos languoresque conquirat; ita ut quaecunque fuerit illa infirmitas corporis, haustu exiguo madefacta salutaris graminis depellatur; nihil omnino virium gerens, si antequam aereae fimbriae summitatem crescendo contigerit, decerpatur. hanc statuam ad similitudinem vultus Jesu tradebant, quae permansit etiam ad nostra (Eusebii) usque tempora. sicut ipsi oculis nostris inspeximus.'—The beautiful myth is also copied by Agobardus (Opp. ed. Baluze, Par. 1666. 2, 248-9). It was essential for the plant to have grown up to the hem of the garment, it was only by touching it that it acquired healing efficacy.

² Les reliques sunt forz, Deus i fait grant vertuz,
iloc juit un contrait, set anz out ke ne se mut,

The legends are full of the marvellous deliverances vouchsafed to pilgrim patients at the tombs of saints. An incredible number of sick had recourse to this method; but it is cleverly parodied in our *Beast-apologue* (Reinh. pp. cv. cxxvi): the hare with his fever, the wolf with his earache, are cured the moment they lie down on the grave of the martyred hen. From such delusion the heathens were free: I nowhere find it stated that they sought healing from relics or at the mounds of their kings and giants. They resorted however to *sacred woods*, p. 72-4 (see *Suppl.*).¹

In Greece, particularly in Bœotia, it was customary for patients, *on recovery*, to set up in the temple a metal model of the part of the body which had been affected. Amongst *ἀναθήματα* an inscription mentions *πρόσωπον, τιτθός, αἰδοῖον, χεῖρ, &c.*; ² these votive offerings were afterwards melted down to make sacred vessels. The custom of votive tablets with limbs depicted on them may indeed have been imported into Germany by the Romans while yet heathens, unless we will admit that our fathers themselves had known them before. The passage from Gregory given p. 81 says expressly: ‘*membra, secundum quod unumquemque dolor attigisset, sculpebat in ligno,*’ and further on, ‘*visi enim in eo barbari gentili superstitione, modo auri argentique dona, modo fercula ad potum vomitumque ebrii offerre, cultumque quo nihil insanius, istis simulacrum inanis dei, ac ut quemque affecti membri dolor presserat, sculpebat in ligno suspendebatque opitulaturo idolo.*’ This was done in Ripuaria in the 6th cent. Eligius refers to the same thing, *Sup. A*: ‘*pedum similitudines, quos per bivia ponunt, fieri vetate, et ubi invenerit igni cremate; per nullam aliam artem salvari vos credatis nisi per invocationem et crucem Christi!*’ and the *Indiculus* § 29, ‘*de ligneis pedibus*

tut li os li crussirent, li ners li sunt estendut :
ore sailt sus en peez, unkes plus sain ne fud. Rom. de Charlem. 192—5.

Les reliques sunt forz, granz vertuz i fait Deus,
que il ne venent a ewe, nen partissent les guet,
nencuntret aveogle ki ne seit reluminet,
les cuntrez i redrescent, e les muz funt parler. 255—8.

¹ The origin of relie-worship I shall investigate in another place.

² Corp. inscript. 1, 750 no. 1570, where Böckh says: ‘*Donaria medicationis causa Amphiarao oblata. qui ex oraculo per somnium dato restituti in sanitatem erant, ii partim membri quo laborarant effigiem dicabant (p. 474 no. 497-8), partim alia donaria, quemadmodum etiam in fontem Amphiarai dejicere nummos solebant.*’ Conf. Pausan. 1, 3.

vel *manibus pagano ritu*' ; a woman with a palsied arm is admonished *in a dream* 'ut instar semivivae *manum ceream* formando exprimeret, et ad sanctae Idae tumulum deferret' (begin. of 10th cent., Pertz 2, 573). At the same time even these authorities teach us an important distinction: the Greek brought his *ἀνάθημα* out of gratitude, when the malady was healed; the German hung up the limb in the temple or at the cross-roads, with a view to obtain relief thereby, '*opitulaturo idolo*,' and '*per nullam aliam artem salvari vos credatis*.' And for this purpose a *wooden* or perhaps *waxen* image sufficed, which would have been a paltry present to the succouring deity; conf. another passage from Gregory in my RA. 674, and Ruinart's note thereon. So that this German heathenry is of a piece with the sorcery by wax images (p. 1091), and with heathen sacrifices, which kept up an analogy between the thing prayed for and the thing offered: those who wished for children presented a *child of wax*, *wood* or *silver*, while conversely a figure of wax or silver served as penance for slaying the body. But what shocked the early teachers as sheer paganism was afterwards humoured and licensed by the church. A votive tablet at Alt-öttingen represents an unhappy man with an arrow passing through his eyebrow into the eye-pupil (Schm. 1, 242).¹ At places famed for pilgrimages we find hands, feet, etc. of wood or wax fastened to the walls; outside the church were *hung up* the *crutches* on which the sick had come, and which they needed no longer in going away healed: '*ut incredibilis materies scabellorum atque oscillorum post perceptam sanitatem a redeuntibus ibi remaneret*,' Acta Bened. sec. v, p. 102; conf. Pertz 2, 574. Among the Greeks the sick often slept in the temple of the deity in whom they put their trust, and received *in a dream* instructions as to cure;² much the same occurs in medieval legends, e.g. that passage in the Life of St. Ida. Put together with this the first dream in a new house or stable, p. 1146 (see Suppl.).

There were superstitious signs, by observing which you could

¹ Diseases also were hung up pictorially: thus, before miraculous images in Bavaria and Austria, among the waxen hands and feet you may see a crab- or toad-like figure, understood to be the 'ber-mutter' that crawled about in the body, Schm. 1, 188. Höfer 1, 78. Wolf's Deutsche sagen p. 491.

² Jac. Phil. Tomasini de donariis ac tabellis votivis, Patavii 1654, 4, cap. 34, p. 214—26 vota pro aegrotantium salute.

tell whether one dangerously ill would fall a prey or get well: the cries, the flight, the wheeling of birds have been noticed on p. 1135. Burchardt (Sup. C, 195^d) instances the lifting up of stones to see if any live beast were underneath; which is like snatching up a handful of earth and looking for a living creature in it (F, 9). The look of the bird Galadrôt, and the position of Death, whether at the patient's head or feet (p. 853) were significant omens. That *standing at the feet* was an advantage we find already in Pliny 30, 10 [24]: 'Eundem (ricinum, tick) in augurio vitalium habent: nam si aeger ei respondeat qui intulerit, a pedibus stanti interrogantique de morbo, spem vitae certam esse: moriturum nihil respondere. Adjiciunt, ut evellatur (ricinus) ex aure laeva canis cui non sit alius quam niger color.' —It is believed in Scotland to this day, that if you cannot see the mannikin in the sick man's eye, he is sure to die: the bystander's image is no longer mirrored in the lustreless pupil of the breaking eye. And as far back as the AS. dialogue between Adrian and Ritheus (Thorpe p. 48): 'Saga me, on hwâm mæig man geseon mannes deáð? Ic þe secge, twege *manlican* beoð on *mannes eágum*: gif þû þâ ne gesihst, þonne swilt (dies) se man, and bið gewiten (gone) ær þrim dagum.' Put by the side of this, that the κόρη is not to be seen in a bewitched man's eyes either, and in a witch's eye it is seen upside down, or double (pp. 1074-80). When a dying man cannot get his release, a *shingle* of the roof is to be *turned* (Sup. I, 439), three *tiles taken up* (721), or any hollow house-utensil *inverted* (664). The like means are adopted in convulsions (853) and childbirth (561): 'if it go hard with her in travail, the husband shall *take three shingles out of the roof*, and put them in again wrong side up,' Etnn. hebamme p. 663; conf. supra p. 1116.

I have kept to the last what I had to say of the *plague* and the numerous traditions based on its appearing. After great floods, when heavy fog and sultry mist poison the air, it suddenly breaks out and spreads resistless over the earth.

To the Gr. λοιμός (p. 888) correspond, in gender as well, our OHG. *sterpo*, *scelmo* (MHG. *schelme*), Gl. jun. 219 *scalmo*, *fiusterbo*, ON. *skelmis-drep* or *drep* alone; OHG. *wuol*, Diut. 1,

501^a, AS. *wól*, gen. *wóles*. The Latin names *pestis*, *lues* are fem., so are the Serv. *kuga*, *moriya*; but masc. again the Boh. Pol. *mor*, Lith. *maras*, Lett. *mehris*. The Serv. Slov. *kuga* is the M. Nethl. *koghe* (Detmar 1, 81. 113. 127. 148. 377), and even a MHG. poem (Meyer and Mooyer, p. 46^a) has *koge*. MHG. usually 'der *gáhe tót*,' swift death, Wigal. 3726 (Nethl. *gá-dót*, Maerl. 1, 230. 293); but also 'der *grosse tód*,' great death, Swed. *diger-döden* (ON. *digr crassus*, *tumidus*); ON. *svarti dauði*, Dan. 'den *sorte död*,' black death, perhaps even in allusion to *Surtr* (p. 809).¹

To the Greeks the whizzing shafts of wrathful *Apollo* brought the plague: a man dying suddenly is slain by *Apollo's* artillery, a woman by that of *Artemis*; conf. the *destroying angel*, 2 Sam. 24, 16. *Hermes*, protector of the flock, carries round it the *ram*, to ward off murrain; afterwards he carries it round the city also, *Κριοφόρος*.² Virgins were sacrificed to stay the ravages of pestilence. Pliny 26, 9 [60] says a maiden can cure boils (*panos*) by laying *verbascum* on them: *Experti affirmavere plurimum referre, si virgo imponat nuda, jejuna jejuno, et manu supina tangens dicat, 'Negat Apollo pestem posse crescere, cui nuda virgo restinguat!'* atque retrorsa manu ter dicat, totiesque despuant ambo. The ceremony was transferred from the heavy scourge to lighter ones: the disrobing of the maiden was required for allaying drought (p. 593-4), and in many other cases (see Suppl.).

That *angel of death* means Death himself, who comes to gather his own. A Lombard legend speaks of two angels, a good and a bad, who traverse the land: 'Pari etiam modo haec pestilentia Ticinum quoque depopulata est, ita ut cunctis civibus per juga montium seu per diversa loca fugientibus, in foro et per plateas civitatis herbae et fructeta nascerentur. Tuncque visibiliter multis apparuit, quia *bonus* et *malus angelus noctu per civitatem pergerent*, et ex jussu boni angeli *malus angelus*, qui videbatur venabulum manu ferre, *quotiens de venabulo ostium cujuscunque*

¹ Paul. Diac. 2, 4, paints a desolating plague in colours that recall the vivid picture Boccaccio has sketched by way of Introd. to his Decameron. How Sweden and Norway were wasted during the Great Plague, is described in Afzelius 4, 179. 180 and especially in Faye, pp. 135—148, after beautiful folk-tales.

² 'Massilienses quoties pestilentia laborabant, unus se ex pauperioribus offerebat alendus anno integro publicis et purioribus cibis. Hic postea ornatus verbenis et vestibibus sacris circumducebatur per totam civitatem cum execrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent mala civitatis, et sic projiciebatur,' Petron. cap. 141.

domus percussisset, tot de eadem domo die sequenti homines interirent. Tunc per revelationem cuidam dictum est, quod pestis ipsa prius non quiesceret quam in basilica beati Petri, quae ad vincula dicitur, sancti Sebastiani martyris altarium poneretur. Factum est, et delatis ab urbe Roma b. Sebastiani reliquiis, mox ut in jam dicta basilica altarium constitutum est, *pestis ipsa quievit*, Paul. Diac. 6, 5. In the year 589, when the Tiber had overflowed, and a plague had arisen which carried off many men, St Gregory ordered a solemn procession of the Cross; 80 people in the church dropped down ‘allen gâhes’ at his feet and died; then, rising from prayer, ‘sach er stên ûf dem Dietriches hûse einen engel mit pluotigem swerte, der wiskete daz selbe swert durch sinen gëren (wiped it on his skirt). do verstuont (understood) der heilige man, daz der êwige Vater sînes zornes hin ze den liuten erwinden wolte,’ would turn from his anger.¹

Like such an angel of death, the Norse *Hel* rides about on her steed (pp. 314. 844), which is no other than the *dead-horse* seen in churchyards, p. 1142 (see Suppl.).

A Voigtland tradition makes the plague come on as a *blue vapour*, shaped like a cloud, Jul. Schmidt p. 158. By this is meant the sultry mist that precedes a pestilence; ‘blue vapour’ suggests the fire of the Thunder-god, p. 178. A plague that raged in the Odenwald shewed itself in the shape of a *little blue flame* in the sacristy of the *town-church* at Erbach; and they *walled it in*. In Amm. Marcel. 23, 6 (A.D. 363): ‘Fertur autem quod post direptum hoc idem figmentum (Apollinis simulacrum), incensa civitate (Seleucia), milites *fanum* scrutantes invenere *foramen angustum* : quo reserato ut pretiosum aliquid invenirent, ex adyto quodam concluso a Chaldaeorum arcanis *labes primordialis exsiluit*, quæ insanabilium vi concepta morborum, ejusdem Veri Marci que Antonini temporibus *ab ipsis Persarum finibus ad usque Rhenum et Gallias cuncta contagiis polluebat et mortibus.*’

—Again, in the year 1709 the plague at Conitz in Prussia was charmed *into a hole of the lime-tree* in the churchyard, then a plug kept ready for the purpose, and fitting exactly, was driven

¹ Deutsche predigten ed. by K. Roth p. 76; conf. Hoffm. fundgr. 1, 77. Greg. Tur. 10, 1. 2. *Dietrich's house* is the moles Hadriani, named St. Angelo's castle after this very angel who shewed himself to the praying processionists. Our legends like to name large Roman buildings after Theoderic, notably the amphitheatre of Verona, Deut. heldensage pp. 40, 203.

in ; since which she has never contrived to shew her face in the country again (Tettau and Temme p. 222). This agrees with the *blocking-up* of Unsælde and the shrewmouse (pp. 878. 1168), but also with the general notion of diseases being transferable to trees. The immuring of the plague in *church and temple* is based on its having issued from the divinity (see Suppl.).

Augustine's De verbo apostol. 168 pictures the plague as a *woman that prowls about*, and can be bought off with money : ' Proverbium est Punicum, quod quidem Latine vobis dicam, quia Punice non omnes nostis ; Pun. enim prov. est antiquum : *Numum vult Pestilentia ? duos illi da, et ducat se.*'

During the great pestilence under Justinian, men saw brazen barks on the sea, and black men without heads sitting in them : wherever they sailed to, the plague at once broke out. In a city of Egypt the only inhabitants left alive were seven men and a boy ten years old ; they were escaping with their valuables, when in a house near the town-gate all the men dropped down dead, and the boy alone fled ; but under the gate a spectre seized him, and dragged him back into the house. Soon after, a rich man's steward came to fetch goods out of the house, and the boy warned him to haste away : at the same instant both man and boy fell dead to the ground. So says bishop John (Assemanni biblioth. orient. 2, 86-7).

The Mod. Greeks think of the plague as a *blind woman* that wanders through the towns from house to house, killing all she can touch. But she goes groping and feeling round the wall, and if you are wise enough to keep in the middle of the room, she can't get at you. According to one folk-tale, it is *three terrible women* that traverse the towns in company, one carrying a large paper, another a pair of scissors, the third a broom. Together they walk into the house where they mean to find victims : the first enters their names on her list, the next wounds them with her scissors, the last sweeps them away (Fauriel's Disc. préel. lxxxiii). Here are the three Fates (p. 410) or Furies and Eumenids converted into death-goddesses.

There is a beautiful Breton lay in Villemarqué 1, 46—51, called *Bosen Elliant*, the Elliant plague. A miller, so goes the tale, saw a *woman robed in white* sitting, staff in hand, at the ford of the river, wishing to be *carried over*. He took her on his

horse, and set her down on the other side. Then she said, 'Young man, and knowst thou whom thou hast put across? I am the *Plague*; and now having ended my journey round Bretagne, I will go to mass in Elliant church; every one whom I touch with my staff, shall speedily die, but thee and thy mother no harm shall befall.' And so it came to pass: all the people in that bourg died, save the poor widow and her son. Another folksong makes him convey her *on his shoulders*: nine children are carried out of one house, the churchyard is filled up to the walls: 'beside the churchyard stands an *oak*, to its top is tied a white kerchief, for the *Plague* has snatched away all the people.' She was banished at last by songs being sung about her: when she heard herself called by her name, she withdrew from the land, and never came back. The request to be *carried across* is exactly like those of the goddess Berhta and beings of elf kind.

Of the Lithuanian *Giltine*, plague or death-goddess, I should like to know fuller accounts. She massacres without mercy: 'kad tawę Giltine pasmaugtu (plague choke thee)!' is a familiar imprecation (Mielcke sub v. Donaleitis 141). The plague is also named *Magila* [Sl. mogiła, a grave], or simply *diewe* (goddess), and they say in cursing 'imma ji Magilos, imma ji diewai!' From Polish Lithuania, Adam Mickiewicz¹ reports as follows on the *morowa dziewczica*, plague-maiden:—

Kiedy zaraza Litwę ma uderzyć,
jéj przyjsie wieszca odgadnie zrózenica;
bo jeśli sljuszna waidelotom wierzyć,
nieraz na pustych smętarzach i bljoniach
staje widomie *morowa dziewczica*
w bieliznie, z wiankiem ognistym na skroniach,
czoljem przenosi białowieskie drzewa
a w rękę chustką skrwawioną powiéwa.
Dziewica stąpa kroki zljowieszczemi
na siolja, zamki i bogate miasta;
a ile razy krwawe chustką skinie,
tyle palaców zmienia się w pustynie;
gdzie nogą stąpi, świeży grób wyrasta.²

¹ Konrad Wallenrod's *Poezye*, Warszawie 1832. p. 96.

² 'When a plague smites Lithuania . . . then, if we may believe the waidelots, in lone burial-grounds and fields stands visible the plague-maiden in white raiment with fiery wreath about her temples, bears on her brow divining-rods (?), and in her hand a *blood-stained kerchief waves*. The maiden steps with deliberate pace into villages, castles and wealthy towns; whenever she spreads out her gory kerchief, palaces turn into wildernesses; where with her foot she steps, a fresh grave grows

Woycicki, 1, 51, calls her *Powietrze*, which properly means air, vapour (p. 1183), but also plague. Clothed in white, she stalks along on stilts, tells her name to a man she meets, and wants to be carried *on his shoulders* through all the Russias: amidst the dead and dying he shall go unhurt. Well, he carries her through thorp and town: where she *waves her kerchief*, everybody dies, and all men flee before them. Arrived at the Pruth, he thought to drown her, and jumped into the river, but up she floated light as a feather, and flew to the woodland, while he sank to the bottom.

In another story 1, 127 she is called *Dżuma* (Russ. Serv. *chuma*): while she prevails, the villages stand deserted, the cocks are hoarse and cannot crow, the dogs no longer bark, yet they scent the Plague from afar (p. 666), and growl. A peasant saw her, *in white garb* and waving hair, clear a high fence and run up a ladder, to escape the howling dogs: he hurries up to the ladder and pushes it over, so that the Plague fell among the dogs; then she disappeared, still threatening vengeance.

Sometimes the *Dżuma* rides through the wood in a waggon, attended by owls and uhus (great horned owl): this ghostly procession is named *Homen*, Woyc. 1, 130—3. 159—163. But the Plague could only last till New-year's day; then those who have fled troop back to their homes, taking care however not to walk in through the door, but to climb in at the window.

A tale narrated by a Wendish peasant, Joh. Parum Schulze,¹ falls somewhere in the middle of the 17th century: So it came to pass, that a man, as I have always heard tell, that was Niebuhr by name, where now Kuffalen dwell, that was afterward Luchau, as he rideth home from town, there comes a *man* alongside, and begs that he may ride a little in the cart, for that he was right weary. This Hans Niebuhr asks him in Wendish, as that tongue was then commonly used, 'whence, and whither away?' and takes him up on the cart. At first he will not declare himself, but this Niebuhr, being somewhat drunken, begins to question more sharply. Then he declared himself, saying, 'I will to thy

up.' I am not sure that I have rightly rendered 'bialjowieskie drzewa,' nor whether the adj. can be conn. with 'bialowieszeka' p. 474 n.

¹ Of Sütten village, Küsten parish, Lüneburg. About 1740 he composed a chronicle, Ann. der Br. Lüneb. churlande, jahrg. 8, Hanover 1794. p. 282-3.

village with thee, where I have not yet been; for I am *der Pest* (m.)' Then did Niebuhr intreat for his life, and the Plague gave him this lesson, that he should leave him in the cart outside the village, and *strip naked* and have no clothing at all on his body, but [going home,] take his *pot-hook*, and coming out before his house, *run all round his homestead with the sun, and then bury it under the doorstep*: 'if one but carry me not in' quoth the *Pest*, 'in the smell that hangs about the clothes.' Now this Niebuhr leaves him in the cart a good piece from the village, for it was night; takes the *pot-hanger*, runs *naked out of the village and all round it*, then sticks the iron under the bridge, which iron I myself saw in the year 1690 when the bridge was mended, but nigh eaten away with rust. When this Niebuhr came back for his horse and cart, quoth the Plague: 'had I known this, I had not declared myself to thee, this device whereby thou hast *locked me out of the whole village*.' When they were come up to the village, Niebuhr takes his horses out of the cart, and leaves him sitting thereon. Neither was any sickness from pestilence perceived in that village; but in all the villages around the plague did mightily rage.

So far Schulze's homely narrative. Removing the *pot-hook* off the hearth seems to stand for leaving the house open: from a deserted house death has nothing to take. As the retiring householder symbolically 'lets down the *haal* on the hearth,' the new one on taking possession must 'tuck it up' again.¹ Running round the house or village resembles that carrying of the ram round the city, and the undressing agrees with the Roman custom.

Then, as the Plague is slow of foot, she gets herself driven into the village in a cart, or lugged in pickaback, like homesprites and will o' wisps that jump on men's shoulders, pp. 512-3. 916.

Swedish stories make the Plague enter a village from the south, and stand still before the first homestead, looking like a pretty *little boy* with a rasp or grater (*rifva*) in his hand, and rasping with it. When he did that, there still remained one or two alive in a house, as the *grater* could not take everything along with it. But when he got to the next village, there came after him the *Plague-damsel* (*pestflicka*), she swept with a *broom* outside the

¹ Wulfter's Deduction, beil. nos. 4. 5. 135.

gate, then all in the village died. But she was very seldom seen, and never except at daybreak (Afzelius 4, 179).

In Vestergötland they had decreed a human sacrifice to stay the 'digerdöd,' and *two beggar children* having just then come in, were to be *buried alive in the ground*. They soon dug the pit open, gave the hungry children cake spread with lard, and made them sit down in the pit: while they ate, the people shovelled up the earth. 'Oh,' cried the younger child, when the first spadeful was thrown over it, 'here's some dirt fallen on my bread and lard.' A mound was quickly thrown up over them, and nothing more was heard of them (Afz. 4, 181). Compare the walling up of children in the foundation of a new building, p. 1142, and the offering of a young heifer in the holy fire during cattle-plague, p. 608.

In Norway the *Pesta* is imagined as a *pale old woman* who travelled about the country with a *grater* (rive, a toothed instrument for tearing up sods or hay and corn) and a *broom* (lime): when she used the grater, some few got off with their lives, but where the besom came into play, there perished every born soul. A man having rowed her *over a piece of water*, and demanding his fare, she said, 'you'll find your quittance on the bench at home;' and no sooner was he home, than he sickened and died. She often appears *in red clothing*, and whoever beholds her falls into a great fear (Faye p. 135).

The Servians say their *Kuga* is a real woman, who goes *wrapt in a white veil*: many have seen her so, and some have carried her. She came to one man in the field, or met him on the road, and said, 'I am the *Kuga*, carry me to such a place!' He took her up pickaback, and without any trouble carried her whither she would. The *Kugas* (plagues) have a country of their own by the sea, but God sends them when people do wickedly and sin much. While the plague rages they never call her *kuga*, but *kuma* (cummer, gossip), to make her friendly. And during that time they dare not leave any vessels unwashed at night, for she will pass through the kitchen, and if she spy any such, will scour and polish all the spoons and dishes (which detains her in the house); at times she even makes away with the bacon out of the loft, Wtb. sub v. *Kuga*; and new ed. of Serv. songs 1, 149 note.

Here again she comes out in the fashion of ancient goddesses,

Holda and Berhta, who cannot abide disorder in the house, pp. 268. 274.

Among the Slovèns, cattle-plague (kuga) is a *spotted calf* that kills sheep and oxen by its cry (Murko p. 74).

The devil is reported to have said, there was but one cure for the kuga, that was mattock and hoe, meaning burial (Vuk sub v. metil).

A Finnic song (Schröter 60) adjures the Plague to take herself away to steely mountains in the gloomy North: saddle-horse and carriage-horse shall be given her for the journey. She is called *rutto*, the sudden, like our MHG. *gâhe tât*.

In L. Germany they have folktales about the *Heidmann* (heath man) who *peeps in at your window* at night: any one he looks at then, must die within year and day; just so does Berhta look in at the window (p. 274), so does Death (p. 772). In Tyrol too they tell of a ghost that goes about at the time of one's death: whatever *window he looks into*, people die in that house, DS. no. 266.

In the Lausitz *Smertnitsa in white array* prowls about the villages: to whatever house she directs her step, a corpse will soon be there. In the house itself she announces her presence by thumping and turning the boards up. Convulsions in the dying are signs that *Smertnitsa* is getting the better of them, Laus. mon. schr. 1797. p. 756.

There cannot be the slightest doubt left, that all these various personifications of the plague are to be viewed as effluences of superior divinities of antiquity, whose might, merciful and awful, they display by turns. Veiled in white they stride along, like Berhta, and like the mother that walks in the corn at noon. Plague-maiden and fate-maiden meet and touch, *morowa dziewica* with *Marena, Morena* (p. 771), the harmful goddess with the healing pitying *Eir* (see Suppl.).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

HERBS AND STONES.

Pliny has thrown a peculiar charm over his Natural History by not disdaining to record minutely even the superstitious views of the vulgar about animals and plants. How his reverence for antiquity, his elegance of exposition, stand out against the dry gravity of our present students of nature, who never waste a glance on the customs of their country, and to whom all the force and grace of Teutonic idiom is but small beer (see Suppl.).

‘*Krût, steine unde wort hânt an kreften grôzen hort*’ (herb and stone and wholesome word have of healing powers rich hoard), says our Freidank 111, 6; and as there lies in dwarfs a special acquaintance with the healing virtues hidden in herbs (pp. 450-1 n. 457), it is worth noticing, that in the mouth of a king of that race, Goldemar (pp. 453. 466. 509) is placed the dictum, ‘*Christianos fidem in verbis, Judæos in lapidibus pretiosis, et Paganos in herbis ponere,*’ Meibom’s Script. 1, 186. Paganism does present a rich store of mythical notions on the origin and manifold virtues of these plants.

1. HERBS.

As among men, so among Herbs, the noble tower above the base: they were created by gods in some secluded sacred spot, they sprouted up where innocent blood had been shed, they were brought over by birds, and so on. Under the goddess’s footfall the flower springs up, as all growth withers where sorrowing lovers part. On the mountain’s top, to which the lover had carried up his dying love, and poured out her last reviving draught, grew healing herbs that blessed the land at large (Marie de Fr. 1, 268). Mountains foster what is rarest in the realm of plants. Zeus and Hera laid them down on Ida’s top (Il. 14, 347):

τοῖσι δ' ὑπὸ χθῶν δια φύεν νεοθηλέα ποιήν,
λωτόν θ' ἐρσήεντα ἰδὲ κρόκον ἢ δ' ὑάκινθον,
πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν, ὃς ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ' ἔεργε

(under them bountiful earth teemed up a *new* vegetation, dew-sprinkled clover and saffron and hyacinth, thick and soft, etc.). A similar *bed of flowers* still haunts the imagination of our Minnesingers (Walth. 39. 40. Hadloub 2, 194-5), but men have to gather the grass and flowers for that amid singing of birds. To the Medieval way of thinking it was most natural to make healing herbs grow out of the graves of holy men, as we plant flowers on the tomb and pick some for remembrance. Even on the huorco's barrow grows wound-healing rosamarina, the plucking of which turns men into doves, Pentam. 4, 8. The saint's grave nourishes a peartree, whose fruit cures the sick forthwith (Greg. Tur. mirac. 1, 47). We have seen p. 1178n. how at the foot of a holy statue a *nova species* (quite the Homeric *νεοθηλις* above) grew up to the skirt of the robe, and then became a healing plant¹; with this I connect what Pliny tells us 24, 19 [106]: '*herba in capite statue nata, collectaque alicujus in vestis panno et alligata in lino rufo, capitis dolorem confestim sedare traditur*' (see Suppl.).

Many herbs and flowers are *named after gods*, but as we are seldom told the occasion of a name being given, it admits of more than one explanation. The god produced the plant, or he uses it, he loves it, loathes it, in shape or colour it resembles some part of his person, his raiment, arms, and so forth. Thus the names *Baldrs brá* (p. 222, conf. supercilium Veneris), *Freyju hár* (p. 303) come from the beaming lustre of the flower; *Forneotes folme* (p. 240), *Niarðar vötr* (p. 218) from the leaves lying like five fingers side by side. *Donner-rebe* (-vine) is the Lett. Pehrkonos. *Donnerkraut*, *Donnerbesen* (p. 183) may, like barba Jovis, be accounted for by the bushy tanglement of their tendrils; but how *Perunika* (p. 183) stands related to Perun, I do not know. *Devil's-bit* is from the marks of teeth supposed to be visible in its root, and due to diabolic agency. A great many names are taken from *beasts*, especially those of our native fable, and fancy has been equally busy on them.

Of flowers and herbs the Sanskrit distinguishes the wholesome by the adjunct 'friend,' the hurtful by 'foe,' as *Ramâpriya*, dear

¹ The healing power imparted by the *skirt of the garment* was very likely suggested by the Biblical 'touching of the hem,' Matt. 9, 20. 14, 36. Mk 6, 56. Luke 8, 44.

to Lakshmi = lotus, *Yamapriya*, dear to Yama = ficus indica, conf. Pott's Etym. for. 2, 424—7. This agrees with OHG. *gotafargezzan*, marrubium album (Graff 4, 279), MLG. *got-vorghetene* (Brun's Beitr. p. 48) and the phrase 'ergaz im Got,' Gramm. 4, 175 (supra p. 21); the herb is our andorn (horehound).

Other plants beyond a doubt derive their divine names from their healing power being first *made known* to mortals by the gods. With the Greeks, *Athena* and *Artemis* appear to have been active in this line; and I think they are represented amongst our goddesses by *Frigg* and *Freyja*, or whoever took their place afterwards, *St. Mary* above all. The *artemisia* was apparently discovered or revealed by Artemis [Pliny 25, 36, 25], the *proserpinaca* by Proserpine 27, 12 [104]. The *παρθένιον* was shown by the divine *Παρθένος*, as Pliny relates, 22, 17 [20]: 'verna carus Pericli Atheniensium principi, cum in arce templum aedificaret repissetque super altitudinem fastigii et inde cecidisset, hac herba dicitur sanatus, *monstrata Pericli somnio a Minerva*, quare *parthenium* vocari coepta est, assignaturque ei deae.' Of the lappa he says, 24, 18 [116]: 'medetur et suibus, effossa sine ferro; quidam adjiciunt et fodientem dicere oportere, Haec est herba argemon, *quam Minerva reperit*, suibus remedium qui de illa gustaverint;' ἄργεμον = albugo in the eye. Hermes pulls out of the ground for Odysseus the *φάρμακον* mighty against magic: μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί, Od. 10, 305 (p. 369). Does the *Iris* owe its name to the messenger of the gods, or the white hue of the lily, or other causes? In christian times an *angel* reveals the *angelica* in a dream, Aw. 1, 159 (see Suppl.).

The names borrowed from animals may gain much in meaning by the animals themselves being connected with the service of gods. Thus there need only a myth underlie such names as *bären-klaue*, *wolfs-milch*, OHG. *wolves-zeisala*, AS. *wulfes-tæsel*, and AS. *hræfnes-leác*, to bring to light some relation in which the herb stands to dawn (p. 743-4), to the hero suckled by the she-wolf, to the cordial conveyed by the god's messenger. We find a convincing example in the *spechts-wurzel*, pecker's root, brought by the sacred bird (p. 673), who probably gave his name to one of the grand woods of our olden time, *Spehtes-hart* (Spessart): not only does it serve to burst open the plug, but he protects the peony especially from being plucked (p. 973). The healing

παιωνία was associated with *Παιών* the divine physician, and it is precisely the wounded Ares that he doctors (II. 5, 900); in which I see a new point of connexion between Ares and Roman Mars, whose bird the woodpecker was. Athena too was named *Παιωνία*. Now I think it is not without a bearing on this matter, that our Zio himself has a herb named after him: ON. *Tý-viðr*, Dan. *Tys-ved*, daphne mezereum (p. 199), which might have been in OHG. Zio-witu, Ziowes-witu, i.e. Martis arbor, lignum, frutex; but instead of exactly this name, we find a corresponding one, which I believe I can explain more correctly now than at p. 428, note 2. I then thought of Sigelint, but as the spelling *Cigelinta*, i.e. Zige-linta, preponderates (Graff 5, 627), as *Zilant* (659) seems synonymous, and as beside *Zeiland* we have in Austria to this day *Zillind*, *Zwilind*, *Zwilinde* meaning the same daphne,¹ the real old spelling comes to light, *Zio-linta*, answering in form and substance to *Týviðr*. For linta is not only lime-tree, but also liber, bast, and we call the plant indifferently seidel-baum and seidel-bast (for zeilinde-baum, -bast), and it is commonly applied as a healing drug (Höfer 3, 135). An AS. Tiwes-wudu, Tiges-wudu, Tiges-lind is readily inferred. Now whether daphne and pæonia be related or distinct, matters nothing to their mythical analogy; Pliny says the peony was also called pentorobon, *πεντόροβον*, from its bearing four or five peas; its Boh. name is *wlči lyko*, i.e. *wolf's bast*, Fr. *garou*, i.e. loup-garou, werewolf. I will now pick out a few remarkable names of plants from F. Magnusen's Lex. 758-9. The *viola Martis*, Fr. *violette de Mars*, is in Iceland called *Týs-fiðla*, *Týrs-fiðla*: this may be a mere translation of the Latin name, which alludes more to the month than the god, like our own *märz-viole*. There is more in the Norw. *Tyri-hialm* or *Thor-hialm*, *Thoralm*, *Thor-hat* for aconitum or monk's-hood, to which answers our *eisen-hütlein* (iron hat), Swed. Dan. *storm-hat*, apparently from the flower resembling in shape a helmet or hat; but the same plant is called *wolfs-kraut*, *wolfs-wurz*, Dan. *ulve-urt*, Engl. *wolf's bane*, Dan. *ulve-bane*, *ulve-död*, which may be understood of Týr's fight with the wolf, and moreover likened to the wolf's bast and garou

¹ This too in districts that say Er-tag and not Zis-tag for Tuesday (pp. 124. 201); so that in the plant's name Zio-worship took a wider range.

above, as several other names waver between daphne and aconitum. And wolf's bast may even suggest the three bands laid on the Fenris-úlfr, 'læðing' (Dan. leding, Molb. dial. lex. p. 317), 'drômi' and 'gleipnir,' S. 33-4-5. There was yet another name for daphne given on p. 377: *Wieland's berry*, together with a Scand. *Velands urt* for the medicinal valerian; names which carry us back, if not to a god, to one of our greatest heroes of old, whose father was the wise leech *Wate* (see Suppl.).

But there is only a small number of herbs named after gods or heroes, compared with those referable to goddesses and wise women. Most of these are now given to *Mary*, who in this case, as in that of pretty little beetles (p. 694) and brilliant stars (p. 726), replaces the elder *Frouwa*. *Frauen-schühli* is trefolium melilotus, whose flower resembles a shoe, in some places *Marien-pantöffelchen*; was *Cypripedium calceolus Veneris* formed in imitation? *Fraua-menteli*, ösa (our) *fraua-menteli* (Tobler 204^b), alchemilla vulg., from its leaves being folded mantle-wise. *Fraua-seckeli* (-satchel), geum rivale, ibid. *Freyju-hår* stands for several kinds of fern (supra p. 303); does it independently answer to herba capillaris, *capillus Veneris* in Apuleius's Herb. 47, or was it borrowed from it? *Frauen-trän*, *Marien-thräne*, orchis mascula (Stald. 1, 296), reminds of 'helenium e lacrimis Helenae natum,' Pliny 21, 10 [33], still more of Freyja's golden tears, 'grâtr Freyju,' Sn. 128. 132 (conf. p. 325), and the flowers and precious stones that drop when goddesses laugh or weep (p. 1101); a costly wine is called *unser liebfrauen-milch*. How a flower came to be called *Mother-of-God's mirror*, is told in the nursery-legend. *Frauen-schlössli*, *frauen-schlüssel*, primula veris, Stald. 1, 124, otherwise himmels-schlüssel (heaven's key), schlüssel-blume; because it unlocks the spring, or opens treasure? it has yet more names, and is the medicinal betonica, of which more anon. As these plants are all natives of our meadows, it is not likely that their names were drawn from Latin, and only came into vogue in the last few centuries; though in OHG. glosses we find no herb compounded with frouwa. It were too daring to trace the *oster-blume* (ôster-gloie, Ms. 2, 61^a) back to *Ostarâ*, *Eástre*, as the form of name can, like *maiblume*, be explained by the season of its blossoming; these maybells were offered in sacrifice (p. 58), were borne by white-women (p. 963), and to

pick them before sunrise is recommended in Sup. I, 1075 (see Suppl.).

Flowers are a feminine adornment, young maidens twine the wreath, sage matrons cull the herb. Marner says prettily, Ms. 2, 174^a: 'ez riuchet (smells) als ein *edel krüt* ûz einer *megde* hant.' Why should not the wise women of even our earliest eld have been skilled in herb-lore? it is ascribed to witches and old women still, and apparently it is not without a meaning that from healing herbs the witches select names for themselves or their admirer (p. 1063). All witches' herbs may most appropriately be called *beschrei-kraut*, *beruf-kraut* (speak ill, becall, bewitch), though the names have also been applied to particular plants.

The culling and fetching of herbs had to be done at particular times, and according to long-established forms (see Suppl.).

Mostly before sunrise, when the day is young: 'herba quacunque a rivis aut fluminibus *ante solis ortum* collecta, ita ut *nemo colligentem videat*,' Pliny 24, 19 [107]. 'praecipiant aliqui effossuris (anagallida), *ante solis ortum, priusquam quidquam aliud loquantur, ter salutare eam, tum sublatam exprimere*; ita praecipuas esse vires,' 25, 13 [92]. 'aiunt, si quis *ante solis ortum* eam (chamelaeam) capiat, dicatque ad albugines oculorum se capere, adalligata discuti id vitium' 24, 14 [82]. 'et hanc (Samolum herbam) sinistra manu legi *a jejunis*' 24, 11 [63]. 'radicem (pistolochiae) *ante solis ortum* erutam involvunt lana' 20, 4 [14]. The viscus was gathered at new moon, *prima luna* 24, 4 [6]; the verbenaca 'circa *Canis ortum*, ita ut *ne luna aut sol conspiciat*' 25, 9 [59]. Unseen by man or heavenly body, silent and fasting, shall the collector approach the sacred herb. Lilies of the valley are to be culled *before sunrise*, devil's-bit at *midnight of St. John's eve*, Sup. I, 190. 1075.

Pliny 25, 3 [6] tells of a plant called by the Romans *herba Britannica*, because brought from the isles between Germany and Britain (ex oceani insulis extra terras positis 27, 1): 'Florem *vibones* vocant, qui collectus *priusquam tonitrua audiantur* (is not that between lightning and thunder?) et devoratus, securos a fulminibus in totum reddit. Frisii, qua castra erant, nostris demonstravere illam; mirorque nominis causam, nisi forte confines oceano Britanniae velut propinquae dicavere; non enim

inde appellatam eam quoniam ibi plurima nasceretur certum est, etiamnum Britannia libera.' Here we have a plant held in esteem by the ancient Germans themselves, and the injunction to gather it before hearing thunder (that year?) sounds quite Teutonic. It protected from lightning, was therefore sacred to the Thunder-god, like the house-leek, which is also called *donner-wehr*. AS. glosses render the Britannica by *hæwen-hýðele*; *hæwen* is glaucus, the second word may come from *hûð praeda*, or *hýðe portus*; in the latter case it would mean something like blue sea-flower. Anyhow it was a water-plant, hydrolapathum it is thought. I would gladly recognise in it the *seeblatt* so sacred to the Frisians and Zealanders (p. 654), whose flower is said to be white or yellow; its names *nixblume* and *mummel* call to mind the Indian names for the lotus, *Ramâ-priya*, dear to Rama or Lakshmi, and *Srîvâsa*, *Srî's* house = Lakshmi's, who came up out of the sea (see Suppl.).

In digging up a herb, the Roman custom was, first to pour mead and honey round it, as if to propitiate the earth, then to cut round the root with a sword, looking toward the east (or west), and the moment it is pulled out to lift it on high without letting it touch the ground. '*Favis ante et melle terrae ad piamentum datis, circumscriptam ferro* (verbenacam) *effodi sinistra manu et sublime tolli,*' Pliny 25, 9 [59]. '*et fossuri (iridem), tribus ante mensibus mulsa aqua circumfusa, hoc veluti placamento terrae blandiuntur, circumscripta mucrone gladii orbe triplici, et cum legerint eam protinus in coelum attollunt*' 21, 7 [19]. '*nigrum elleborum melampodion vocant, quo et domos suffiunt purgantque, spargentes et pecora, cum precatione solemnî; hoc et religiosius colligitur: primum enim gladio circumscribitur, dein qui succisurus est ortum spectat, et precatur ut liceat sibi concedentibus Diis facere; observatque aquilae volatus* (fere enim secantibus interest), *et si prope advolavit, moriturum illo anno qui succidat augurium est*' 25, 5 [21]. '*cavent effossuri (mandragoram) contrarium ventum, et tribus circulis ante gladio circumscribunt, postea fodiunt ad occasum spectantes*' 25, 13 [94]. In some cases, when the root had been dug out and made use of, it was put in again, that it might live on: '*hanc (senecionem) si ferro circumscriptam effodiat aliquis, tangatque eadem et alternis ter despuat, ac reponat in eundem locum ita*

ut vivat herba, aiunt dentem eum postea non doliturum' 25, 13 [106].

A great point was to guard against *cold iron* touching the root (hence *gold* or *red-hot iron* was used in cutting), and against the herb pulled up, or the branch cut off, touching the ground:¹ '*radicem (pistolochiae) ante solis ortum erutam involvunt lana coloris quem nativum vocant. quidam auro effodiendam censent, cavendumque ne terram attingat*' 20, 4 [14]. '(viscum) collectum e robore *sine ferro, si terram non attingit, comitialibus mederi (putant)*' 24, 4 [6]. '*virgam e myrice defractam, ut neque terram neque ferrum attingeret*' 24, 9 [41]. '*cavendum ne avulsa herba terram tangat*' 25, 13. '*herba juxta quam canes urinam fundunt, evulsa ne ferro attingatur, luxatis celerrime medetur*' 24, 19 [111].

In picking or pulling up, the operator used the *left hand*; in certain cases he had to do it *unbelted* and *unshod*, and to *state for whom and for what purpose* it was done: '*si quis unum ex his (pomis Punici mali), solutus vinculo omni cinctus et calceatus atque etiam anuli, decerpserit duobus digitis, pollice et quarto sinistrae manus, atque ita lustratis levi tactu oculis, mox in os additum devoraverit, ne dente contingat, affirmatur nullam oculorum imbecillitatem passurus eo anno*' 23, 6 [59]. '*praecipitur ut sinistra manu ad hos usus eruatur (iris rufa), colligentesque dicant cujus hominis utique causa eximant*' 21, 20 [83]. '*parthenium . . . magi contra tertianas sinistra manu evelli eam jubent, dicitque cujus causa vellatur, nec respicere*' 21, 30 [104]. '*pseudanchusa . . . folium ejus sinistra decerpi jubent magi, et cujus causa sumatur dici*' 22, 20 [24]. '*praecipitur ut qui colligit (thlaspi) dicat sumere se contra inguina et contra omnes collectiones et contra vulnera, unaque manu tollat*' 27, 13 [113]. '*autumnalis urticae radicem alligatam in tertianis, ita ut aegri nuncupentur cum eruitur ea radix, dicaturque cui et quorum filio eximatur, liberare morbo tradiderunt*' 22, 14 [16]. '*buglosso inarescente, si quis medullam e caule eximat, dicaturque ad quem liberandum febre id faciat*' 26, 11 [71]. So Columella 6, 5 of the radicle, quam pastores *consiliginem* vocant; ea in Marsis montibus plurima nascitur, omnique pecori maxime est salutaris:

¹ As they would not let witches touch the ground (p. 1074): the *iarðar* megin.

laeva manu effoditur ante solis ortum, sic enim lecta majorem vim creditur habere.

In our native tradition, now so scant and faded, I can find but little to match full accounts like these. An important statement is that of Burcard on the *bilisa* (hyoscyamus, henbane), ‘*quam virginem nudam minimo digito dextrae manus eruere faciunt, et radicatus erutam cum ligamine aliquo ad minimum digitum dextri pedis ligare*’; the object has been stated p. 593. The nudity of the person pulling it up answers to the above-mentioned laying aside of belt and shoes, but the right hand and right foot are at variance with the Roman preference for left limbs. The whole ceremony however seems to have been equally known in Gaul, where the Romans, as will appear by and by, found a herb-ritual ready organized. An AS. Herbal prescribes thus for sore eyes, wið eágena sâre: ‘*ær sunnan upgange oððe hwene ær heo fullíce gesígan onginne (begin to sink), gâ tô þære ylcan wyrte Proserpinacam, and bewrít hî ábútan mid ánum gyldennum hringe, and cweð (say) þæt þú hî tô eágena læcedóme niman wille (wilt take it for cure of eyes); æfter þrim dagon gâ æft þær-tô ær sunnangange, and genim hî and hoh (take and hang it) onbútan þæs mannes swyran (neck); heo framað wel.*’ For ælf-ádle: ‘*gang on Ðunresæfen, þonne sunne on setle sie, þær þú wite Elenan standan; sing þonne benedicite et pater noster, and sting þín seax on þá wyrte. læt stician eft tô þonne dæg, and niht furdum scáðe on þam ilcan ahte, gang ærest tô ciricean and þe gesena and Gode bebeod. gang þonne swígende, and þeah þe hwæt-hwega egeslíces ongean cume, oððe man, ne cweð þú him ænig word tô, ær þú cume tô þære wyrte, þe þú on æfen ær gemearcodest; sing þonne benedicite and pater noster, ádelf þá wirt, læt stician þæt seax þæron. gange eft swá þú raðost mæge tô ciricean, and lege under weofod mid þam seaxe, læt licgean oððæt sunne uppe sie. áwæsc siððan, dô tô drence and biseopwyrte and Cristes mæles ragu, áwyl þriwa on meolcum, geot þriwa hálig wæter on; sing on pater noster and credan etc. and hine eác ymbwrít mid sweorde on iiii healfa on cruce, and drince þone drence, siððan him bið sôna sæl.*’ Here I think a Latin groundwork, with admixture of christian rites, is self-evident. Thiers in his *Traité des superstitions* says: ‘*Quelques uns pour se garantir de maléfices ou de charmes vont cueillir de*

grand matin, à jeun, sans avoir lavé leurs mains, sans avoir prie Dieu, sans parler à personne et sans saluer personne en leur chemin, une certaine plante, et la mettent ensuite sur la personne maléficiée ou ensorcelée. Ils portent sur eux une racine de chicorée, qu'ils ont touchée à genoux avec de l'or et de l'argent le jour de la nativité de saint Jean baptiste, un peu avant le soleil levé, et qu'ils ont ensuite arrachée de terre avec un ferrement et beaucoup de cérémonies, après l'avoir exorcizée avec l'épée de Judas Machabée.' This again seems to be Celtic, and yet resembles the Roman practices, warlike Judas' patriot sword doing duty for the circle-drawing 'ferrum.' In Superst. I, 581, the lopping is also done *with gold* instead of iron. When Renart finds in the meadow the wished-for plant, and cautiously pulls it up, it is said: '*ne l'a triblée n'esquachie, ençois la menja sanz tribler, del remanant ala froter trestotes les plaies qu'il ot, et li cuir maintenant reclot et fu gariz et trestoz sains*' 25105—11. The herb was neither to be fretted nor squashed; conf. Michel's Trist. 2, 50. In Thurneisser's Erkl. der archidoxen, Berl. 1575, when it says fol. 76: '*Verbeen, agrimenia, modelger Charfreytags graben hilfft dich sehr Das dir die frawen werden holdt, Doch brauch kein eisen, grab's mit goldt*'; I think it must be drawn from Latin sources. Much more significant is what a song in the Hätzler book says of the 'herb Hope' 137. 294: '*Daz ist gar ein edel krût, Grab ez stille, nicht ze lût, Schützen sind darüber gesetzt, Begrif man dich, du wurdst geletzt An dîner sælden hõhstem pfant*' ('tis a priceless herb, I trow, dig it deftly, soft and slow: o'er it are set guards to watch thee; thou wouldst forfeit, should they catch thee, thy dearest pledge of happiness). These warders and watchers of the herb are on a par with that woodpecker that guards the peony: one would like to know more particulars about them (see Suppl.).

About the *tying-on* (*alligare*, usu. *adalligare*¹) of herbs when picked or dug up, Pliny imparts the following precepts: '*herba adalligata laevo brachio, ita ut aeger quid sit illud ignoret*' 24, 19 [107]. '*magi heliotropium quartanis quater, in tertianis ter alli-*

¹ A curious compound = ad-ad-ligare: they must have ceased to feel the origin of the assimilation *ll* before they could add a second *ad*. It is matched, imperfectly 'tis true, by our past part. geglückt (fr. gegelückt), and perfectly by the O. Fr. concueillir = concolligere, con-con-legere, and the Goth. gagamainjan to profane, gagavairþjan to reconcile.

gari jubent ab ipso aegro, precarique soluturum se nodos liberatum, et ita facere non exempta herba' 22, 21 [29]. 'sunt qui *genicula novem* vel unius vel e duabus tribusve herbis ad hunc articularum numerum *involvi lana succida nigra* jubeant ad remedia strumae panorumve. *jejunum* debere esse qui colligat, ita ire in domum absentis cui medeatur, supervenientique ter dicere *jejuno jejunum* medicamentum dare, atque ita *adalligare*, triduoque id facere. quod e graminum genere *septem internodia* habet, efficacissime capiti intra dolores *adalligatur*' 24, 19 [118]. 'alliget ei *septem folia*' 26, 11 [71]. 'verbenaca jumentorum febribus in vino medetur, sed in tertianis *a tertio geniculo* incisa, quartanis a quarto,' *ibid.*¹ Or, instead of being tied, it was put under the patient's pillow: 'sedum, si *involutum panno nigro ignorantis pulvino* subjiciatur' 26, 10 [69]. 'absinthium somnos allicit olfactum, aut *inscio sub capite* positum' 27, 7 [28]. As a rule, the sufferer was not to know what was tied on or laid under him; knots and joints in the herb bore a reference to the manner of tying and its repetitions. Often it sufficed if the protecting plant were *held in the hand* or *worn in the girdle*: 'virgam pōpuli *in manu tenentibus* intertrigo non metuatur' 24, 8 [32]. 'virgam (viticis) qui *in manu habeant* aut *in cinctu*, negantur intertriginem sentire' 24, 9 [38]. 'intertrigines negat fieri Cato absinthium Ponticum *secum habentibus*' 26, 8 [58]. Yet if you fall, *holding in your hand* the nymphæa, you become epileptic (p. 654).

But in many parts of Germany herbs of power used to be *suspended* up in the loft, on the main rafter, or over door and gate ways, and left there all the year round, till they were replaced by fresh ones.

The Romans had a strange custom of laying a *sieve* in the road, and using the *stalks of grass that grew up through it* for medical purposes: 'cribro in limite adjecto, herbae intus exstantes decerptae *adalligataeque gravidis partus accelerant*' 24, 19 [109]. The sieve was a sacred utensil (p. 1108-12): *exstare* is extra stare, *prominere*. This reminds me of our old Weis-thümer, which determine the fineness of a tissue by the stalks

¹ Wið heáfod-ece (headache): áðelf *wegbrædan* (plantago) bútan ísene ær sunnan upgange, bind þá moran (berries, seed) ymb þæt heáfod mid wrætereáðe bræde. sona him bið sel.

piercing through it, 1, 12: 'item, es sprechint ouch die hoflüt, das si hundert und sibentzig eln huobtuochoß gebint dem von Hünwil, das selb huobtuochoß sölli so swach sin, wenn man das spreit uf ein wasen, das gens gras und bollen durch das tuoch mugint essen.' And 1, 254: 'the said cloth shall be spread over turf and be of such substance that geese can eat grass through it, and not starve.' This has nothing to do with healing, but the mode of thought is similar.

Having made these general observations, I will now take up one by one the herbs most renowned for healing. Yet some of them seem purposely to have no distinct name given them; among these is the herb that kept birds away from millet and panic: 'pestem a milio atque panico, sturnorum passerumque agmina, scio abigi herba *cujus nomen ignotum est*, in quatuor angulis segetis defossa, mirum dictu, ut omnino nulla avis intret,' Pliny 18, 17 [45]. A poem in Ls. 1, 211—8 tells of a maiden that was picking flowers for a garland, and by chance got hold of a *herb she did not know*: no sooner was it *in her hand* than she saw all her lovers before her, heard their talk, and knew all their thoughts. At length one of her companions knocked the miraculous plant out of her hand, it fell into a brook that ran past, and floated away; and all the prophetic power was gone. Again, the *nameless blue wonderflower* (p. 964), that suddenly opens the shepherd's eyes who has unconsciously stuck it in his hat, and discloses the hitherto concealed entrance to the treasure (p. 971), comes before us the more mysteriously, as it cannot in the least be identified.¹ The name *forget-me-not*, which it may be said to assume to itself, is supposed to express no more than its sentiment, and seems not to have been applied to *myosotis* till a later time. A herb with an equally imperative name is reported by Pliny 27, 12 [106]: 'circa Ariminum nota est herba quam *resedam* vocant, discutit collectiones inflammationesque omnes. qui curant ea, addunt haec verba: "*Reseda*, morbos *reseda!* scisne, scisne quis hic pullos egerit? radices nec caput nec pedes habeant!" haec ter dicunt, totiesque despuunt.' Collectio is a

¹ In Polish quarries grows a beautiful *blue starflower* with a long stalk (conf. *trojziele* p. 1216), which the peasantry make war upon, because they think old women and gipsies use it in bewitching the cows, that they may suck up all the milk themselves (Pott's *Zigeuner* p. viii).

gathering, and 'pullos agere' must refer to this or the inflammation. What we now call reseda (odorata) is apparently a different herb (see Suppl.).

Of roots, the *Alrune* stands first in fame. OHG. glosses already have *alrûna*, *alrûn* for mandragora (Graff 2, 523. Schm. 3, 97), and I have on fair grounds (p. 404) identified the name of the personified plant with that of wise-women in our remotest antiquity. H. Sachs iv. 3, 34 still pictures the *Alraun* as a goddess who meets you at the crossways.¹ Besides, the root itself has the shape of a man, and the process of pulling it up is described as follows: If a hereditary thief that has preserved his chastity gets hung, and drops water or seed from him, there grows up under the gallows the broad-leaved yellow-flowered mandrake. If dug up, she groans and shrieks so dismally, that the digger would die thereof. He must therefore stop his ears with cotton or wax, and go before sunrise on a Friday, and take with him a black dog that has not a white hair on him; make three crosses over the mandrake, and dig round her till the root holds by thin fibres only; these he must tie with a string to the *dog's tail*, hold up a piece of bread before him, and run away. The dog rushes after the bread, wrenches up the root, and falls dead, pierced by her agonizing wail. The root is now taken up

¹ This personality of the *Alraun* comes out plainly in a merry tale handed down by a MS. of the 15th cent.: *Dicitur de quadam muliere, quae habuit virum nimis durum, quae quandam vetulam in sortilegiis famosam consuluit. vetula vero, experta in talibus valde, dixit 'se optima sibi scire et posse (sub-)venire, si suum vellet consilium imitari.'* et dum ipsa promitteret 'se velle imitari,' vetula adjecit: 'habesne in horto tuo canapum spissum et longum?' quae ait 'habeo valde optatum.' cui vetula 'vade' inquit 'tribus noctibus successive in crepusculo serotino ad ipsum hortum tali modo et forma. prima namque nocte accipe unam libram lardi spississimi et optimi quam poteris habere, secunda nocte duas, tertia vero tres, et semper ponas dextrum pedem ad canapum, ac projiciendo lardum usque ad medium canapi, vel citra, haec dices verba: "*Alraun du vil güet, Mit trawrigem müet Rüef ich dich an, Dastu meinen leidigen man Bringst darzue, Das er mir kein leid nimmer tue.*"' Tertia igitur nocte cum mulier haec verba replicaret, vetula abscondita in canapo jacebat. prius autem informaverat praedictam mulierem, quod attentissime auscultaret quae sibi tertia nocte dicta *Alraun* insinuaret. unde in haec verba *sub voce rauca et valde aliena* abscondita in canapo respondebat: "*Fraw, du solt haim gan, Und solt güeten müet han, Und solt leiden, meiden, sweigen (bear and forbear and hold thy peace); Thuest du das von allen deinen sinnen, So machtu wol ein güeten man gewinnen.*" et sic mulier illius vetulae verba imitabatur, et viri amaritudo in dulcedinem et mansuetudinem vertebatur.—The same story in Pauli's Schimpf u. Ernst 1555 cap. 156; a similar in a MHG. poem (Altd. wäld. 3, 160—3) and a nursery-tale (KM. no. 128), where the man, not the wife, consults the hollow tree or spindle-tree in the garden (p. 652). The form of address '*Alrûn, dâ vil quote*' reminds me of '*si vil quote*,' said to *frô Salde* when she cuts out and clothes, Walther 43, 7.

(Pliny's in sublime tolli), washed with red wine, wrapt in silk red and white, laid in a casket, bathed every Friday, and clothed in a new little white smock every new-moon. When questioned, she reveals future and secret things touching welfare and increase, makes rich, removes all enemies, brings blessings upon wedlock, and every piece of coin put to her overnight is found doubled in the morning, but she must not be overloaded. When her owner dies, she goes to the youngest son, provided he puts a piece of bread and a coin in his father's coffin. If he dies before his father, the mandrake passes to the eldest son, who must in like manner with bread and money bury his brother. All these provisions sound ancient, and may date from a long way back. Our OHG. glosses have 'alrûna' for the *mandragora* occurring several times in the Vulgate,¹ Gen. 30, 14 seq., where the Hebrew text reads *dudaim*; but the poetized version in MHG. translates it *erd-ephil*, Diut. 2, 79. Now the *mandragoras* (masc., Gr. *μανδραγόρας*) is thus described in Pliny 25, 13 [94]: 'mandragoram alii Circaeum vocant; duo ejus genera, candidus qui et mas, niger qui femina existimatur . . . cavent effossuri (album) contrarium ventum, et tribus circulis ante gladio circumscribunt, postea fodiunt ad occasum spectantes.' I find more to my purpose this time in two lines of Columella 10, 19:

quamvis semi-hominis vesano gramine foeta
mandragorae pariat flores, moestamque cicutam.

'Semi-human mandrake' goes very well with our legend, and even 'vesanum gramen' may agree with it more closely than appears from the words. Hildegard also in Phys. 2, 102 says: '*mandragora* de terra de qua Adam creatus est dilatata est, et propter *similitudinem hominis* suggestio diaboli huic plus quam aliis herbis insidiatur. et ideo, cum de terra effoditur, mox in salientem fontem per diem et noctem ponatur.' As the French *mandagloire* stands for mandragore, I conjectured (p. 402) that the *fée Maglore* may have sprung from Mandagloire; if so, it offers an exact analogy to our Alrûna the wise-woman and alrûna the mandrake, and is not to be despised. I close with an AS. description in Thorpe's Anal. p. 94, probably of the 10-11th cent., which confirms the dog's participation in the act of gathering:

¹ As a fem. pl. *mandragorae*; the LXX has *μῆλα μανδραγοῦν*, earth-apples.

‘þeos wyrt, þe man *mandragoram* nemneð . . . þonne þû tô hire cymst, þonne ongist þû hî bi þâm (wilt know her by this) þe heo on nihte scîneð ealswâ leoht-fæt (as a lamp). þonne þû hire *heáfod* ærest geseo (first see her head), þonne bewrît þû hî wel hraðe mid îserne, þy læs heo þe æt fleo (lest she flee thee). hire mægen (main, might) is swâ micel and swâ mære, þæt heo unclænne man, þonne he tô hire cymeð, wel hraðe forfleon wile. forðy þû hî bewrît, swâ we ær cwædon, mid îserne, and swâ þû scealt onbûtan hî delfan, swâ þû hire mid þâm îserne nâ æt-hrine (touch) : ac þû geornlice scealt mid ylpenbænenon (ivory) stæfe þâ eorðan delfan, and þonne þû hire *handa* and hire *fêt* geseo, þonne *hundes* gewrîð þû hî (tie her to a dog). nim þonne þone oðerne ende, and gewrîð tô ânes *swiran* (neck), swâ þæt se *hund* hungriġ sî, wurp (throw) him siððan mete tô foran, swâ þæt he hine âhræcan (reach) ne mæge, bûton he mid him þâ wyrte up-âbrede.’ She shines by night like a lamp, has head, hands and feet, must be bewritten with iron lest she escape, is not to be touched with iron, but dug up with an ivory wand : several things betray a Latin origin (bewrîtan circumscribere). It is to be fastened to the dog’s neck instead of his tail ; conf. Belg. mus. 5, 114 [Josephus Wars 7, 6, 3 : root Baaras pulled up by dog]. Pliny ascribes a ‘vim somnificam’ to mandragoras.

Sæm. 194^a speaks of a *svefn-þorn* (sleep-thorn) with which Oðinn pricks Brynhild, and she goes to sleep, as Dorn-röschen does in the nursery-tale from the prick of a spindle (p. 419). The *thorn-rose* has a meaning here, for we still call a mosslike excrecence on the wild rosebush or the whitethorn *schlaf-apfel* and *schlaf-kunz* ; so that the very name of our sleeping beauty contains a reference to the myth. We also use the simple *kuenz* (Schm. 2, 314), which can hardly be Kunz the dimin. of Konrad, but is rather conn. with küenzel, küenzen (gathering under the chin). When placed under a sleeper’s pillow, he cannot wake till it be removed¹ (see Suppl.).

This ‘sleep-apple’ is supposed to be produced by a wasp stinging the thorn ; equally rootless, the prophetic *gall-nut* on oaks

¹ *Stinga svefnþorn* occurs in Fornald. sög. 1, 18-9. 3, 303-6. In Tristan sleep is caused by a mere *küsselin* (cushion), Ulr. 1672-93 ; ‘der zouberære küsselin,’ Heinr. 4911. In a fairy-tale (Ältd. bl. 1, 145) by *writing* and *letters* (i.e. runes), or by *feathers* off the wild shaggy folk (pp. 433. 486), whom fancy must have pictured as having wings or feathers.

originates in such a puncture, Sup. I, 968; Ital. *gallozza*, Neap. *gliantra*, Pentam. 2, 1: 'tre gliantre mascole.' Growths that could not be traced to seed and root, as probably that *bird's nest* on p. 973, seemed miraculous and endowed with magic power: gall-nuts are hung on the kitchen roofbeam to protect the house.

The *mistel* (mistletoe) was accounted specially sacred, being supposed to have fallen from heaven on the boughs of magnificent trees like the oak and ash. OHG. *mistil* (not fem. *mistila*), Graff 2, 890; MHG. *mistel*, 'jâmers mistel,' Martina 161^d. With a shoot of this plant the god Baldr was shot dead: when Frigg was exacting an oath from all other plants, this seemed to her too young: 'vex viðar teinûngr einn fyrir austan Valhöll, sâ er *Mistilteinn* kallaðr, sâ þótti mer ûngr at krefja eiðsins,' Sn. 64; and the Völuspâ sings of it thus, Sæm. 6^b:

stôð umvaxinn völlum hæri
miór ok miök fagur *Mistilteinn*;

grown high above the field stood the delicate fair mistle-shoot; teinn is a branch shot up, Goth. táins, OHG. zein, and we may safely assume a Goth. mistilatáins, OHG. mistilzein. Now in AS. we find it *mistiltá*, which may easily be a corruption of *mistiltán*, and the agreement of this with the Eddic *mistilteinn* would be welcome and weighty; yet 'tá' may be right after all, and is supported by the Engl. being *mistletoe* [but also *misseldine*]. In Sweden this evergreen parasite is said to be usually a foot or two feet long, but sometimes to reach the length of three ells (Geijer's Häfd. 1, 330). F. Magn. lex. 512 says, in Vestergötland it is called *vê-spelt*, holy spelt, *triticum sacrum*. A plant associated with the death of one of their greatest and best-beloved gods must have been supremely sacred to all of Teutonic blood; and yet this opinion of its holiness was shared by Celtic nations. Pliny 16, 44 [95] assures us of the Celtic belief: 'Non est omitenda in ea re et Galliarum admiratio. Nihil habent druidae (ita suos appellant magos) visco, et arbore in qua gignatur (si modo sit *robur*), sacratius. Jam per se *roborum* eligunt *lucos*, nec ulla sacra sine ea fronde conficiunt, et inde appellati quoque interpretatione Graeca possint druidae videri. Enimvero quidquid *adnascatur illis, e coelo missum* putant, signumque esse electæ ab ipso deo arboris. Est autem id rarum admodum inventu, et repertum

magna religione petitur, et ante omnia sexta luna (quae principia mensium annorumque his facit) et seculi post tricesimum annum, quia jam virium abunde habeat nec sit sui dimidia. *Omnia sanantem* appellantes suo vocabulo, sacrificiis rite sub arbore praeparatis, duos admovent *candidi coloris tauros, quorum cornua tunc primum vinciantur*.¹ Sacerdos *candida veste cultus arborem scandit, falce aurea demetit, candido id excipitur sago*. Tum deinde victimas immolant, precantes ut suum donum deus prosperum faciat his quibus dederit. Foecunditatem eo potō dari cuicunque animalium sterili arbitrantur, contra venena omnia esse remedio. Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est.' This elegant description is preceded by other statements, of which I will select one here and there: '*Visci tria genera. Namque in abiete ac larice stelin dicit Euboea nasci, hyphear Arcadia, viscum autem in quercu, robore, pruno silvestri, terebintho, nec aliis arboribus adnasci, plerique. Copiosissimum in quercu, quod dryos hyphear . . . Adjiciunt discrimen, visco in his quae folia amittant et ipsi decidere, contra inhaerere nato in aeterna fronde*.² Omnino autem satum nullo modo nascitur, nec nisi *per alvum avium redditum*, maxime *palumbis ac turdis*: haec est natura, ut nisi maturatum in ventre avium non proveniat. Altitudo ejus non excedit cubitalem, semper fructectosi ac viridis. Mas fertilis, femina sterilis; aliquando non fert.'—With us too a thrush is called *mistler*, Schm. 2, 645 (MHG. *mistelære*?), Engl. *mistlebird*; and in some other of our myths the conveyance of the seed by birds enhances the holiness of the virgin plant (p. 969): there is no human hand at work, and the finger of God is manifest. *Viscum* is the Fr. *gui*, and to this day the veneration for the plant is preserved in the New-year's gratulation *aguilanneuf* (p. 755). In Wales they hang mistletoe over the doors at Christmas, and call it (says Davies) *pren awyrr*, merry tree, *pren uchelvar*, tree of the high summit, *pren puraur*, tree of pure gold; the second name recalls the 'völlum hærri' of the Edda. But the usual names given for mistletoe are Wel. *olhiach*, Bret. *olliiach*, Ir. *uileiceach*, Gael. *uileice*, i.e. all-healing

¹ Steers never yoked as yet, steeds never harnessed, RA. 547: a sacred use demands that everything be new.

² Virg. Aen. 6, 205: Quale solet silvis brumali frigore *viscum*
fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,
et croceo fetu teretes circumdare truncos;
talis erat species auri frondentis opaca
ilice, sic leni crepitabat bractea vento.

[Pliny's *omnia sanans*], from 'ol, uile,' universal (p. 1213). A Breton lay (Barzas breiz 1, 58. 100) makes Merlin at early morn go fetch the *high branch on the oak* (warhuel, huelvar ann derwen). Our old herbals divide mistletoes into those of the *oak*, *hazel* and *pear-tree* (eichen-mistel, heselin-m., birnbäumin-m.), and none of them must be let touch the ground; some, set in silver, they hang round children's necks. In Prussian Samland it is called *wispe* (which looks like *viscum*, *gui*, but *mistel* itself is often confounded with *mispel* = *medlar*); it is common on birch, cherry and lime trees, on the hazel it is rare and wonderful. It grows in a straight line out of the trunk, and between its smooth evergreen willow-like leaves it bears berries silvery-white, like peas or small nuts. Where the hazel has a *wispe*, there is sure to be a treasure hidden (Reusch no. 10). Among Slavs I find the names Boh. *melj*, *gmelj*, *oméli*, Russ. *oméla*, Pol. *iemiel*; Lith. *amalai*, Lett. *ahmals*; but no legends (see Suppl.).

To *viscum* may be added two other druidical herbs. Pliny 24, 11 [62-3]: '*Selago legitur sine ferro, dextra manu per tunicam, qua sinistra exuitur velut a furante, candida veste vestito pureque lotis nudis pedibus, sacro facto priusquam legatur pane vinoque; fertur in mappa nova: hanc contra omnem perniciem habendam prodidere druidae Gallorum.—Iidem Samolum herbam nominavere nascentem in humidis, et hanc sinistra manu legi a jejunis contra morbos suum boumque, nec respicere legentem, nec alibi quam in canali deponere, ibique conterere poturis.*' The mode of gathering selago is peculiar: it is to be picked with the right hand, not bare, but covered with the tunic (conf. p. 971), then to be drawn out stealthily with the left. In Davies's Br. myth. 280 it is said to be the herb the Welsh call *grâs Duw* (*gratia Dei*). Villemarqué thinks it is the *aour géoten* (*aurea herba*) of Breton songs 1, 58. 96, which you must pull up in the meadows before sunrise, barefoot and bareheaded; it shines far off like gold. It is rarely to be found, and only by holy persons. Some take it for our *bärlapp* (*lycopodium*). *Samolus* is said to be *anemone pulsatilla*; Davies p. 274 gives its Welsh name as *gwlydd*.

Our *baldrian* is a corruption of *valeriana*, and has nothing to do with *Baldr*, after whom a very different herb, the *anthesis cotula*, was named *Baldrs brâ* (*brow*), Sw. *Baldersbrâ*, abbrev.

Barbro. But the valerian has a mythical name too, *Velands-urt*, Wayland's wort (p. 377), and its healing virtues are in high repute. The Servians call it *odolián* (from *odoliéti* to overpower), Boh. *odolèn*; and among the Servian 'Vilinen pièsme' (songs taught by the vila herself) is a saw (Vuk, new ed. 1, 149): 'Da zna zhenska glava, Shto zh' odolián trava, Svagda bi ga brala, U pas ushivala, I za se nosila'; if woman but knew what is herb *odolián*, she would always get it, in her girdle sew it, and about her wear it. The vila warns us not to neglect this precious herb (see Suppl.).

Henbane (*bilsen-kraut*), OHG. *pilisa*, *belisa* (hyos-cyamos), see pp. 593. 1198, and Suppl.

Sowthistle (eberwurz, boarwort), OHG. *epurwurz*, the *carlina acaulis*, Carls-distel; growing on hills, close to the ground without a stalk, with silver-white unfading leaves. During a pestilence, Charles the Great had gone to sleep laden with care, when an angel appeared to him in a dream, and bade him shoot an arrow in the air: whatever herb it lighted upon was sovereign against the plague. Charles in the morning shot the arrow, and its point stuck in a sowthistle: they used it for medicine, and the plague disappeared. He that carries this plant about him, let him run ever so long, will never tire; and he can take all the strength out of a companion that walks with him, hence they used to tie some to their horses in a race; when the same was done unperceived to one of a married couple, the other was sure to waste away and die. Sowthistle was also nailed inside the swine-trough, that the pigs might eat over it, whence its name is supposed to have come (W. Menzel's *Literaturbl.* 1844. pp. 9. 10). The name 'eberwurz' probably rests on other grounds, but 'carlina' seems to be formed on the legend. King Charles often had things told him by angels in dreams, and bad dreams come of fighting with boars; the herb may have healed the gash inflicted by the tusk of a boar (see Suppl.).

Betonica. Pliny 25, 46: 'Vettones in Hispania eam quae *Vettonica* dicitur in Gallia, in Italia autem *serratula*, a Graecis cestros aut psycho-morphon [-trophon?], ante cunctas laudatissima. Exit anguloso caule, cubitorum duùm, a radice spargens folia fere lapathi, serrata, semine purpureo . . . tantum gloriae habet, ut *domus* in qua sata sit *tuta existimetur a piaculis omnibus*

. . . Morsibus imponitur *vettonica*, cui vis tanta perhibetur, ut *inclusae circulo ejus serpentes ipsae sese interimant flagellando.*' Fr. *bétoine*, MHG. *batónie*: 'altiu wíp grabent *patóni*,' MsH. 3, 193^b. 'sô gënt eteliche mit böesen batâniën umb,' Berth. 58. 'ettlich kundent *patoniken* graben,' Superst. G, l. 41. 'die lër ich *batónien* graben,' Aw. 2, 56. An Italian proverb recommends the purchase of betony at any price: 'venda la tonica, e compra la *bettonica*.' A description in Martina 27^a (Diut. 2, 129), 'diu *gelwe* batênie hol,' seems to contradict the aforesaid purple (of the seed only?). In Switzerland *badönikli* is our fluhblume, cowslip, and herdsmen bring it home for their sweethearts off the Alp, Stald. 1, 124. 386. Apparently several kinds are to be distinguished: Pol. *bukwica*, Boh. *brkvice*, is by turns *betonica*, *plantago* and *primula*. The Anglo-Saxons called *betonica* *biscop-wyrt*, from which its sacredness may be inferred (see Suppl.).

Madalgêr stands in OHG. glosses for *basilicum*, in herbals for *senecio* as well. The proverb ran, '*Modelgeer* ist aller wurzel ein eer.' In the Westerrich, when a disease breaks out among swine, they chop some of this root in with the pigs' wash, muttering a short prayer: it keeps the schelm from attacking them. As Heime's father in our heroic legend is called *Madalgêr* (p. 387), likewise a mermaid's son who puts on a cloak of darkness (Morolt 40-1); a mythic significance in the plant's name becomes credible (see Suppl.).

In the same way I connect *Mangold*, *lapathum*, beet, with that ancient name of the giant-maiden who could grind gold (p. 531).

OHG. *faram* filix, MHG. *varn*, *varn*, AS. *fearn*, Engl. *fern*. Pliny 27, 9 [55] tells nothing mythical of the filix. Hildegard's Phys. 2, 91: 'in loco illo ubi crescit, diabolus illusiones suas raro exercet; et domum et locum in quo est, diabolus evitat et abhorret, et fulgura et tonitrua et grando ibi raro cadunt.' A Herbal says: '*farnkraut* is hard to destroy, without ye stub it up on the day of John's beheading, then doth *farn* perish. It seems to bear neither flower nor seed; he that will gather fern-seed must be bold and able to daunt the devil. He shall go after it on St John's night before daybreak, light a fire, and spread cloths or broad leaves under the same, so may he take and keep of the seed.' Many fasten fresh*fern over the house-door, then all goes well as far as the whip on the waggon reaches (about five

paces), Sup. I, 988. In Redeker's Westf. sagen no. 46 we find some details: Fernseed *makes one invisible*, but is difficult to get at: it ripens only between 12 and 1 on Midsummer night, and then falls off directly, and is gone. A man, who on that night happened to be looking for a lost foal, passed through a field where fernseed was ripening, and some fell in his shoes (like the flax-pods, p. 962). Coming home in the morning, he walked into the house, and sat down: he thought it strange that his wife and family took no notice of him. 'Well,' says he, 'I have not found the foal.' All those in the room looked startled: they heard the man's voice, but nothing of him could they see. The wife began calling him by name, so he came and stood in the middle of the room, and said, 'What are you shouting for, when here I stand before you?' The terror was now greater than before; till the man, feeling something hurt his feet, as if shingle had got in his shoes, pulled them off and shook them out; and there he stood visible to every eye. This is the *wünschel-sâmen des varmen* (p. 974). Conrad of Würzburg in a song, MsH. 3, 453^a:

Het ich *sâmen von dem varn*,
den würfe ich dar den scheiden,
daz si 'n verslünden, ê mîn dienst von ir solde scheiden.

'scheiden' are large fish, shad, siluri, and often used punningly (Schm. 3, 324. Höfer 3, 65). Had I seed of the fern, says the lover, I would fling it to you shadfish to devour, ere my service should fall away from her; apparently the seed might have made his fortune elsewhere, but he gives it up to keep faith with her: there is no reference to invisibility. In Thiers the *fougère* (flox) 'cueillie la veille de la St Jean justement à midi' is said to bring luck in play to him that wears it.

In the Thüringer-wald fern is called *irr-kraut* (stray herb), and by some *atter-kreutich* (adder-herb): if you step over it without seeing it, it so bothers and bewilders you, that you no longer know your whereabouts even in the most familiar parts of the forest. To prevent or correct your straying, you must sit down and put your shoes on the wrong feet, or if a woman, untie your apron and turn it wrong-side out; immediately you know your way again (Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 364. Bechstein's Franken

pp. 269. 286.) No doubt the *puzzle-seed* had got into the shoe or cincture, and fell out when these were taken off. It is said also, if you have *adder-herb* about you, you will be pursued by adders till you have thrown it away. In some parts they call it *Walburgis-kraut*. Its Slavic name is Russ. *páporot*, Pol. *paproc*, O. Boh. *paprut*, now *papradj*, *kapradj*, Slovèn. *praprat*, *praprot*; Lith. *papartis*, Lett. *papardi*. Woycicki 1, 94 also says it blossoms exactly at midnight of St John's eve, and it is a hard matter to get hold of the flower (*kwiat paproci*), for the picking is attended by storm and thunder; but whoever gets possession of it becomes rich, and can prophesy (see Suppl.).

OHG. *pîpôz*, artemisia (Graff 3, 22, but misplaced and misspelt), MHG. *bîbôz* (rhy. *grôz*), Ls. 2, 526; its corruption into our meaningless *beifuss*, Nethl. *bivoet*, is as early as Gl. Jun. 406 *bifuz*. The word seems pure German, formed from *pôzan* *cadere*, like *anapôz* *incus*, anvil, MHG. *anebôz*, our *amboss*; and we ought to pronounce and spell it *beiboss*. The meaning must be something like that of *beischlag* (*by-blow*), which in the Logau district means a bastard. In OS. it would be *bîbôt*, which resembles its Lett. name *bihbotes*. Our LG. *buk*, *bucke* seems an abbrev. dimin. of endearment (*but-ke*);¹ Dan. *bynke*, but Sw. *gråbo*, gray nest. Whoso hath *beifuss* in the house, him the devil may not harm; hangs the root *over the door*, the house is safe from all things evil and uncanny. On St John's day they gird themselves with *beifuss*, then throw it in the fire, while spells and rhymes are said (p. 618); hence the names *Johannis-gürtel*, *sonnenwend-gürtel*, *gürtel-kraut*, Fr. *herbe de S. Jean*. They dig the root up solemnly, twine it into wreaths, hang it about them, and each flings it into the flame along with any griefs he may chance to have about him. He that has *beifuss* on him *wearies not on his way* (Megenberg 385, 16): this is imitated from Pliny 26, 89: '*artemisiam* alligatam qui habet viator negatur lassitudinem sentire;' also the '*Ἐρμηνείαι παλαιαί* (ed. Sillig p. 212): *ἀρτεμισίαν τὴν βοτάνην εἴ τις ἔχει ἐν ὁδῷ, λύει τὸν κάματον*. The AS. name is *mucgwyrt*, Engl. *mugwort*, *muggon*: '*wið miclum gonge ofer land, þylæs he teorige, mucgwyrt nime him on hand, oððe dó on his scó þylæs he mēdige*; and

¹ Or is it related to Finn. *puyo*, Esth. *poio*, *puiyo*?

þonne he niman wille ær sunnan upgange, cweðe þæs word ærest : tollam te, artemisia, ne lassus sim in via. gesegna hie, þonne þu upteo.' R. Chambers p. 34 gives some Scotch stories of its healing power. A girl in Galloway was near dying of consumption, and all had despaired of her recovery, when a mermaid, who often gave the people good counsel, sang :

Wad ye let the bonnie may die i' your hand,
And the *mugwort* flowering in the land !

They immediately plucked the herb, gave her the juice of it, and she was restored to health. Another maiden had died of the same disease, and her body was being carried past the port of Glasgow, when the mermaid raised her head above the water, and in slow accents cried :

If they wad drink *nettles* in March,
And eat *muggons* in May,
Sae mony braw maidens
Wad na gang to the clay.

Why should not the Goths already have possessed a *bibáuts* too ? That they had significant names of their own for herbs and shrubs, is plain from Ulphilas's translations of the Greek term by a native one : *βάρτος*, *rubus*, becomes *áíhvatundi*, Mk 12, 26. Luke 6, 44. 20, 37, which apparently contains *áíhvus equus*, *tundi fomes* (tinder, OHG. *zuntara*) ; *σικάμινος báinabagms*, Luke 17, 6, i.e. bone-tree, and to this day we call privet (hartriegel, OHG. *hartrugil*, *harttrugil* ? Graff 5, 501) bonewood. The reasons of the names are lost to us now (see Suppl.).

Hederich is not an old German word, being formed from the Latin *hedera*, only instead of ivy it means ground-ivy, Linné's *glechoma hederacea*, a weed with small blue flowers. Its native name is *gunde-rebe*, *gundel-rebe*, *donner-rebe*, *gunder-mann*, OHG. *gunder-reba*, 'acer' (Graff 2, 354), which cannot mean maple, for it is always classed among herbs. It was reckoned sanative, and a safeguard against sorcery ; when cows are first driven out to pasture, they are milked through a *wreath of gundermann*, and whoever wears this on his head can tell who are witches, Sup. I, 462-3. *Gund* points to the ancient valkyr (p. 422) ; *donner* to the flower's blue colour, and to the Thunder-god. The Lettons too have named it *pehrkones* from the god Pehrkon.

The Boh. *ohnica* (from *ohen*, fire) stands for the yellow hederich (hedge-mustard?) that overspreads whole fields: if you call out 'hederich' to peasant women weeding it, they scold you (see Suppl.).

One kind of *scabiosa* is named *succisa*, or *morsus diaboli*, *Teufels-biss* or *-abbiss*, Engl. *devil's bit*, Dan. *diävells bid*, Boh. *čertkus*, *čertův kus*, Russ. *diávolskoye ukushénie* [and *cherto-grýz*, *chértov ogrýzok*]; but also Russ. *chértov pálets*, devil's thumb, Pol. *czartowe źebro*, devil's rib. The root is stumpy at the end, as if bitten off. Oribasius says, the devil was doing such mischief with this herb, that the Mother of God took pity, and deprived him of the power; he out of spite *bit the end of the root off*, and it grows so to this day. The man that has it about him, neither devil nor hag has power to hurt. Some say the devil bit it off because he grudged men the use of its healing power. If dug up at midnight of St John's eve, the roots are yet *unbitten*, and chase the devil away. Thrown under the table, it makes the guests fall out and fight (see Suppl.).

Some herbs are called by men's names. *Bertram*, though found even in OHG. as *Perhtram* (Graff 3, 349), MHG. *Berchtram*, Ls. 2, 526, is merely pyrethrum altered to give it a German sound. What seems more remarkable is '*herba boni Henrici*' (chenopodium), or simply *bonus Henricus*, *gut Heinrich*; *stolz Heinrich*, proud H. (atriplex); *roth Heinrich*, red H., Superst. I, 1002. I account for it by the old beliefs in elves and kobolds, for whom Heinz or Heinrich was a favourite name (pp. 503-4), which was afterwards transferred to devils and witches, and to such demonic beings was ascribed the healing virtue of the herb. Even the legend of Poor Henry, whose origin has never been explored, may have to do with a herb that cured leprosy; and the '*herba boni Henrici*' is said to have been used as a remedy for that very disease.

When a universal power to heal all sicknesses was attributed to a herb, the Greeks called it τὸ πάνακες, ἡ πανάκεια (as the Celts named the mistletoe *olhiach*, *uileiceach*), which got personified itself into a daughter of Asklepios, Πανάκεια. In our language we find no plant named all-heil, all-heila, but there is a *selp-heila* (euphrasia), Graff 4, 864, and the herbs *heil-aller-welt* (Achillea, millefolium), *heil-aller-schaden* (supercilium Veneris), as

well as *aller-mann-harnisch* and *neun-manns-kraft*, 9 man power. The significance of the number nine shews itself no less in garlands being made of nine sorts of flowers. *Heil-houbito*, heal-head, Graff 4, 759, is *hermodactylus*, whatever that may be, and another name for it is *hunt-louch*, dog-leek 2, 143 (see Suppl.).

Two herbs commonly coupled together by alliteration are *doste* and *doránt* (*origanum*, *antirrhinum*). OHG. *dosto* (Graff 5, 232) is our real native word for what we now call wilde majoran, thymian (*marjoram*, thyme), or *wolgemut* (well of mood), Boh. *dobrá-mysl*. For *doránt* we have sometimes *oránt*; some think it is not *antirrhinum*, but *marrubium*, OHG. *Got-fargezzan*. Both herbs are shunned by the little-wights and nixes; hence the speeches put in their mouths: 'If ye hadn't *doránt* and *dosten* here, I'd help ye the sooner to sip that beer!' 'Up with your skirts, ye merrimen all, Lest into *dost* and *doránd* ye fall!' 'See that ye bump not against *duránt*, Or we sha'n't get back to our fatherland.' DS. no. 65. Jul. Schmidt p. 132. Redeker no. 45 (see Suppl.).

Along with *doste*, *hart-heu* (*hypericum*, St John's wort), otherwise called *hart-hun* (p. 1029n.), will often scare spirits away: 'Marjoram, John's wort, heather white, Put the fiend in a proper fright.' *Hypericum perforatum*, *fuga daemonum*, devil's flight (see Suppl.).

Widertán (*adiantum*), formed with the past part. of *tuon*, to do, afterwards corrupted into *widertthon*, *widertod*: the genuine form is retained by G. Frank (Schm. 4, 34). The Herbal says: Therewith be many pranks played, this we let be as foolery and devilry. 'Tis called *maidenhair* also, and is of fair golden hue. The old wives have many a fancy touching herbs, and say the red *steinbrechlin* (*saxifraga*) with small lentil leaves is indeed *abthon*, but the naked *maidenhair* is *widertthon*, and with these two they can both 'abthon' and 'widerthon' as it please them. Does this mean, remove and restore virility? in that case *abetán* and *widertán* would be opposites, like 'set on' and 'take off' on p. 1074. Frisch 1, 5^b has *abthon* *trichomanes*, *polytrichon*, and 2, 446^b *widertthon* *lunaria*, *thora salutifera* (see Suppl.).

Some herbs, *plantago* and *proserpinaca*, take their names from growing on the wayside (*proserpere*) and being exposed to the tread (*plantae*) of passengers: OHG. *wegarih* (Graff 1, 670), our

wegerich ; OHG. *wegapreita*, our wegebreit, AS. *wegbræde*, Engl. *waybrede* [broad, not 'bread'], Dan. *veibred* ; OHG. *wegaspreiti*, -spreading (Graff 6, 395). Again, OHG. *wegatreta*, *umbitretra* (Graff 5, 552), our wegetritt ; OHG. *wegawarta*, our wegewarte (ward, watch, wait), a name also given to cichorium, succory. There are some myths about it : the herb was once a *maiden* that on the wayside awaited her lover (p. 828), like Sigûne in Tit. 117-8. Paracelsus observes (Opp. 1616. 2, 304), that the flowers of the wegwarte turn to the sun, and their strength is greatest in sunshine, but after seven years the root changes into the *form of a bird* (see Suppl.).

Lauch, OHG. *louh*, AS. *leác* (leek), ON. *laukr*, is a general designation of juicy herbs ; some species appear to have been sacred : '*allium* (gar-leek) *caepasque inter deos in jurejurando habet Aegyptus*,' Pliny 19, 6 [32]. When Helgi was born, and his father Sigmundr returned from the battle, it is said in Sæm. 150^a :

sialfr gêck vísi or vîgrymo
ûngom fœra *îtrlauk* grami.

In Völs. saga cap. 8 : '*Sigmundr var þá kominn frá orrostu, ok gekk með einum lauk ímôt syni sínum, ok hermeð gefr hann honum Helga nafn.*' The *îtr-laukr* is *allium praestans*, *allium victoriale* : it is not clear whether the king bore it as home-returning victor, or whether it was usual to wear it in giving names. Antiquity sheds no light on either custom.¹ When the drinking-cup was blessed, a *leek* was thrown into it, Sæm. 195^b (see Suppl.).

The sorbus or service-tree is in ON. *reynir*, Sw. *rönn*, Dan. *rönne* (rowan ?) : it is a holy shrub, for Thôrr in the river clutched it to save himself, hence it is said : '*reynir er biörg Thôrs*,' sorbus *auxilium Thori est*, Sn. 114. In Sweden they still believe that a staff of this rönn defends you from sorcery, and on board ship the common man likes to have something made of rönn-wood, as a protection against storms and watersprites ; *flögrönn* is of use in occult science, Afzel. 1, 19 (see Suppl.).

In Servian, *samdokaz* and *okolochep* are herbs which, put in a love-potion, compel the lover to come to his mistress. *Ustuk* is

¹ The Welsh associate their national leek with victory.—TRANS.

both a herb and the charm repeated by a sorceress to make a disease depart (*ustuknuti*), Vuk sub vv.

The Pol. *trojziele* (three-herb) is a marvellous plant with blue leaves and red flowers: it inspires love, makes you forget, and transports you whither you please¹ (see Suppl.).

In the poem of Elegast 763 seq. there occurs a nameless herb, which one need only put in the mouth to understand what the *cocks crow* and the *dogs bark*. Villemarqué says, whoever accidentally steps on the golden herb (p. 1207), falls asleep directly, and understands the speech of *dogs, wolves* and *birds*. In another case the knowledge of *birds' language* comes of eating a white snake (p. 982), in the Edda by eating of the dragon's heart. A fairytale makes some one be three years learning what it is that the dogs bark, the birds sing, and the frogs croak² (see Suppl.).

2. STONES.

Stones are far less mythical than herbs, though among them also the noble are distinguished from the base. Stones neither grow so livingly, nor are they so accessible, as plants: whilst any shepherd or traveller can approach the flower in field or wood, precious stones are not produced on the surface of our soil, they are wrung from the bowels of the earth, and imported from distant lands. There was a meaning therefore in calling herb-lore heathen, and stone-lore Jewish (p. 1190): Jewish and Moorish merchants fetched the gem from the far East. The miraculous and medicinal power of precious stones was known early in the Mid. Ages, but never was naturalized amongst us, hence also the

¹ Volkslieder der Polen, coll. by W. P., Leipzig 1833, p. 90.

² AS. herb-names, when once critically edited from the MSS., promise rich gleanings for mythology, of which I have given several specimens. I will here add a few obscure names: *dweorges dwostle*, *dwosle*, *dwysle* (*pulegium*, *pennyroyal*), was quoted p. 448, and if conn. with ON. 'dustl,' *levis opera*, perh. *quissquiliæ*, and 'dustla,' everere, it is dwarf's sweepings; *collan-crög* is *achillea* or *nymphaea*, and as 'collen-ferhð' in the poems is proud-hearted, so proud *crocus* (OHG. *kruogo*) or *crock*, *pitcher*, whichever we take *crög* to mean; *ælf-bone*, OHG. *alb-dono*, our *alpranke* (*bittersweet?*); *wulfes comb*, *chamaelea*; *foxes glöfa*, *buglossa*, OHG. *hrindeszunga*, *ox-tongue* [or, *digitalis?*]; *hind-heleðe*, *paconia*, Engl. *hind-hele*, appar. 'cervam celans, defendens,' conf. 'heleðe, heolað' (it is spelt both ways) with *heoloð-helm* p. 463, and *beáh-heoloðe* quoted by Lye; *cneow-holen*, now *ruscus*, now *victoriale*, i.e. *herba victorialis*, *idaea daphne*, Engl. *kneeholly*, *kneeholm*; *hwätend*, *iris illyrica*, suggestive of 'hwätunga,' *omina*, *auguria*; *geormen-leáf*, *eormen-leáf*, *georman-leafa*, *hoc-leafa* (Haupt's Zeitschr. 9. 408), *malva*, would in OHG. be *irman-loup* (p. 351-2). The OHG. names in Graff 1, 1050-1. 3, 863-72 are less interesting, and less perfectly preserved (see Suppl.).

very few Teutonic names for them, or legends about them: a fact which goes to confirm the home character of our plant-myths. The widely circulated works of Marbod, Evax, Albertus Magnus and others on precious stones have left as little of lasting legend among the people as Walahfried or Macer Floridus, who in the dry learned fashion of physicians treat of herbs. Even Pliny's account in his 36th book seems to have had no effect at all on our superstitions.¹

Yet a few time-honoured myths there are. The Edda names a holy *iarkna-steinn*, Sæm. 137^b. 139^a. 213^a. 238^d, which in the Cauldron-raid was thrown into the hot water, and which the cunning smith Völundr could manufacture out of children's eyes. The AS. *eorcan-stân* glosses both 'margarita' and 'topazion'; in Cod. Exon. 73, 27. 238, 12. 478, 7 it has the general sense of precious-stone (*eorenan-stân* is appar. a corruption). A corresponding Goth. *airkna-stâins*, OHG. *erchan-stein* may safely be assumed, as 'airknis' actually means genuine, holy, and 'erchan' survives in similar compounds (Graff 1, 468). But it seems to be the oval milk-white opal, otherwise called *orphanus*, *pupillus*, MHG. *weise* (orphan), and so precious that it graced the crown royal of Germany. Albertus M. says: '*Orphanus est lapis qui in corona Romani imperatoris est, neque unquam alibi visus est, propter quod etiam orphanus vocatur. Est autem colore vinosus, subtilem habens vinositatem, et hoc est sicut si candidum nivis candens seu micans penetraverit in rubeum clarum vinosum, et sit superatum ab ipso. Est autem lapis perlucidus, et traditur quod aliquando fulsit in nocte, sed nunc tempore nostro non micat in tenebris. Fertur autem quod honorem servat regalem.*' If the OHG. *weiso* had already had the sense of the stone, it would hardly fail to appear in the glosses. We find it in full play in the MHG. poets, ever since the tale was told of how in distant land Duke Ernst with his sword cut it out of the living rock, and presented it as a gift to the king (ll. 3604—23 and 5543 of the Lay, and in Odo's Latin poem 6, 357). '*Philippe setzen weisen ûf!*' Walth. 9, 15. '*schouwe wem der weise ob sîme nacke stê, der stein ist aller fürsten leitesterne,*' Walth. 19, 3; conf.

¹ Look at the lifeless inventories in Parz. 791 and Fragm. 45^c. More interesting is a poem by Stricker (in Hahn 44—52); and *Eraclius* was deep in stone-lore, Massm. pp. 468—73.

Helbl. 2, 881. 'der künec alsô den *weisen* hât,' Ms. 1, 15^a. 'wie si durch den berc har wieder kâmen, dâ sie der krône *weisen* inne nâmen,' Ms. 2, 138^a. 'den *weisen* ie vil hôhe wac (prized) der keiser und daz rîche, dur daz (because) nie sîn gelîche wart unter manigem steine,' Troj. 20. 'ich stich im abe den *weisen*,' Otto bart. 314; see also passages in Heinr. von Krolewiz V. U., coll. in Lisch p. 208. Albert and Conrad account for the name, by the stone having no equal, and standing like an orphan cut off from kin; so the gloss on Sspgl 3, 60. The Spanish crown once had a magnificent pearl, which was likewise named *huerfana* or *sola*, and perished at the burning of the palace in 1734. A diamond mounted by itself is in French *solitaire*. But a deeper, a mythical meaning becomes apparent, which Haupt in his Zeitschr. 7, 278 disputes. Pupillus means first a little one, a boy under age, a ward, and then acquires the sense of orphan. Pupilla and κόρη signify a girl and the pupil of the eye, in which a child's image is supposed to be seen (p. 1080). Now as Völundr fashions the iarnasteinn of the eyes of slain children, the stone might be called either pupilla or pupillus, and so agree with our 'orphanus,' thus erchanstein comes to be 'weise.' Of Thiassi's eyes were made shining stars, all stars are gems of the sky; from this the transition to the sparkling stone was easy enough. Heinr. von Krolewiz, describing the sky as a house, again brings the eyes into connexion with the orphan, ll. 1194. 1203-16 (see Suppl.).

The *pearl*, already in dreams a prognostic of the tear, is made in the myth to spring out of Venus's tear, as Freyja's tears turned into *drops of gold* (p. 1194)¹; and Wäinämöinen's tears fall into the sea as *pearls*, Kalew. rune 22. The pearl then is either metal or stone. Our ancestors regarded it as a stone found in the sea, hence eorcanstân too may have meant pearl, and even the Latin name *unio* approaches that notion of the incomparable orphan: 'in tantum ut *nulli duo* reperiantur *indiscreti*, unde nomen *unionum* Romanae imposuere *deliciae*,' Pliny 9, 35 [56]. 'ideo

¹ Not only does Freyja's tear turn into gold, but a Greek myth makes *ἤλεκτρον* arise from the tears of Phaëthon's sisters, daughters of the Sun, be that substance *gold* or *amber*, succinum. For amber, Tacitus and Pliny already know a German word *glesum*, Gramm. 1, 58; an ON. name is *rafr*, Sn. 156, Sw. *raf*, Dan. *rav*; AS. glosses have *colhsand* (in Mone 1106 eolcfang); conf. Werlauff's learned treatise on amber (bernstein), Schlesw. 1840 (see Suppl.).

uniones dictos quia nunquam duo simul reperiantur, Isid. or. 16, 10. Pliny goes on: 'nam id (nomem unionum) apud Graecos non est, ne apud barbaros quidem inventores ejus aliud quam *margaritae*.' If *margarita*, *μαργαρίτης* was the word commonly used by barbarian pearl-fishers, the Greeks and Romans may have this time borrowed a word from Teutonic races, in whose language the OHG. *marigreeoz*, MHG. *mergriez*, OS. *merigriota*, AS. *meregreot*, *meregrot* is perfectly intelligible, meaning grit or pebble of the sea. It is true we now find the Goth. *markreitus*, 1 Tim. 2, 9, imitated from *μαργαρίτης*, and that with consonant-change; and to correspond to this the OHG. should have been *marchríz*. Either OHG., OS. and AS. all strove to accommodate the foreign word to our idiom (which usually happens in one dialect, not in three at once), or the Goth had no 'marigriuts' in his own language, or did not choose to write it, and so imitated the outlandish term, which is now stowed away in our female name Gret-chen. The OHG. *perala*, *berala*, AS. *pearl*, is appar. from beryllus, and again transfers the notion of gemmula to the growth in the shellfish. We might also put by the side of *margarita* the Skr. *marakata*, though that signifies, and is directly allied to, *σμάραγδος*, *μάραγδος* (emerald).

As erchanstein sprang out of the human eye, and the pearl out of the oyster, the medieval fancy seems to have been excited by some other precious stones which grew in or out of animals. What Marbod cap. 24 tells of the *lyncurius* may be read at greater length in Rudlieb 3, 101—127: these brilliant lynx-stones likewise befit the finger-ring of the queen, the crown of the king. Some legends speak of stones of power engendered in the head of the *cock*, the *adder*, the *toad*. Inside the body of a castrated *cock* of three years grows the *alectorius*, Marbod cap. 3: 'Invictum reddit lapis hic quemcunque gerentem, Extinguitque sitim patientis in ore receptus.' The MHG. poem fixes the capon's age at seven, Albertus at nine years. But a poem in the Vienna Cod. 428 no. 136 (Hahn's Stricker p. 48) names the *snake-stone* as the right one to bestow *victory*:

ich hœre von den steinen sagen,
 die *natern* und *kroten* tragen (adders and toads bear),
 daz grôze tugend dar an lige (great virtue therein lies),
 swer si habe, der gesige (who has them, conquers);

mohten daz *sigesteine* wesen (if these be victory-stones),
 sô solt ein wurm vil wol genesen,
 der's in sînem libe trüege,
 daz in nieman erslüege

(the reptile itself ought to live long, and never get killed); and the *cock-stone* as that which allays thirst :

man sagt von *hanensteinen*,
 swer ir in munt nem' einen,
 daz er guot vür den durst im sî.

The sacred *snake*, the *adder*, who wears crowns of gold (p. 686) and jewels (Gesta Rom. ed. Keller pp. 68. 152), seems to have a better right to the stone of victory than the cock. Albertus mentions a stone *borax*, which the toad wears on its head, but he says nothing about its procuring victory: '*borax lapis est, qui ita dicitur a bufone, quod in capite ipsum portat*,' Otnit, Mone 557-8. In Ettm. p. 91 the toad is characterized as *Hebrew* :

ez ist ûz dem garten ein Abrahemsche krot (conf. p. 1241),
 swenne diu gewehset, sie bringet einen stein
 daz diu sunne ûf erden niht bezzers überschein.

The Dresden poem says more explicitly, that the stone grows on him, and is of all stones the highest. The Pentameron 4, 1 says, the *preta de lo gallo* grows in the cock's head, and is a *wishing-stone*, by which you can obtain anything. The Oriental fable of the three lessons taught by the captive bird (Reinh. cclxxxi. Ls. 2, 655) alludes to such a stone growing in the heart or crop of a lark or nightingale. The daughter of Sigurðr grikr steals the *stone of victory* out of his pocket while he sleeps, and gives it to Dietleib (Vilk. s. cap. 96-7); such a one had king Nidung too (cap. 25), but neither passage specifies the kind of stone. Vintler (Sup. G, l. 89) does not describe his *sigelstein*, but we find elsewhere that it could artificially, and in secret, be blown like glass, cast like metal; Seifr. Helbl. 4, 124 says of conspirators: '*ze samen si dô sâzen, sam (as if) sie einen sigstein bliesen*'; and Mich. Behaim 22, 11: '*gar taugenlichen vor dem rat zusammen giengen fru und spat, pis sy gussen ain sigelstain*.' Acc. to Hagen's Cölner chron. 1003 the stone wherewith to conquer means the *diamond*. When the poets tell of farrings

that lend victory, that make invisible (e.g. Troj. 9198), their power always comes of the *stone* set in them. Marbod cap. 27 on *gagathromeus*: 'Quem qui gestarit dux pugnaturus in hostem, Hostem depulsum terraque marique fugabit' (see Suppl.).

The *ceraunius* (*κεραυνίας*) that falls from heaven is mentioned by Marbod cap. 28: 'Qui caste gerit hunc, a fulmine non ferietur, Nec domus aut villae quibus affuerit lapis ille.' What he adds: 'Crystallo similem *Germania* mittere fertur, Coeruleo tamen infectum rutiloque colore' is derived from Pliny 37, 9, 51: 'est inter candidas et quae *ceraunia* vocatur, fulgorem siderum rapiens, ipsa crystallina, splendoris coerulei, in *Germania* nascens,' though the received text has *Carmania*. There can be no question about the *thunderstone* being German (p. 179); and *Miölnir*, like the *hein* (p. 903 n.) that Óðinn hurled, or that which lodged in Thôr's head (p. 375), is sure to have been hallowed above all stones. *Miölnir* sounds remarkably like the Slavic names for lightning, *molniya*, *munya*; this last the Servian songs personify into *Munya*, and represent as sister to *Thunder* (*Grom*), and bride of the Moon (*Miësets*, masc., Vuk 1, 151-4 new ed.), which jumps with our personification of *Hammer* (p. 181. 999). So much the more is *Molniya* identical with *Miölnir*. The Romans too must have regarded the thunderbolt, *silex*, as a 'Jovis lapis': *Lapidem silicem* tenebant juraturi per Jovem, haec verba dicentes, 'Si sciens fallo, tum me Dispiter, salva urbe arceque, bonis ejiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem!' Those about to take an oath fetched out of the temple of Juppiter Feretrius a staff and '*lapidem silicem* quo foedus ferirent,' exactly as covenants were hallowed by Thôr's hammer. Acc. to Livy 1, 24, when a swine was sacrificed, it was struck with this stone: 'Tu illo die, Jupiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque': id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. This is like our malediction, 'Hammer strike thee!' The Finns in like manner called the thunderbolt *Ukonkivi*, stone of Ukko the progenitor; the Indians *hîra*, *hîraka*, *Indra's thunderstone* (Pott's Etym. for. 2, 421) or *vajra*, which means at once thunderbolt and diamond. As this makes it partake the nature of the brightest of stones, our fathers saw in it the hard flint, the Romans the *silex*; myth and superstition alike accord to it the noblest powers: '*malleum* aut *silicem aërium*,

ubi puerpera decumbit, obvolvunt candido linteo contra infestationem fearum, albarum feminarum, strygum, lamiarum,' Gisb. Voetii sel. disput. theol., Ultraj. 1651. 3, 121 (see Suppl.).

As there is supposed to be a *philosopher's stone* (lapis sapientum), that imparts wisdom, or the art of making gold and prolonging life (*óska-steinn*, wishing-stone, p. 144), Scandinavia also had its legend of the *líf-steinn*. In Kormakssaga cap. 12, p. 116-8 Bersi wears one on his neck, which brings him succour in swimming (see Suppl.).

Only large stones, such as mountains and rocks, are named after gods, heroes or giants, who dwell upon them, or have hurled them; rarely particular species of stone, at all events no healing ones. A certain slate indeed was called giant's bread, *jyvríking* (p. 546), a tufa *näckebröd* (p. 489), a coal-stone *Surtarbrandr* (p. 809).

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SPELLS AND CHARMS.

A yet stronger power than that of herb or stone lies in the spoken *word*, and all nations use it both for blessing and cursing.¹ But these, to be effective, must be choice, well knit, rhythmic words (*verba concepta*), must have *lilt* and *tune*; hence all that is strong in the speech wielded by priest, physician, magician, is allied to the forms of poetry.

Expressions for 'saying, singing' pass into the sense of 'conjuring': *ἀοιδή* (p. 899) becomes *ἐπαιοιδή*, Od. 19, 457, *ἐπῳδή*, our 'sprechen, singen' become *besprechen, besingen, schwören* (Goth. *svaran* = responderere) *beschwören* (Goth. *bisvaran ὀρκίζειν*); so *jurare conjurare, cantare incantare*. The OHG. *galstar*, AS. *galdor*, gealdor, ON. *galdr* (*incantatio*) have sprung out of *galan* = canere; the AS. *spell*, strictly dictum, *fabula*, Goth. *spill*, was tortured into meaning magic spell [and *charm*, Fr. *charme* is from *carmen*].

Opposed to blessing is cursing, to the wholesome the hurtful. For the former the Goth still used his native word *þiubeins εὐλογία*, from *þiupjan εὐλογεῖν*; the OHG. *segan* *dicatio, dedicatio, benedictio*, comes from Lat. *signum*, the AS. *segen* meant merely *signum* in the sense of flag; MHG. *segen*, like our own, stands for magic as well. *Κακολογεῖν* is in Ulph. *ubil-qīþan maledicere*, but *flēkan* simply *plangere*, while the OHG. *fluochōn* (MHG. *vluochen*, our *fluchen*) is already *maledicere, imprecari*, and *fluoh* *maledictio* (*masc.*, quite distinct from *fem. fluoh, rupes*). OS. *farflōcan maledicere, harm-quidi maledictum*. Another word is OHG. *farhuāzan*, MHG. *verwāzen*² *detestari, condemnare, appar.*

¹ Pliny 28, 2 [3—5] examines the force of '*verba et incantamenta carminum*' in many striking examples.

² '*Var hin verwāzen* (begone, with a curse to you), vil gar verteilter snê!' Ms. 1, 23^a. 'nu var von mir verwāzen' and 'ēwedlich verlorn!' Ls. 3, 77. 'var von mir verstōzen!' MsH. 3, 441^b.

allied to AS. 'hwátung divinatío,' Poenit. Ecgb. 2, 23. 4, 19. AS. *wergan* (misspelt *wirgan*, *wyrgan*) *maledicere*, *detestari*, strictly *damnare*, Goth. *vargjan*, OS. *waragian*. AS. *cursian*, Engl. *curse*. The ON. *bæn* *precatío*, AS. *lén* (p. 31) both border on *imprecatío* (see Suppl.).

Cursing, 'becrying, becalling,' may indeed be done aloud, but as a rule both blessing and cursing require soft murmured whispered speech. OHG. *hvispalón* *sibilare*, Graff 4, 1239, AS. *hwistlian*, as whistling and hissing are imputed to the serpent who fascinates; MHG. *wispeln*: 'wispeln wilde vogel zemt, hunde ez letzet und lemt,' Renn. 22370; the asp will hear no *wispelwort*, Ms. 2, 202^b; 'aller würmel (insects) *wispel* unde *mürmel*,' Mart. 74^c, for *murmeln* is the same thing too, OHG. *murmulón*, *murmurón*, our *mummeln*, *mompeln*, to mumble. Paul. Diac. 1, 13 in describing *manumissio per sagittam*, adds: '*immurmurantes*, ob rei firmitatem, quaedam patria verba,' a Lango-bardic hallowing spell.¹ Similar expressions are OHG. *mutilón*, Graff 2, 707, and our *protzeln*, *pretzeln*, *pröpel*, signifying first the sound of water simmering, and then very appropriately the muttering of a spell: '*protzeln* and *wispeln* over the sick man' is to mutter a charm or blessing; in some parts *prebeln*, Nethl. *prevelen*; Franke's Weltb. 134^a has *pretzeln* (see Suppl.).

But the most legitimate and oldest word of all is the Goth. *runa*, commonly the equivalent for *μυστήριον*, sometimes for *βουλή*, *συμβούλιον*. I believe it meant in the first place what is spoken softly and solemnly, then secondly a mystery: *συμβούλιον* is secret counsel. From secret speech to secret writing is but a step, as the ON. *mâl* means both speech and sign. For *γραφή*, *γράμμα* Ulph. always puts *mêl*, not *runa*, because none of the passages happen to speak of secret writing; one might wager that *runa* was the familiar term for this, as the early Franks had *rûna* = *litera*. OHG. *rûna*, AS. *rûn*, *character magicus*, *mysterium*, Cædm. 211, 12. 250, 6. 262, 9, this last with an obvious reference to 'bôcstafas' in 262, 7. ON. *rûn* *litera*, but *runa* *linea*, which coexistence of *ú* and *u* assures us of a strong verb 'riúna, raun, runum,' whence also *raun* (*tentamen*, *experiment*), *reyna* (*tentare*), perh. *reynir* (*service* or *rönu* tree, p. 1215). The

¹ Ter novies carmen magico *demurmurat* ore, Ov. Met. 14, 57.

OHG. *rûnên* susurrare, *rûnazan* murmurare, MHG. *rûnen*, our *raunen*, AS. *rûnian*, Engl. *round*, keep the original meaning of secret whispering, and OHG. *ôr-rûno* is a confidant, one who rounds things in your ear. The ON. transitive *rýna* is *secretum scrutari*, *litteras scrutari*, and supplies the link to *raun* above. In Ben. 378 *sanfte rûnen* stands opposed to public singing. Finn. *runo* is a song (p. 901). And now a term that has often come before us becomes perfectly clear, and what is more, proves a good fit all round: the wise-woman of the ancient Germans is called *Aliruna*, because she is *alja-run*a, and speaking secret words not understood of the common folk, has skill at once in writing and in magic; hers is the Gothic *runa*, hers the AS. *rûncræft*. *Ali* can only mean 'other (than common), strange, not vulgar and profane,' and thus heightens the meaning of *runa*. And this name of the heathen priestesses could easily be transferred to the holy herb (p. 1202) which perhaps pertained to their ritual.

The olden time divided runes into many classes, and if the full import of their names were intelligible to us, we might take in at one view all that was effected by magic spells. They were painted, scratched or carved, commonly on *stone* or *wood*, 'run-stones, runstaves'; *reeds* served the same purpose (p. 1083-4). The OHG. *hahabrûna*, *îsrûna*, *lagorûna* are named after the letters 'hahal, îs, lagoon'; *clofrûna* and *stofrûna* remain doubtful, the latter appar. the mere tip (stumpf, apex). *Hellirûna* means necromancy, death-rune, and plainly refers to Halja, Hella; I connect with it our *hölle-zwang*, control over hell, by which is understood the mightiest of magic spells, such as Doctor Faust possessed. *Holzrûna* is to be taken not of a thing, but of a person, the wood-wife, lamia (p. 433), not without some allusion to her moaning and muttering. The OHG. women's names *Kundrûn*, *Hiltirûn*, *Sigirûn*, *Fridurûn*, *Paturûn*, are properly those of valkyrs, but also traceable to a non-personal *kundrûna*, *hiltirûna*, *sigirûna*, *fridurûna*, *paturûna*; and it is worth noticing, that the personal names lack the final *-a*, and are consigned to a different declension. From the MHG. *knierûnen* (to croon over one's knee), MS. 2, 137^a, may be inferred a subst. *knierûne*. The AS. *beadorûn*, Beow. 996 is *littera belli*=bellum, rixa; while *helrûne* 324 and *burgrûne* (p. 404n.) are a personal furia, parca, death's messenger; a gloss in Lye puts it for *pythonissa*. In

Sæm. 194-5 Sigrdrífa, i.e. Brynhildr, herself a valkyr, enumerates to Sigurð the runes which it was most needful for her to know: the goblet she hands him is 'fullr *lioða* ok *líknstafa*, *gôðra galdra* ok *gamanrúna*,' full of lays and leech-staves, good spells and runes of bliss. She goes on to name *sigrúnar*, *ölrúnar*, *biargrúnar*, *brimrúnar*, *málrúnar*, *hugrúnar*, runes of victory, of ale, of the rock, the sea, speech and thought. I am only doubtful as to ölrún, because the proper name *Ölrún* is evidently the Aliruna of Tacitus; we can scarcely derive all the alirúnes from alus, ölr, ale, and I would rather hazard a guess, either that Ölrún stands for Elrún, Elirún, having got confounded with ölrún, or that the *ú* of the second syllable converted the *a* of the first into *ö* [quite the rule in declension and conjugation, not in composition]. In Sæm. 165^b *sakrúnar* contentiones. Danish folksongs often speak of *ramme runer*, powerful runes 1, 235. 280. 2, 33. 3, 335. 4, 47 (see Suppl.).

Oðinn passed for the inventor of all runes (p. 181-2), and in him is lodged the greatest command of *words*. Yngl. saga cap. 7: 'þat kunning hann enn at gera með *ordum einum* (do by words alone), at slöckva eld ok kyrra siâ, ok snúa vindum. Oðinn vissi of allt iarðfê, hvar fôlgit var (earth-fee, where it was hid), ok hann kunning þau lioð, er upplaukz fyrir hönum (unlocked itself to him) iörðin ok biörg ok steinar ok hangarnir, ok *batt* (bound) hann með *ordum einum* þâ er fyrir biuggu (dwelt), ok gekk (went) inn ok tók þar slíkt er hann vildi.' Afzelius in Sagoh. 1, 4 mentions, too briefly and indistinctly, a strange Swedish folk-tale of one Kettill Runske of Kettilsås in Alsheda, who stole *Odin's rune-sticks* (runekafar), and with them cast a spell on his hounds and bulls, nay at last on the merwoman that would have come to Odin's aid. By this Odin seems to be meant a shepherd or giant representing the former god; the surname *runske* evidently has to do with the acquisition and possession of the staves.

Songs and runes then can do very great things. They are able to kill and bring to life, as well as prevent from dying; to heal or make sick, bind up wounds, stanch blood, alleviate pain, and lull to sleep; quench fire, allay the sea-storm, bring rain and hail; to burst bonds, undo chains and bolts, open mountains or close them up, and unlock treasures; to forward or delay a birth;

to make weapons strong or soft, dull the edge of a sword; loop up knots, loose the bark off a tree (p. 1085), spoil a crop (fruges excantare); call up evil spirits and lay them, to bind thieves. These wonders lie in the very nature of poesy (p. 907-8). The Rûnatal, Sæm. 28—30, specifies eighteen effects of runes (see Suppl.).

Curses, imprecations have a peculiar force of their own. Our MHG. poets have '*tiefe fluochen*,' deeply, Ms. 2, 188^a; '*swinde fluochen*,' vehemently, Helbl. 2, 518 and *zorn-vluoch*, wrath-curse 1, 656. Full of meaning is the phrase: '*ich brach des vluoches herten kiesel*,' I brake yon curse's stubborn flint, MsH. 2, 339^b, its action is hard as pebbles, and not easy to break. Walther says 73, 29:

Zwêne *herzeliche flüeche* kan ich ouch,
die fluochent nâch dem willen mîn.
hiure müezen's beide esel und der gowk
gehœren, ê si enbizzen sîn.
wê in (woe to them) denne, den vil armen!

(two round curses ken I eke, hitting whomso I bespeak; them both ass and gowk shall hear, ere they baited be this year, etc.). Curses received on an empty stomach are the more effectual. It is the vulgar opinion in Ireland that a curse once uttered must alight on something: it will *float in the air* seven years, and may descend any moment on the party it was aimed at; if his guardian angel but forsake him, it takes forthwith the shape of some misfortune, sickness or temptation, and strikes his devoted head. So in the Pentam. 2, 7 a curse takes wing, and mounts to heaven: '*mésero le' mardettiune dessa vecchia l'ascelle, che sagliettero subeto 'n cielo.*' When a horse has been cursed, his hair is thought to be luminous: '*a cavallo iastemmiato luce lo pilo,*' *ibid.*

Specimens of the most vigorous cursing might be picked out of our old poetry; one in the Edda, Sæm. 144^a,

nio röstom er þú skyldir neðar vera,
ok vaxi þer á baðmi barr!

may remind us of the phrases culled from our common people's talk, pp. 181-2. 952n. In a minnesong, Ben. 82: '*der nider schar, daz die vor kilchen lægen!*' the low set, may they lie out-

side of church (in unconsecrated ground),¹ 'der bluomen schîn sol iemer sîn von ir gewalt gescheiden,' put out of their reach. The runes on a tombstone will occasionally end with a curse against him that shall roll away or remove the stone: 'at ryði sa verði (may he turn to rust) sa stain þansi velti!' So Latin deeds of the Mid. Ages wind up with imprecations on the violator, but scriptural ones pronounced by the church.

Here is a string of curses from a MHG. poem: 'God from thee thy wife release! Fish, fowl, worm, beast and man Storm the stronghold of thy peace! Where'er thou go, Be grace thy foe! All good women's greeting shun thee! Thy seed, thy crop be cankered too, The curse that dried Gilboa's dew Rest upon thee!' MsH. 3, 52 (see Suppl.).

Though as a rule sowing is to be accompanied by prayer and blessing, there are some plants that *thrive better under cursing*: 'Nihil ocimo (basil) foecundius, cum maledictis ac probris serendum praecipiant, ut laetius proveniat, sato pavitur terra. Et cuminum qui serunt, precantur ne exeat,' Pliny 19, 7 [36].² 'Napos serere nudum volunt, precantem sibi et vicinis serere se,' 18, 13 [35].

To adjure solemnly is in OHG. *munigôn* inti *manôn* (hortari et monere), AS. *mynegian* and *manian*: 'sîs *bimunigôt* thuruh then himilisgon Got, *bisuoran* thuruh thes forahta (fear of Him), ther alla worolt worahta!' O. iv. 19, 47. 'ih *bimuniun* dih' begins the formula in Spell VII. Even in MHG.: 'des wart vil manec wilder geist von ir *gemuniet* und *gemant*,' Troj. 10519 (see Suppl.).

Hellirûna, necromantia, shews itself in the lays sung after the heathen fashion *on graves* and *barrows*, to make the dead speak or send something out. The Indiculus superst. distinguishes between 'sacrilegium ad sepulcra mortuorum' and 'sacrilegium super defunctos, id est *dadsisas*.' Dâd is for dôd, dêd (conf. nêdfyr, nôdfyr, p. 603-4); the OS. *sisas* I take to be the OHG. *sisuwâ* neniae, of which the sing. would be *sisu*, *siso*: *sisesang* is

¹ A surname Outkirk must have meant the Excommunicated: Rudolphus de Solodoro cognomine *vor chîlchun*, Hartmannus dictus *vor kilchon* (A.D. 1260). Solothurner wochenbl. 1827, pp. 128. 160.

² Fischart's Garg. 244^b: 'diss fürmans gebett treibt schif und wagen, ein hauptmansfluch etzt durch neun harnisch. ich könt dennoch wol basilien, quendel und kressen setzen, dann dieselben vom fluchen gedeien. darumb wards jenes mannes entschuldigung vor dem richter, warumb er sein weib gereuft hette, nemblich darumb weil er hat rauten setzen müssen'; his excuse for thrashing his wife was, he had to plant some rue.

carmen lugubre, Diut. 2, 283^b. Graff 6, 281, and an OS. form of confession has 'ik gihôrda (heard) hetlunnussia endi unhrênia (unclean) *sespilon*,' perh. for sese-spilon, dirge-spells; the same obscure root appears in proper names Sisebutus, Sisenandus, etc., etc., Gramm. 2, 476. *Hetlunnussia* must mean imprecations, conf. OS. hatol dirus, Hel. 110, 8 and OHG. hazzal malitiosus, Gl. Hrab. 957^a. *Neniae* are carmina funebria, hymns in honour of the dead; Britferthi vita Dunstani (b. 925) cap. 1 (Acta sanct. 19 May) says of that saint: '*avitae gentilitatis vanissima didicisse carmina, et historiarum frivolas colere incantationum nenias.*' In the same way Greg. Tur. mirac. 2, 1: '*ad vicum in quo fanatici erroris naeniae colebantur.*' An AS. *byrgensang* translates epitaphium, and Mone's Glosses 943-4 give *lîcsang*, *lîcleoð* epicedium, *byriensang*, *bergelsleoð*, *byrgleoð* carmen super tumulum. Hroswitha's Proterius says of an adjuration: '*supra gentilis tumulum sub tempore noctis stans, herebi domino suplex.*' The ON. expression is *val-galdr* qveða, to say corpse-incantation, Sæm. 94^a: by it Oðinn compelled the vala, on whom snow and rain and dew had fallen (p. 314), to rise from her barrow and answer him. Grôa's son and Hervör utter formulas almost identical: '*vaki þû Grôa! vaki þû gôð kona! vek ek þik dauðra dura,*' Sæm. 97^a; '*vaki þû Angantýr! vegr þic Hervör einka dóttir ykkar Svâfu (of thee and Svâfa),*' Fornald. sög. 1, 435; after a gruesome conversation with her father, the sword she craves is thrown out of the barrow. In the same way, at the son's adjuration, a sword is handed out of the tomb in the folksong of Orm (Sv. fornsånger 2, 446-7. Danske viser 1, 59. 60-6-7), and in a Faröe song of Virgar, i.e. Wudga, Witege (Lyngbye p. 369). Wolfdietrich constrains the dead tongue of his buried father to utter seven words, Cod. Dresd. 313 (see Suppl.).

As the spoken spell bursts open the tomb, so do locks and bars give way before it. Ferabras 2759:

Venc a l'us de la cambra, si la trobat tancada,
et a dit son conjur: tota s'es desfermada.

Though the following passage in Meier Helmbrecht 1205 mentions only the act of approaching, the cattle-stealer must, as he drew near, have uttered some unloosing spell:

Mîn geselle Wolves-drüzzel (-throttle, -throat)

ûf tuot er âne slüzzel (opens without key)
 alliu slòz und îsenhalt (bolts and iron staples)
 in einem jâr hân ich gezalt (counted)
 hundert îsenhalte grôz,
 daz ie daz slòz dannen schôz (aye the bolt shot out of them,
 als er *von verre gie dar zuo* (from far came towards them) ;
 ros, ohsen und manic kuo,
 die ungezalt sint beliben,
 die er ûz dem hove hât getriben,
 daz ie daz slòz von sîner stat (from its place)
 schôz, *swann er dar zuo trat* (when he stept thereto).

Even now some thieves and sharpers have the reputation of being able to 'bespeak' their chains and locks, and make them burst.

Gods and daemons could of their mere might raise wind and storm, magicians did the same by means of song. Saxo Gram. p. 71 has a certain Oddo, 'vir magicae doctus, ita ut absque carina altum pererrans hostilia saepe navigia *concitatis carmine procellis* everteret.' These tempestarii have been dealt with, p. 638. Again: 'carminibus in nimbos solvere coelum,' *ibid.* 17. But song could turn away storm and hail, as well as draw it on: 'cum averti *carmine* grandines credant plerique, cujus verba inserere non equidem serio ausim,' Pliny 17, 28 [47].

As the whole of sorcery sank into the hands of old wives, and the faith of bygone times was called *kerlinga villa*, Sæm. 169, *alter wibe troume*, Turl. Wh. 1, 82^a, *γρᾶώδεις μῦθοι*, 1 Tim. 4. 7, in Gothic 'us-alpanáizô spilla'; the healing formulas handed down from the past fared no better. Already in the 12th cent. the *Miracula S. Matthiae* (by a Benedictine of Treves) expresses itself thus, cap. 34: 'cujus dolore mater affecta medicinam et *anilia* adhibuit *carmina*,' Pez. thes. anec. 2, 3 p. 234 (see Suppl.).

These superstitious formulas are a gain to the history of our mythology, they yield information about deities and practices of heathenism, which but for them would be utterly lost. Even books by churchmen find room for them, because their use in certain cases, diseases of cattle for instance, was still considered lawful and beneficial. A comprehensive collection of them would be sure to lead to discoveries, but the time is hardly ripe for it yet, as they lie scattered, and have to be slowly gathered from

the mouth of the people and out of witch-trials.¹ Here let a few striking examples place beyond a doubt, not only their value, but their obstinate diffusion through nearly the whole of Europe.

In the Merseburg MS. the first poem is a *bond-spell*, to be sung while tying or unloosing bands, and this time relating to the release of a prisoner :

Eiris sâzun *idisi*, sâzun hera duoder,
 suma hapt heptidun, suma heri lezidun,
 suma clûbôdun umbi cuoniowidi :
 ‘inspringe haptbandum, invar vigandum !’

i.e. Olim sedebant nymphae, sedebant huc illuc (AS. þider, thither), aliae vincula vinciebant, aliae exercitum morabantur, aliae carpebant redimicula : ‘exsili e vinculis, elabere hostibus !’ Wackernagel was the first to penetrate the sense of the last line, by which the last but one is also made clear : the plucking (clawing) at the bonds slackens their hold, and the captive then can slip them off. Of ‘hapt heptian’ I have spoken p. 401 ; the binding and unbinding is alluded to in our minnesongs. Beda 4, 22 tells of a man who could not be kept bound : ‘*nec tamen vinciri potuit, nam mox ut abiere qui vinxerant, eadem ejus sunt vincula soluta . . . Interea comes, qui eum tenebat, mirari et interrogare coepit, quare ligari non posset, an forte literas solutorias, de qualibus fabulae ferunt, apud se haberet, propter quas ligari non posset ? At ille respondit, nihil se talium artium nosse.*’ He was sold to a third man : ‘*sed nec ab illo ullatenus potuit alligari.*’ Beda’s explanation of the marvel is, that his friends, thinking him dead, had had masses said for the deliverance of his soul. The AS. version goes a step farther, which seems worthy of notice : ‘and hine âcsade, hwæðer he þa *âlýsendlican râne* cuðe, and þa *stânas mid him âwritene hæfde*, be swylcum men leás spell secgað.’ What were these stones written over with runes, which the translator had in his mind ?—We have to suppose *three sets* of women, each plying a separate task (see Suppl.).

The second Merseburg formula is for healing a *lamed horse* :

Phol ende Wôdan vuorun zi holza,
 dô wart demo *Balderes* volon sîn vuoç birenkit (wrenched) ;

¹ Horst borrowed for his *Zauberbibl.* a parchm. MS. of the 15th cent. full of spells, from which he has extracted nothing, and which is missing at Treves ever since.

dô biguolen *Sinthgunt*, *Sunná* era suister,
 dô biguolen *Frúwá*, *Follá* era suister,
 dô biguolen *Wódan*, sô he wola conda,
 sôse bân-renki, sôse bluot-renki,
 sôse lidi-renki
 bân zi bêna, bluot zi bluoda,
 lid zi giliden, sôse gelîmida sîn.

Here is sung an adventure that befell the two gods (p. 224), and how *Wódan* healed the sprained foot of Balder's foal by besinging it (bigalan). And now the repetition of the song cures other lame horses too. What the rest of the gods cannot do, *Wódan* can, just as the Yngl. saga 7 says of him: 'Oðinn kunni at gera með ordum (words alone) einum at slöckva eld ok kyrra siâ, ok snúa vindum hverja leið er hann vildi.' He is the greatest magician or wonder-man of all.

Now observe in what shapes the same spell shews itself surviving in the popular superstitions of today. In Norway:

Jesus reed sig til hede,
 da reed han sönder sit fole-been (his foal's leg asunder).
Jesus stigede af, og lægte det:
Jesus lagde marv i marv,
 been i been, kjöd i kjöd,
Jesus lagde derpaa et blad (thereon a leaf),
 at det skulde blive i samme stad.

In Sweden, for a horse's ailment *flåg* (our anflug, fit):

Oden står på berget (stands on the hill),
 han spørjer (spears, asks) efter sin fole,
 floget har han fått.—
 spotta (spit) i din hand, och i hans mun (his mouth),
 han skall få bot (get boot) i samma stund (hour).

Whilst another begins thus:

Frygge frågade frå:
 huru skall man bota (heal)
 den flåget får (sheep)?

The two Swedish stanzas, evidently incomplete, are given by F. Magnusen in the *Dagen* 1842 no. 119, from *Mimer*, Ups. 1839. p. 277. That similar snatches of song still live in the Netherlands, I am informed in a letter from Halbertsma: 'Een mijner boeren gaf my voorleden jaar een rijm, dat de toverdokers prevelden, terwijl zij den verrukten voet van een pard (foot of a horse) met

de hand van boven naar beneden stroken, en alzo genazen.' I wish he had sent me the rhyme itself.

What sounds more significant is a Scotch tradition I take out of Chambers's Fireside stories, Edinb. 1842. p. 37: 'When a person has received a sprain, it is customary to apply to an individual practised in casting the *wresting thread*. This is a thread spun from *black wool*, on which are cast *nine knots*, and tied round a sprained leg or arm. During the time the operator is putting the thread round the affected limb, he says, but *in such a tone of voice as not to be heard by the bystanders*, nor even by the person operated upon:

The Lord rade,
and the foal slade;
he lighted,
and he righted,

set joint to joint,
bone to bone,
and sinew to sinew.
Heal in the Holy Ghost's name!

Here the spell serves for sprains even in the human body, though it set out with the sliding of the foal; and to the whispered words is added a ligature of woollen thread in nine knots.

How exact the agreement, in these perfectly independent versions, of their 'bên zi bêna, been i been, bone to bone,' their 'lid zi giliden, kjöd i kjöd, sinew to sinew'! Those who cannot believe in the faithful preservation of what is entrusted to popular memory, have here an example extending from the 10th cent. to the 19th over Germany, Scotland and Scandinavia. It is certain that the same or similar words have been superstitiously repeated countless times in all the countries of Teutonic tongue. The Cod. Vatic. 4395 has on fol. 83^a the following charm: 'Gott wurden iiii nagel (God had 4 nails) in sein hend und fuez geslagen, da von er iiii wunden enphie, do er an dem heiligen chreuz hieng (l. hie). die funft wunden im Longinus stach, er west nicht waz er an ihm rach . . . an dem dritten tag gepot (bade) Got dem lichnam, der in der erden lag, fleisch zu fleisch, pluet zu pluet, adern zu adern, pain zu pain, gelider zu gelidern, yslichs (each) an sein stat. bei Demselbigen gepeut ich dir (bid I thee) fleisch zu fleisch,' etc.

But what is more, a great deal farther back, among the very oldest Romans, there lingered *dislocation-spells* full of unintelligible words. The one partially quoted p. 224-5 from Cato may as well be inserted in full, as it throws light on the nature of our

German charms. 'Luxum si quod est, hac *cantione* sanum fiet. Harundinem prende tibi viridem pedes IV aut V longam. Mediam diffinde, et duo homines teneant ad coxendices. Incipe *cantare* "in alio. s. f. motas vaetas daries dardaries astataries Dissunapiter," usque dum coëant. Ferrum insuperjactato. Ubi coierint et altera alteram tetigerit, id manu prende, et dextra sinistra praecide. Ad luxum aut ad fracturam alliga, sanum fiet, et tamen quotidie *cantato* "in alio s. f. vel *luxato*. Vel hoc modo, huat hanat huat ista pista sista, domiabo damnaustra, et *luxato*. Vel hoc modo, huat haut ista sis tar sis ardannabon dunnaustra." It is of this invocation that Pliny says at the end of book 17: '*Carminis verba* inserere non equidem serio ausim, quanquam a Catone prodita, contra luxata membra, jungenda *arundinum* fissurae.' The words do seem nonsense to us now, and may also be corrupt; but why should not they belong originally to the Sabine or some neighbouring language of ancient Italy, that we know very little of? The rhymes *ista pista sista* and the alliteration '*domiabo damnaustra*' (the '*dannabon dunnaustra*' that follows is the same over again, and ought to have an '*ista pista sista*' before it too) remind us of the rhyming spell in Virgil's *Ecl.* 8: '*Limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit Uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore.*' *Dissunapiter* is the god invoked, like the Phol and Wodan of our spells. Marcellus Empiricus, a physician of the 4th cent., has in his *De Medicamentis* a charm for pain of the heart: '*In lamella stannea scribes et ad collum suspendes haec, antea vero etiam cane, Corcu ne mergito, cave corcu ne mergito cantorem, utos, utos, utos, praeparavi tibi vinum lene, libidinem, discede a nonita, in nomine Dei Jacob, in nomine Dei Sebaoth!*' (see *Suppl.*)

In the *Cod. Vindob. theol.* 259 Latin and German spells are intermixed. '*(De eo quo)d spurihalz dicimus.*¹ si in dextero pede contigerit, in sinistra aure sanguis minuatur; si in sinistro pede, in dextera aure minuatur sanguis. *Ad vermes occidendos. Feruina* (?) Dei gracia plena. tu habes triginta quinque indices et triginta quinque medicinas. quando Dominus ascendit ad coelos ascendit, memorare quod dixit. *Ad apes conformandos.* vos

¹ MHG. spurhalz, *Diut.* 2, 140; conf. diu spurgalze, *MsH.* 3, 278^b (springhalt?).

estis ancille Domini (conf. pp. 579. 755), adjuro vos per nomen Domini, ne fugiatis a filiis hominum. *Ad pullos de nido.* crescite et multiplicamini et vivite et implete terram. *Contra sagittam diaboli.* palamiasit. palamiasit. calamia insiti per omne corpus meum. per ista tria nomina, per Patrem et Filium et Filium sanctum. aius aius aius, sanctus sanctus sanctus. in Dei nomine cardia cardiani de necessu (recessu?) propter illum *malannum* (p. 1160), quod dominus papa ad imperatorem transmisit, quod omnis homo super se portare debet. amen. tribus vicibus. De hoc quod *spurihals* dicunt. primum pater noster.

visc flôt aftar themo watare, verbrustun sîna vetherun,
thô gihêlida ina use Druhtin; the selvo Druhtin
thie gehêle that hors thera *spurihelti*!

Contra vermes:

gang ût, *nesso* mid nigon *nessiklinon*, ût fana themo marge an that bân, fan themo bêne an that flêsg, ût fan themo flêsg an thia hûd, ût fan thera . . . strâla! Druhtin werthe sô.¹

The *nesso* and his nine young ones are the worms to be cast out. '*Petrus, Michahel et Stephanus ambulabant per viam, sic dixit Michahel: Stephani equus infusus, signet illum Deus, signet illum Christus, et erbam comedat et aquam bibat.*'—Two of these charms are about lame horses again, and one about a sick horse (Ducange sub. v. *infusio, infusus equus*). Also the transitions from marrow to bone (or sinews), to flesh and hide, resemble phrases in the sprain-spells (see Suppl.).

The oldest and most beautiful charms of all nations pass into prayers, which were repeated during sacrifice; the simplest are found in pastoral life. What a fresh innocence breathes in those prayers to the Thunder-god (p. 176)! When the Cheremisses keep their grand feast of Shurem, and bring quiet offerings of peace, at which *no female creature must be seen* (conf. p. 1152n.), they speak a prayer, out of which I pick a few sentences: 'Who

¹ A Cod. Tegerns. 524, 2 at Munich has a more complete version in OHG.: 'gang ûz, *nesso* mit niun *nessinclinon*, ûz fonna marga in deô âdra, vonna dên âdrun in daz fleisk, fonna demu fleiske in daz fel, fonna demo velle in diz tullî. ter pater noster.' So *nesso* has *ss* in OHG. too. Tulli, like *strâla*, is an implement, conf. MHG. *tülle*, Nib. 897, 3 and Haupt on Engelh. 1916. [*Strâla* is arrow; *tülle* the hole in the arrow-shaft for inserting the head. The disease charmed into your arrow, will pass on to your enemy (?)—TRANS.]

to God hath sacrificed, to him God give health and wealth, bestowing on the babes that shall be born store of money, bread, bees and cattle. May he cause the bees to swarm this year and make plenty of honey. When spring draws nigh, O God, let the three kinds of cattle set out on their three ways, defend them from deep mire, from bears, wolves and thieves. As the hops are thick and springy, so bless us with good hap and sound mind! As the light burneth bright, so live we our life! as the wax daily addeth to itself,¹ so be our increase!’ (from Aleks. Fuks ‘O Chuvashakh i Cheremisakh,’ Kazan 1840, in Erman’s Archiv 1841, 2nd no.).

‘Dapem pro bubus piro florente facito. Dapem hoc modo fieri oportet. *Jovi dapali* culignam vini quantum vis polluceto. Eo die feriae bubus et bubulcis, et qui dapem facient. Cum pollucere oportebit, sic facias: *Jupiter dapalis*, quod tibi fieri oportet, in domo familia mea culignam vini dapi, ejus rei ergo macte hac illace dape pollucenda esto! macte vino inferio esto! *Vestae*, si voles, dato. Daps *Jovi* assaria pecuina, urna vini *Jovi* caste. Profanato sine contagione, postea dape facta serito milium, panicum, alium, lentim’ (Cato de re rust. 132).

Along with this, take (from Cod. Exon. 5214) an AS. *bôt*, i.e. puoza (bettering) of barren land blasted by magic. ‘Her is seo *bôt*, hû þû meahþ þîne *æceras bêtan*, gif hî nellað wel weaxan, oððe þær hwile ungedêfe þing ongedôn bið, on drýf oððe on lybláce.

‘Genim þonne (take then) on niht, *ær hit dagige*, *feower tyrf* on feower healfa þæs landes, and gemearca hû hî *ær stôdon*. nim þonne *ele* and *hunig* and *beorman*, and *ælces feos meole* (each cattle’s milk) þe on þæm lande *sî*, and *ælces treowcynnnes* (tree-kind) *dæl*, þe on þæm lande *sî* geweaxen, *bûtan heardan beáman*, and *ælcere namcuðre wyrte dæl*, *bûtan glappan ánon*; and *dô þonne hâlig wæter þæron*, and *drýpe þonne þriwa* (thrice) on þone *staðol þára turfa*, and *cweðe þonne þæs word*: *Crescite, weaxe, et multiplicamini*, and *gemænigfealde, et replete, and gefylle, terram, þæs eorðan, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*

¹ *Quidquid tangebam crescebat tanquam favus*, Petron. cap. 43. 79; alluding to the steady growth of the honeycomb in the hive. When the Servian badniak burns at Yule, the invited polaznik steps up to the log, and strikes it with a shovel, making the sparks fly, and saying: ‘As many sheep, as many goats, as many swine, as many oxen, as many god-sends and blessings, as here fly sparks!’ Vuk’s Montenegro p. 106.

benedicti, and Pater noster swâ oft swâ þæt oðer. And bere siððan þâ *turf* tô cyrcean, and messepreost âsinge feower messan ofer þâm turfon, and *wende man þæt grêne tô þam weofode* (altar). and siððan *gebringe man þâ turf, þær hî ær wæron, ær sunnan setlgange*, and hæbbe him geworht of *cwicbeáme* feower Cristes mælo, and âwriþe on ælcon ende Mattheus and Marcus, Lucas and Johannes. Ige þæt Cristes mæl on þone pyt neoðewardne, cweðe þonne: *Crux Mattheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Johannes.* nim þonne þâ *turf* and sette þær ufon on, and cweðe nigon siðon (9 times) þâs word: *Crescite*, and swâ oft Pater noster. and wende þe þonne eástward, and onlût (bow) nigon siðon eádmôdlíce (humbly), and cweð þonne þâs word :

Eástward ic stande, ârena (favours) ic me bidde,
 bidde ic þone mæran Dryhten, b. i. þ. miclan Dryhten,
 bidde ic þone hâlgan heofonríces Weard.
eorðan ic bidde and *upheofon*,
 and þâ sôðan sancta *Marian*,
 and heofenes meaht and heáhreced,
 þæt ic môte *þis gealdor* mid gife Dryhtnes
 tôðum ontýnan þurh trumme geþanc,
 âweccan þâs wæstmas (fruits) us to woruldnytte (our use),
 gefyllan þâs foldan (fields) mid fæste geleáfan,
 wlitigian þâs *wangturf*, swâ se witega cwæð,
 þæt se (he) hæfde âre (honour) on eorðrice se þe (who) ælmyssan
 dælde dômlíce Dryhtnes þances (for the sake).

Wende þe þonne þriwa *sun-ganges.* *âstrece þe þonne on andlang*,
 and ârim þær letanias, and cweð þonne, *Sanctus sanctus sanctus*,
 oð ende. sing þonne *Benedicite âbenedon* (outstretched) *earmon*,
 and *Magnificat* and Pater noster III, and bebeod hit *Criste* and
 sancta *Marian* and þære hâlgan rôde tô lofe and tô weorðinga
 (to the praise and glory of Christ, etc.), and þam tô âre (to the
 benefit of him) þe þæt land âge, and eallon þâm þe him under-
 þeodde (subject) sint. þonne (when) þæt eall sî gedôn, þonne
nime man *uncúð sæd æt ælmesmannum*, and selle him twâ swylc
 swylce man æt him nime, and gegaderie ealle his *sulhgeteogo*
 (plough-tackle) tô gædere. borige þonne on þam beáme *stór*
 and *finol* and gehâlgode *sápan* and *gehâlgod sealt.* nim þonne

þæt sæd, sete on þæs *sulhes* bodig. cweð þonne :

*Erce, erce, erce, eorðan mōdor,*¹
 geunne þe se alwealda êce Dryhten (God grant thee)
 æcera weaxendra and wriðendra,
 eácnindra and elniendra ;
 sceáf tæce² se scíra (reaper) wæstma,
 and þære brádan bere wæstma (barley's fruit),
 and þære hwítan hwæte wæstma,
 and ealra eorðan wæstma.
 geunne him êce Dryhten
 and his hâlige þe on heofonum sint,
 þæt his yrð sî gefriðod (spared) wið ealra feonda gehwæne,
 and heo sî geborgen (protected) wið ealra bealwa gehwylc,
 þâra lyblâca geond land sâwen.
 nu bidde ic þone Wealdend, se þe þâs weoruld gesceôp,
 þæt ne sî nân tô þæs cwíðol wíf, ne tô þæs cræftig man,
 þæt âwendan ne mæge word þus gecweðene.

þonne man þâ *sulh forð drífe* and þâ *forman furh onsceote* (cleaves the first furrow), cweð þonne :

hâl wes þû *folde, fira mōdor!*
 beo þû grôwende on Godes fæðme (bosom, lap),
 fôðre gefylled firum tô nytte (for use to men)!

nim þonne *ælces cynnes melo*, and *âbace* man *innewardre handa bráðne hláf*, and geened hire mid meolce and mid hâlig wætere, and *lecge under þâ forman furh*. cweð þonne :

ful æcer fôðres fira-cynne (for mankind)
 beorht blôwende, þû geblêtsod weorð
 þæs hâligan naman, þe þâs heofon gesceôp
 and þâs eorðan þe we on lifiað.
 se God þe þâs grundas geweorhte geunne us grôwende gife,
 þæt us corna gehwylc cume tô nytte!

cweð þonne þriwa *Crescite in nomine Patris benedicti amen*, and *Pater noster þriwa*.

This notable document, notwithstanding that christian cere-

¹ The explanation of this line attempted on p. 253 remains a bold guess. Another AS. gealdor, against adder's bite, begins: 'ærce ærcere ærnem nadre ærcund bel ærnem niþærn,' etc.

² MS. sceafstahen. I take it as 'manipulum capiat.'

monies have crept into it, seems to reach far back to the early times of heathen sacrifices and husbandry. As the daps was spread and the winebowl emptied to Jove, after which the millet, panic, leek and lentils might be sown, so ploughing is here preceded by sacrificial rites. Sods are cut out from the four corners of the field, oil, honey and barm, milk of each sort of cattle, some of every kind of tree (except hard wood, i.e. oak and beech, RA. 506), and of all name-known herbs (save burs) are laid on the sods, and holy water sprinkled; then the 'four turfs' are carried into church, the green side being turned to the altar, four masses are said over them, and before sunset they are taken back to their places in the field. And now the spells are spoken; unknown seed is bought of beggar-men (conf. p. 1138), and placed on the plough, another spell is recited, and the first furrow ploughed with a 'Hail Earth, mother of men,' etc. Then *meal of every kind* is taken, a large loaf kneaded with milk is baked and laid under the first furrow, and one more spell is spoken. We know the Romans offered meal-cakes and fruit in their corn-fields; but it seems to me that our own ordinances (weisthümer) have unconsciously preserved vestiges of the heathen rite: 'when the plower cometh to an end of the furrow, there shall he find a *pot of honey*, and at the other end a *pot of milk*, wherewith to refresh him lest he faint' (Weisth. 2, 547, 'melts' here must be for 'milch,' it cannot be meal or malt). Further: 'at the plowing shall be brought a *loaf* so great that one may stick it on the axle of the *plow-wheel*, and therewith plow a furrow; if the loaf do break when the furrow is done, and the plower have not another wheel ready to put in its place, then shall he smart (pay a fine); if the bread break ere the furrow be finished, let him fare home unfined' (2, 356). Sometimes the regulation runs thus: 'if the plower break a wheel, he shall for penance provide a *loaf* as large round as the plow-wheel, and *baken of every grain that the plow doth win*; he shall so softly drive the plow, that a *finch* can feed her young on the wheel' (2, 179. 180), or, as expressed in 2, 547, 'that, if a grain of oat fall into the wheel, the *fowls of the air* shall pick it up.' In 2, 120 merely the size of the loaf is determined by that of the plow-wheel; but at 2, 128 it says again: 'of the *grain that the farm beareth and the mill breaketh*, shall be baken a cake as great as

the plow-wheel, and the plower therewith plow: if the wheel break ere he come to the end, he is finable, if it break not, yet is he finable notwithstanding.' The 'cake of *all grain that the mill grinds*' occurs again at 2, 147; and the '*rye-loaf* to be put in place of a plow-wheel that comes off' at 2, 262. 412. 587. What is the drift of these curious regulations? Was ever ploughman fed on milk and honey? were loaves and cakes ever stuck on the axle to cut the first furrow? They are surely the ancient sacrificial loaves, which with milk and honey poured over them were laid in the furrow (ad piammentum, p. 1196), and distributed to the ploughmen, which even the birds were allowed to peck at; their being made of *all sorts of grain*, so as to embrace the entire produce of the field, as the brâde hlâf in the AS. spell is baked of each kind of meal, goes far to decide.

Verelius in his Notes to the Hervararsaga p. 139 tells us, that the Swedish peasants, after *baking the jula-galt* (Yule-boar p. 51), dry it, and keep it till spring; then they grate a part of it in with the seed-corn and give it to the plough-horses, and another part to the men that hold the ploughtail: 'Verrem fictum siccant, et ad veris tempus, cum semina sulcis sunt credenda, servant. Tum partem ejus comminutam in vas vel in corbem, ex quo semina sunt dispergenda, immittunt, hordeoque permixtam equis aratoribus, alteram servis stivam tenentibus comedendam relinquunt, spe forte uberius messis percipiendae.' Here then is another sacrificial cake, which was mixt with the seed, and tasted by the ploughing men and animals; who knows but that burning the devil, and dividing and scattering his ashes over the cornfields, a deed the witches were accused of (p. 1073), may have arisen out of their baking a sacrificial cake in the shape of an idol? A cake was also baked at the Bealtine, and distributed among the multitude, p. 613.

The *culture of flax* is sure not to have been deficient in speeches and ceremonies of blessing: to this day the girls sing all kinds of songs over this work. In some places, at sowing time, the mistress of the house used to get on the table and dance, then jump off backwards: *the higher she made this leap, the higher the flax would grow* (conf. Sup. I, 519). Lasicz p. 50 says of the Samogits: 'Tertio post ilgas die deum Waizganthos colunt virgines, ut ejus beneficio tam lini quam cannabis habeant

copiam. Ubi altissima illarum, impleto placentulis quas sikies vocant sinu, et *stans pede uno in sedili* manuque sinistra sursum elata librum prolixum tiliae vel ulmo detractum, dextera vero craterem cerevisiae haec loquens tenet: Waizganthe, produc nobis *tam altum linum quam ego nunc alta sum*, neve nos nudos incedere permittas! Post haec craterem exhaurit, impletumque rursus deo in terram effundit, et placentas e sinu ejicit, a deastris, si qui sint Waizgantho, comedendas. Si haec peragens *firma perstet*, bonum lini proventum anno sequenti futurum in animum inducit; *si lapsa pede altero nitatur*, dubitat de futura copia, fidemque effectus sequitur.' In the Wetterau, at the sowing of this plant, the dame has to jump up on the fireplace, and cry: 'Heads as big as mine, leaves like my apron, and stalks like my legs!' and then the plant will turn out well (see Suppl.).

How the Romans kept the *wolf* out of their fields, we are informed by Pliny 28, 20 [81]: 'Lupos in agrum non accedere, si capti unius pedibus infractis cultroque adacto paulatim *sanguis* circa fines agri *spargatur*, atque ipse *defodiatur* in eo loco ex quo coeperit trahi; aut si *vomerem*, quo *primus sulcus* eo anno in agro ductus sit, excussum aratro, *focus larium* quo familia convenit absumat; ac lupum nulli animali nociturum in eo agro, quamdiu id fiat.'

A *herdsman's charm* from a MS. of the 15th cent. shews marks of a far remoter origin: 'ich treip heut aus in unser lieben Frauen haus, in *Abrahams garten* (conf. p. 1220), der lieber herr sant Mertein, der sol heut meines (vibes) pflegen und warten, und der lieber herr sant *Wolfgang*, der lieb herr sant Peter, der hat den himelischen slussel, die versperrent dem *wolf* und der *vohin* irn drussel, dass si weder plut lassen noch bein schroten. Des helf mir der man, der chain ubel nie hat getan (i.e. Christ, conf. 'sinless man,' p. 24, and the contrast p. 988), und die heiligen V wunden behüten mein vieh vor allen *holzunden*. V Pater et V Ave Maria.'¹

Here the rhymes peep out fitfully. The *wood-hounds* are

¹ Today my herd I drove Into Our Lady's grove, Into Abraham's garden; Be good St. Martin This day my cattle's warden, May good St. Wolfgang, good St. Peter (whose key can heav'n unlock), Throat of wolf and vixen block, Blood from shedding, bone from crunching! Help me the holy one, Who ill hath never done, And his V holy wounds Keep my herd from all wood-hounds!

Wuotan's forest-hounds (p. 147), the AS. 'holtes gehlêðan,' silvae latrones, El. 223, the hólzinge (Reinh. p. lv); and that the fox named with the wolf should be *vohe* fem., is in harmony with Goth. faúhô, OHG. fohâ. The *Wolfgang* who is to fend the flock, is so named either because he gangs against the wolf, or because the wolf met the hero at a lucky moment, p. 1140n.

As I have not met with a German *bee-spell*, I will give a Latin one in Baluze's Capitul. 2, 663 taken from a St Gall MS.: 'Ad revocandum examen apum dispersum: adjuro te, *mater aviorum*, per Deum regem coelorum, et per illum redemptorem Filium Dei te adjuro, ut non te in altum levare nec longe volare, sed quam plus cito potes ad arborem venire (velis); ibi te alloces cum omni tuo genere vel cum socia tua, ibi habeo bona vasa parata, ut vos ibi in Dei nomine laboretis, etc.' *Mater aviorum* (for apum) is the AS. *beomôdor* (p. 697); the steadily waxing comb (p. 1236n.) was *beobreád*, Cod. Exon. 425, 20, MHG. *bíebrôt* (Gramm. 3, 463), but also *râz* and *wâbe* (from weaving, working, p. 697); the hive *bíekar* (vas, Goth. kasi), the fly-hole OHG. flougar (Graff 3, 163). Our forefathers had at their service many more terms in apiculture than we, and prettier (see Suppl.)

As runes were written on bast (limrûnar â berki rîsta ok â baðmi viðar, Sæm. 195^a; cortex carminibus adnotatus, Saxo Gram. 44), the olden time may have had some runes for *detaching the bast from the wood*. Incantations have power to release the babe from ante-natal durance, the hard rind from the bast. Among shepherd lads in almost every part of Germany are preserved rhymes, in singing which they keep time by tapping a piece of willow on their knee with a knife-handle, till they can *slip it off unbroken to make a whistle of*. The simplest though not oldest version is: 'Fabian, Sebastian, *lat mi de wíden-flôt afgan!*' (Voss on Idyl 6, 179) or in Ditmarsen: 'Fabian, Sebastian, *lat den saft ut holt gan!*' It is believed that on the day of these two saints (Jan. 20) the sap enters the willow. In some places both the names are wanting, but the spell is spun out longer: '*sa sa pipe*' (prob. for *sap-pipe*), up'm mölen-dike (mill-dam) dar sit en man, de heet Johan, de har dre rode stöveln (3 red shoes) an, de ene hörde (belonged) mi to, de anner hörde di to, de drudde hörde'm papen to, do kam de ole hesse (old witch) mit en blanken meste (knife), sneet den küken den kop

af, smee't'en in busch, plumps sä de busch, *is de sapipe noch nicht good?*' Halbertsma says in the Overyssel Almanack for 1836: 'de twijg riip en gesneden zijnde, slaan (beat) de kinderen met het hecht (haft) van een mesje op een der groene rijsjes, tot dat de bast loslaat, dien zij er dan heel aftrekken (pulled off whole) en als een pijp gebruiken om op te fluiten of er erwten door te blazen. Zoo lang het kind met zijn mesje op den *bast* tikte, plag het (he used) oudtijds de volgende regelen te zingen: *Lange lange pipe, wanneer bistou ripe?* Te Meye, te Meye, as de veugeltjes eyer lekt. 'T ketjen op den dyk zat, sute melk met brokken (crumbs) at. Doe kwam de voele hesse al met de scharpe messe, wold et ketjen et oor (ear) afsnien; it ketjen ging ant lopen to hope, to hope! de voele hesse ging lopen. Heel of, half of, houwe dijn den kop af, so dood as een piere, kump sün levendage net weer hier.' Firmenich gives the form as used in the Neumark, p. 121: '*sipp sapp seepe, moak mi 'ne flöte!*—Wovon denn?—Von meieroan (marjoram), von thymegoan, *det se balle* (soon) *mag afgoahn.*' And in Priegnitz, p. 131: '*sibbe sibbe sibbe sävbken, loat mi det kleine fleutken goot afgoahn, goot afgoahn, bes up* (up to) den letzten *knoaken!*'—We can see how Sebastian got in, from 'sap-pipe, sibbe sabbe,' perhaps also 'bast.' In the Böhmerwald the willow or alder twig is thus conjured (Jos. Rank p. 168): '*pföfflerl gei owa, sist schloga dö owa; lei's rintl o drahdö eiz, heargotl pfeiz!*' little pipe, come off, else I knock thee off; dear little rind, do draw thee now, my lord god pipe! Woycicki kl. 1, 92. 151 tells us, that to get a marvellous *pipe* (fuyarka) that can make everybody dance, one must find in the forest's gloom the green willow that *never heard the rush of water nor the crow of cock*: 'co by nigdy nie słyszafa szuma wody, ni piania koguta.' This detail, expressly picked up among the peasantry on the Pruth and Dniester, strangely coincides with Pliny's statement 16, 37 [71]: '*ex qua (sambuco) magis canoram buccinam tubamque credit pastor ibi caesa, ubi gallorum cantum frutex ille non exaudiat.*' Of peeling the willow there is nothing said (see Suppl.).

An old AS. spell for *fier-stice*, sudden stitch in the side, was communicated to me by Price from the Harley MS. no. 585 fol. 186. First, three herbs are to be boiled in butter, *feverfew* (febrifugia = febrem fugans, Capit. de villis, Pertz 3, 186), *red*

nettle that grows through a fence (conf. p. 1200, through a sieve), and *waybread*, OHG. *wegabreita*, *plantago*: 'Wið færstice *feferfuge*, and seo *reáde netele þe þurh ærn*¹ inwyrð, and *wegbræde*, wylle in buteran.

Hlúde wæron hī, lā hlúde, þā hī ofer þone hlæw ridon,
wæron ānmōde, þā hī ofer land ridon.

scyld þū þe, nu þū þisne nīð genesan mōte.

ūt, lytel spere, gif her inne sie!

stōd (I stood) under linde, under leohtum scyldē,
þær þā *miltigan wif* hyra mægen beræddon (mustered),
and hī *gyllende gāras* (whizzing lances) sendon.

ic him oðerne eft wille sendan (I'll send them back another)
fleogende flān forane tō geanes.

ūt, lytel spere, gif hit her inne sie!

sæt smið, slōh seax lytel (hammered little knife)

. iserna wund swiðe.

ūt, lytel spere, gif her inne sie!

sex smiðas sæton, wælspera worhton,

ūtspere, næs (was not) innspere.

gif her inne sie isernes dæl (any iron),

hægtessan geweorc (witch's work), hit sceal gemyltan (melt),

gif þā wære on fell scoten, oððe wære on flæsc scoten,

oððe wære on blōd scoten

oððe wære on lið scoten, næfre ne st þīn lif ātæsed,

gif hit wære *ēsa gescot*, oððe hit wære *yfla gescot*,

oððe hit wære *hægtessan gescot*, nu ic wille þīn helpan:

þis þe tō bōte *ēsa gescotes*, þis þe tō bōte *yfla gescotes*,

þis þe tō bōte *hægtessan gescotes*. ic þīn wille helpan.

fleo þær on fyrgen (flee to the desert) !

heáfde hāl westu, helpe þīn Dryhten!

nim þonne þæt seax, áðo on wætan.'

A few gaps give trouble. The whole is based on the assumption that the stitch is caused by the shots of spirits. Loud over land and rock have ridden mighty women, *hægtessan* (p. 1040), and have sent whizzing darts, afterwards more narrowly defined as 'ēsa, yfla and *hægtessan gescot*,' shot of āses (p. 25), of elves (p. 443) and of witches (though the gen. sing. is used, not pl. *hægtessena*). The exorcist, in relating the transaction, calls to the patient to shield himself, that he may get over the attack,² and every now and then puts in the refrain 'Out, little spear, if herein thou be!' He goes on to tell how he stood under

¹ 'Should be *hærn*, conf. *hærnflōta*, Cod. Exon. 182, 9.'—SUPPL.

² 'þisne nīð genesan.' In AS. this verb takes the Acc., not the Gen. as in OHG: þā sæcce genæs, Beow. 3950. nīða gehwane genesen hæfde 4789. fela ic guðræsa genæs 4848. se þā gūðe genæs, Cædm. 121, 33.

shelter when those women let fly their darts, and means to send them a counter-shot, a knife, whose smiting by a smith is reported, as also that of war-spears by six smiths. Every bit of the witches' iron shall melt, wherever it may have been shot, into skin, flesh, blood or limb; help is nigh. Lastly: flee thou (enchantress) to the wilderness! be thou (patient) well in thy head, Lord help thee! At the conclusion of the spell the knife (that forged by the smith?) is to be dipt in water. Apparently after 'scoten' there ought to be 'oððe wære on bân scoten'; and perhaps after 'fyrgen' some such words as 'seo þone flân sceát (or, sende)' (see Suppl.).

For other spells hitherto unprinted I have to thank Mr. Kemble. 'Cwið ymbe, nim *eorðan*, oferweorp mid þínre swíðran handa under þínum swíðran fôt, and cwet:

fô ic under fêt, funde ic hit.

hwæt, *eorðe mæg wið ealra wihta gehwylce,*

and wið andan, and wið æminde,

and wið þâ micelan mannes tungan.

and wið on forweorp ofer *groot* þonne his wirman, and cweð:

sitte ge, etc.' (here come the verses given at p. 431).

For the water-elf sickness: 'gif mon bið on *wæterælf-ádle*, þonne beoð him þâ hand-næglas wonne, and þâ eágan tearige, and wile lócian niðer. dô him þis tô læcedôme: eoforþrote, cassuc, eowberge, eleltre, eolone, mersc-mealwan-crop, fenminte, dile, lilie, áttorlâðe, polleie, marrubie, doce, ellen, felterre, vermôð, strâwbergean leáf, consolde. ofgeot mid ealað, dô hálig wæter tô, sing þis *gealdor* ofer þriwa:

ic benne áwráð betest beado-wræða,

swâ benne ne burnon ne burston,

ne fundian ne feologan ne hoppettan,

ne wund waxian, ne dolh diopian,

ac him self healde hálewæge,

ne ace þe þon mâ, þe *eorðan* on eáre ace (âge?).

sing þis manegum síðum. *eorðe* þe onbere *mid eallum hire* (i.e. Earth's) *mihtrum and mægenum*. þâs *gealdor* mon mæg singan on wunde.'

The *carth*, caught up in the right hand from under the right

foot, heals and shelters; 'might and main' belong to the earth. *Hålewæge* answers to our *heilawâc*, p. 585.

About the elvish *mare* and *nightmare*, what was said on p. 464-5 is by no means all: they ride not only men but horses, whose manes in the morning are found dripping with sweat and tangled, conf. Svantevit's horse p. 662. Cannegieter in *Epistola de ara ad Noviomagum reperta* p. 25 says: 'Abigunt eas *nymphas* (matres deas, mairas) hodie rustici *osse capitis equini tectis injecto*, cujusmodi ossa per has terras in rusticorum villis crebra est animadvertere (conf. p. 660). Nocte autem ad concubia equitare creduntur, et equos fatigare ad longinqua itinera. Illud namque datum *deabus* illis *magisque*, si rusticorum fabulis credimus, ut *manentes* loca peregrina adeant, in *equis manentibus*, qui tamen viae labores sudore testantur. Nuper confabulatus mecum villicus aegerrime ferebat equos suos proxima nocte exagitatos, defluente per corpora sudore; causam cum quaererem, respondit iratus, *mairam nocturnam* equitasse.' To this *maira* nocturna, be it akin to *matrona* (p. 417) or even to *μοῖρα*, one might be tempted to trace our *nachtmär*, *nightmare*, had we not a better derivation at hand. To the OHG. *marah* (equus), AS. *mear*, ON. *marr*, seems to correspond the AS. fem. *meare* (surely a better spelling than *mære*), ON. *mara*. True, the OHG. *meriha* means only equa, not ephialtes, and we now distinguish *mähre* from *mahr*; on the other hand, in ON. it is to the fem. *mara* that the demonic sense attaches, and so early as in the Yngl. saga cap. 16 king Vanlandi is trodden to death in his sleep by a *mara*: 'mara trað hann'; when his people rush to his aid, 'trað hun fôtleggina,' and at last 'kafdi hun höfuðit, svâ at þar dô hann.' The image then seems to waver between the ridden beast and the riding trampling one, just as the devil sometimes rides men, sometimes as a horse takes them on his back. Like the *mara*, we saw p. 278 that the *Stempe* treads. Wolf (nos. 249—254) gives some good mare-stories from the Netherlands; I lay special stress on a spell-song he has against the sprite, p. 689:

O *maer*, gy lelyk dier (ye loathly beast),
 komt toch dezen nacht niet wêer (again) !
 alle waters zult gy waeyen (shall ye wade),

alle boomen zult gy blaeyen (disleaf),
 alle spieren gerst (spikes of barley) zult gy tellen,
 komt my toch dezen nacht niet kwellen !

With this take a Henneberg spell in Haupt's Zeitschr. 3, 360 :

Das *wallala* alle berge durchtra (-trab, trot),
 alle wasser durchbât (-bade, bathe),
 alle bletlich âblât,
onnerdesse wörd's tak (until it be day) !

Both refer to the spirit's nightly jaunt, it trots over all the hills, wades (or bathes) through the waters, strips the trees, counts the corn-stalks, until the break of day ; then on the maerentakken (mistletoes ?) the mare is said to rest. The name 'wallala' may come from wallen, wadeln, or be a cry of wail (Gramm. 3, 293), for the night-spirits (Sup. I, 878) appear as wailing-mothers (p. 432-3, and Schm. 4, 54).—A third spell I take from Schreiber's Tagb. 1839. p. 321 : 'Drude's-head, I forbid thee my house and yard, I forbid thee my bedstead, that not over me thou trostest (trottest ? treadest ?) ; trost to some other house, till over all hills and waters thou climbest, and all the hedge-sticks ehlest (zehlest, tellest ?) ! Then comes dear day into my house again.' Drute is the same thing as mahre, as drutenzopf (plica) is also called marenzopf, alpzopf, and drutenfuss maeren-voet. I think the most important point is, that the sprite is shy of daylight, and the dawn scares it away (p. 466 n.) ; the Alvis-mâl closes exactly like these spells : 'nu scînn sunna î sali' ; conf. 'dagr er nû,' Sæm. 145^b. I hope the spell may yet turn up in other places, and in a purer form.

Healing-spells are fond of beginning with something in the narrative way, some transaction from which the remedy derives its force ; and it is here especially that we find heathen beings left high and dry. When a spell opens with 'Sprach jungfrau Hille, blut stand stille !' who can fail at once to recognise the old valkyr *Hilda*, her that can make blood flow and stanch it again ? And even when the opening words are 'Mary fared afield' or 'Christ he crossed the land' ; when a charm against finger-worm says 'God the Father afield did ride, stoutly the hoe

¹ ἐπαοιδῆ αἶμα κελαινὸν ἐσχέθον, Od. 19, 457.

he plied, stubbed up the worms outright, one was black, another white, the third worm it was red; here lie the worms all dead'; it is clear that such formulas could not have originated in christian times, but might well survive among the people, who had merely to insert new sacred names. The heathen incident that would account for the obscure or senseless words, is mostly hidden from us. On p. 1232-3 'Jesus' and 'the Lord' have taken the place of Wuotan. '*Christus* in petra sedebat, et virgam manu tenebat,' Mone's Anz. 7, 609; or again, '*Job* went over land, had his staff in hand.' When '*Jesus* and *Peter* wandering go from country to country to and fro,' it is evidently the same widely diffused notion as at p. 337; but it is not always so easy to hit upon the heathen names that lie at the bottom. A favourite way is to start with *three* personages: as the idisi fall into three sets (p. 1231), so the *three Marys* look out (p. 416), like three norms or three fays. '*Three brothers* went afield' (Keisersb. ameis 50^a; 'three blessed br.,' Spell XXXI.). '*Three virgins* come down from heaven to earth, the one *Blut-gülpe*, the next *Blut-stülpe*, the third *Blut-stehe-still*,' Märk.forsch. 1, 262; the last is the maid Hilda named alone in the other spell. I will only add from Roth. de nominibus vet. Germanorum medic., Helmst. 1735. p. 139: 'Juvat subnectere incantationis formulam, qua in Marchia Brandenb. atque adjacentibus regionibus in ophthalmia curanda uti solent anus decrepitae, insanos ritus deperientes, quam quidem factis variis gesticulationibus ac digitis ante dolentes oculos ter decussatim motis, *rauco susurramine* semel atque iterum *emutire* consuescunt, ita autem habent: Ibant aliquando *tres puellae* in via virente, prima noverat remedium aliquod contra suffusionem oculorum, altera noverat remedium aliquod contra albuginem, et tertia profecto contra inflammationem, eaeque sanabant una ratione omnia, in nomine Patris, Filii et Spiritus sancti, Amen' (see Suppl.).

Against particular diseases the remedies are pitted as though in mortal strife: 'de *ros* un de *wied*, de stan in strid, de *ros* verswann, de *wied* gewann'; or, 'de *flecht* (scrofula) un de *wied*, de krakeelten sik, de *wied* de gewünn, un de *flecht* verswünn,' Meckl. jahrb. 5, 102-3; or again, 'de *flockasch* (flugasche) un de *flechte*, de flogen wol over dat wilde meer; de *flockasch* de kam wedder, de *flechte* nimmermehr,' Sup. I, 811 (see Suppl.).

Spells for the wishing-rod, when it is to strike treasure or a vein of metal, see p. 975. A formula used in looking for a clay-pit, in whose earth are to be wrapt up the written slips of paper which shall clear up a doubtful matter, in Haupt's *Zeitschr.* 3, 190.

In addresses to animals whose encounter is prophetic, whose ways are mysterious, we may fairly recognise antique spells, though their language has undergone a great deal of distortion; such are the rhymes to the swan, p. 429, the stork 672, cuckoo 676, Martin's bird 1130, Mary's chafer 695, and others, whose essential identity among the most various branches of our race is an interesting feature.

In Scandinavia, where the reign of heathenism lasted longest, ought to be found the greatest number of such spells, either in writing or in the mouths of the people; and from them we could gather most distinctly the connexion, both of the words and of their import, with heathen notions. The spell by which Grôa was about to disengage the stone from Thôr's head, p. 375, is not preserved in the Edda, but spells quite similar may have been still muttered over men and beasts in recent times. Much to be desired is the speedy publication of a collection set on foot by L. F. Rääf in Sweden, and containing over 2000 articles, of which a preliminary notice appeared in the monthly *Mimer* (Ups. 1838—40) pp. 271—7. Among these spells now reduced to writing, isolated runes can here and there be recognised even yet, and in some cases their use is enjoined; thus, on the mode of compelling a thief to restore stolen goods on pain of losing his eye, we find the following prescription: Go at sunset on Sunday evening to a place that lies high, bearing a bucketful of water, cut the rune S, and charge the thief within a certain time to bring back what he has stolen, or lose his right eye. The rune S apparently refers to Sunday and sunset, perhaps to *syn* (sight, eye); does it also in connexion with the water-vessel point to the word *så* (situla)? Most likely the water was poured out, and ran down the hill (see *Suppl.*).

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TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY.

JACOB GRIMM.

TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY

BY

JACOB GRIMM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION

WITH

NOTES AND APPENDIX

BY

JAMES STEVEN STALLYBRASS.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

p. 1, note] Paul. Diac. still uses *heathen* in the sense of *rustici* (Pertz, Archiv 7, 334). *demo heidanin commane*, Diut. 1, 504^b. The abbrev. form *heid* occurs even before Luther: *heide* rhy. leide, G. Abent. 2, 67. *dieser zeginer oder heit*, Keller, Fastnachts-sp. p. 823 (like our *christ* for MHG. *kristen*, OHG. *christani*); yet the true genitive is retained in Chr. Weise's *Erz narre* 190: *des jungen heidens los werden*.—Favorite epithets of the heathen are "wild, fierce, grim": *wild heathen*, *wild men of the wild heath*, *Anegeunge* 23, 61. *conf. Rabenschl.* 1080. *Neifen* 14, 6. *MsH.* 1, 152^a. *die wuotendigen heiden*, *Kaiserchr.* 951. More freq. *die übelen heiden*, *Diemer* 158, 18. 162, 2. *Morolt* 376 seq. *die bösen h.*, *Diemer* 170, 24. 179, 17. *der übele h.*, *Pantal.* 1034. *der vil arge h.* 1847. *den h. gramen*, *Servat.* 148 (*per contra*, *hypocrita* is transl. *dumni cristáni*, *Diut.* 1, 239^b). Also "dogs," as in *Judith* 134, 39: *þone hæðenan hund*. *Olaf Tryggv. saga*, cap. 68: *hund-heidinn*. *Svenske vis: hednings-hund*. *Mor.* 418: *den heidenschen hunt*. In *Willeh.* 58, 16 the *Sarrazin* ride on *dogs* and *hogs*.—Gradually milder terms are used: *dat domme heidine*, *Maerl.* 3, 128. *des gelouben geste* (*strangers to faith*), *Türl. Wh.* 15^a. *heidinen die sunder êwe* (*without law*) *lebeten*, *Roth.* 475. People do not like to be taken for heathens: *sô bin ich niht ein heiden*, *MsH.* 1, 42^a. *als ich waere ein heiden* 45^b. Yet there is pity for them: *swie sie wâren heiden, och was zerbarmen numbe sie*, *Nib. Lament* 437; and *Wolfram*, like *Walther*, speaks of them quite humanely, *Willeh.* 450, 15: "Die nie toufes künde Enpfiegen, ist das sünde, Daz man die sluoc alsam ein vihe (a sin to slay the unbaptized)? Grôzer sünde ich drumbe gihe: Es ist gar *Gotes hant-getât*, *Zwuo* und *sibenzec sprâche* die er hât," they are God's handiwork, 72 languages wherein He speaks.

pp. 2-4.] Heathens in Italy and at Rome as late as Theoderic, *Edict. Theod.* 108. *Salvianus de gubern. Dei*, about 450, con-

trasts the vices of christian Romans and Provincials with the virtues of heathen Saxons, Franks, Gepidæ and Huns, and of heretical Goths and Vandals; towards the end of bk. 7, he says: 'Gothorum gens perfida, sed pudica est, Alamannorum impudica, sed minus perfida. Franci mendaces, sed hospitales, Saxones crudelitate efferi, sed castitate mirandi;' and further on: 'Vandali castos etiam Romanos esse fecerunt;' conf. Papencordt 271-2. The Bavarian Ratolf is converted in 788: *coepi Deum colere*, MB. 28^b, 7. In the times of Boniface and Sturm we read: *Populi gentis illius (in Noricum), licet essent christiani, ab antiquis tamen pagavorum contagiis et perversis dogmatibus infecti*, Pertz 2, 366. Alamanns, who appear in Italy 552-3, are still heathens in contrast to the christian Franks, Agathias 2, 1. 1, 7. Eginhard cap. 7 (Pertz 2, 446): *Saxones cultui daemonum dediti; cultum daem. dimittere; abjecto daem. cultu, et relictis patriis caerimoniis*. The author of *Vita Mathildis* (Pertz 12, 575) says of the Saxons and of Widukind's family: *Stirps qui quondam daem. captus errore, praedicatorum pro inopia idola adorans, christianos constanter persequatur*.

The Nialssaga cap. 101—6 relates the introduction of Christianity into Iceland in 995—1000. Yet at Nerike by Örebro, as late as the 17th cent., they sacrificed to Thor on certain rocks for tooth-ache, Dybeck *runa* 1848 p. 26; and to this day old women sacrifice to rivers, and throw the branch on the stone 2, 3, 15. *vit erum heiðin* is said in Olaf the Saint's time in Gantland, Fornm. sög. 4, 187 and 12, 84. In the Norwegian districts of Serna and Idre, bordering on Dalarna, there were heathens in 1644, Samling (Christiania 1839) 6, 470-1. *þa kunningi enge maðr Paternoster i Straumi*, Werlauff. grenzb. 20. 37. In Sweden we hear of *Oden's followers* in 1578, 1580 and 1601, Geyer *Svearikes häfder* 2, 329; in a folk-song a woman dreads the heathen that haunt the neighbouring wood: '*locka till Thor i fjäll*,' Arvidsson 3, 504. Thursday was holy in Sweden till 100 or 150 years ago (p. 191). Relapses into heathenism were frequent there, *Hervarars. cap. 20* (Fornald. sög. 1, 512). The secret practice of it was called *launblót*, Fornm. sög. 2, 243.

The Slavs in Pomerania heathens till begin. of 12th century. A heathen festival near Pyritz, and that of Gerovit at Havelberg, Barthold's *Gesch. v. Pomm.* 2, 34. 76. Giesebrecht's *Wend.*

gesch. 2, 265. 309. Heathen Rans, Barth. 2, 100-1. Pribizlaus of Mecklenburg baptized in 1164, Svantevit's temple destroyed 1168, Lisch's Meckl. jahrb. 11, 10. 97.—The Slavs betw. Elbe and Oder were Christians for 70 years, then relapsed ab. 1013, Helmold 1, 16; adhuc enim (1147) Slavi immolabant daemoniis et non Deo 68. The Prussians still heathen after conversion of Russians 1, 1.—Some Christians in Hungary in latter half of 10th century, Dümmler's Pilgrim von Passau 36 seq. Some heathens in Esthonia at the present day, Verhandl. 2, 36. The Lapps were still heathen in 1750, Castrén's Reise p. 69.

Mixed marriages were not entirely forbidden, as Chlodowig's example shows. Such too was Kriemhilt's union with the heathen Etzel, but she takes care to have her son Ortlicp baptized, Nibel. 1328.

p. 5.] Between heathen baptism (the *vatni ausa*, the *dicare* in nomine deorum, Greg. Tur. 2, 29) and christian baptism, stands the *prîm-signaz*, Egilss. p. 265, a mere signing with the cross. Thus, Gestr is 'prînsignodr, eigi skîrðr,' Fornald. sög. 1, 314. The pains of hell were made to hang on being *unbaptized* (p. 918).—Whoever forsook paganica vetustas (Pertz 2, 342), had to renounce the gods: *den goten entfarn* = get baptized, Türl. Wh. 130^a. To abjure one's faith was *abrenuntiare*, *abjurare*, *renegare*, *reneare*, Ducange; Fr. *renier*, O.Fr. *renoier*, MHG. *sich vernoijieren*, Nib. 1207, 1. Lament 494. *vernoierten sich von den Kristen*, Livl. reimchr. 5719. M. Neth. *vernogerde*, Karel. 2, 75. *vernoyert*, Pajin 2, 519. 831. *vernoyert* rh. *verghiert*, Maerl. 3, 140. OHG. *antrunneo*, *ant-trunneo* *aba-trunneo* = apostata, *renegatus*, Graff 5, 533. *li cuivers renoié*, Ducange; *tornadie*, *tornadis* = retrayant. Other phrases: *den touf hin legen*, Livl. r. 6129. *lâzen varn krist* 6385. What is meant by: 'eosque (Hessians at Amenaburg) a sacrilega idolorum censura, qua sub quodam christianitatis nomine male abusi sunt, evocavit' in the Vita Bonifacii, Pertz 2, 342? probably a christian heresy, as p. 344 says of Thuringians: 'sub nomine religionis falsi fratres maximam hereticæ pravitatis introduxerunt sectam,' conf. Rettberg 2, 308.—The Abrenuntiations declared the ancient gods by name to be *devils* and *unholds*. All heathen merrymaking, espec. music and dancing, was considered *diabolic*, pp. 259. 618-9. 770. Feasts, games and customs connected with the old worship were

now *diaboli pompa, gelp inti zierida*. Grieshaber's Serm. p. 48 : da man singet und springet in *des tievels dienste* ; conf. Aucassin in Méon's Fabl. 1, 385. Fauriel 3, 190.

p. 5.] The mental protest against christianity shows itself in the continuance of the rough heroic conception of Paradise (p. 319). The christian paradise was often rejected, as by Radbod the Frisiaan, who withdrew his foot from the sacred font, because he did not care to give up the fellowship of his forefathers in hell and sit with a little flock in heaven, Vita Bonif. (Pertz 2, 221). Melis Stoke, rymkron. 1, 24. Comp. the contrary behaviour of Gudbrand (Maurer bekehrung 1, 537) and of Sighvatr at the baptism of Magnus, St. Olaf's saga c. 119. Waldemar likes hunting better than heaven, Thiele 1, 48. nit ze himelrîche sîn woldich vür dise reise, Roseng. 110. mir waere ie liep bî ir ze sîn dan bî Got in paradîs, MS. 1, 178^a. möht aber mir ir hulde (her favour) werden, ich belibe (I would stay) ûf der erden alhie, Got liez ich dort die werden (worthies), MS. 2, 16^b. daz himelrîche liez ich sîn, und waere bî in iemer wol alsô, Dietr. drachenk. 131^b. waz sol ein bezzer paradîs, ob er mac vrô belîben von wol gelopten wîben? MsH. 1, 82^b. si waere getreten durch Flôreu in die helle, Fl. 5784. si me vauroit miex un ris de vous qu'estre en paradis, Thib. de N. 69. kestre ne voudroie en paradis, se ele nestoit mie 75 ; conf. 113. The hered. sewer of Schlotheim : 'had you one foot in heaven and one on the Wartburg, you'd rather withdraw the first than the last,' Rommel's Gesch. von Hessen 2, 17. fall from heaven to earth, Schwein. 1, 95. come back from paradise, Chans. histor. 1, 43.—Eyvindr, like christian martyrs, endures the utmost pains inflicted by Olaf Tryggvason, and will not apostatize, Forum. sög. 2, 167. The Hist. S. Cuthberti says : quadam die cum Onalaf cum furore intrasset ecclesiam Cuthberti, astante episcopo Cuthheardo et tota congregatione, 'quid, inquit, in me potest homo iste mortuus Cuthbertus, cujus in me quotidie minae opponuntur? juro per deos meos potentes, Thor et Othan, quod ab die hac inimicissimus ero omnibus vobis,' Twysden 73-4. The heathenism smouldering in many hearts is perceptible even in Latin deeds of 1270, Seibertz no. 351.

p. 5.] A peal of bells was hateful to heathens, and therefore to giants, p. 950, to dwarfs, p. 459, to witches, p. 1085.

p. 5.] Even in christian times the heathen gods are credited

with sundry powers. The idols *speak*, Pass. 307, 2 seq. *Barl.* 342, 8 or *hold their peace*, Pass. 306, 24. 34. The *Livl. reimchr.* 1433 seq. says :

Die Littouwen vuoren über sê,
daz ist genant daz Osterhap,
als ez *Perkune ir abgot gap* (when P. existed),
daz nimmer sô harte gevrôs (froze).

Hence the quarrel between the old and new religions was often referred to an *ordeal* or *miracle*: ‘*probemus miraculis, quis sit majoris potentiae, vestri multi quos dicitis dii, an mens solus omnipotens dominus J. Chr.*’ cries the christian priest in *Vita Ansgarii* (Pertz 2, 702); and the rain falls in torrents on the heathen Swedes despite their praying, while not a drop touches him. In *Greg. Tur. mirac.* l cap. 81, the *ordeal of water* decides whether the Arian or Catholic faith be the right one. In the legend of *Silvester*, the Jew sorcerer first kills a bull in the name of his God, and *Silvester* brings it to life again by calling upon Christ, *W. Grimm’s Silv.* xv.—xx.

p. 6.] The Romans too had felled *sacred trees*: ‘*et robora numinis instar Barbarici nostrae feriant impune bipennes,*’ *Claudian de laud. Stilich.* 1, 230. In the same way the *Irmisul* is destroyed, and *Columban* breaks the god’s images and throws them in the lake (p. 116. 109). *Charles* has the four captured *Saracen* idols smashed, and the golden fragments divided among his heroes, *Aspremont* 11^b. 45^b—48^b. Idols are broken in *Barl.* and *Georg.* It is remarkable in *Beda* 2, 13, that the *Coifi* himself destroys the heathen temple (p. 92 n.). It was a sign of good feeling at least to build the old images into the church-walls.

p. 6.] Heathens, that knew not the true God’s name, are not always ‘wild, doggish, silly,’ but sometimes ‘*die werden heiden,*’ *Titur.* 55, 4, *die wîsen heiden*, *Servat.* 19. his sylfes (God’s) naman, þone ylde bearn aer ne cûðon, *fród fædera cyn þeáh hie jela wiston*, *Cædm.* 179, 15.

p. 7.] Trust in one’s own strength is either opposed to trust in gods, or combined with it. In the *Faereyînga-s.* cap. 23, p. 101: ‘*ek trûi â mâtt minn ok megin*’ and also ‘*ek treystumsk hamîngju* (genius) *minni ok sigr-saeli, ok hefir mer þat vel dugat*’; conf. ‘*trûa magni,*’ *Fornald. sög.* 1, 438. The *OHG.* *sô mir ih!* (*Graff* 6, 13) must mean ‘so help me I myself.’ *MHG.* has milder

formulas: sam mir Got and *mín selbes líp!* Tristan 215, 2. als in (them) Got und *ir ellen* gebôt, Ernst 1711. als im sîn manlich *ellen* jach, Parz. 89, 22. ich gelove God ind mime swerde, Karlmeinet 122, 34. M. Beheim 266, 22 says: si wolten ûf in (them) selber stân; and Gotthelf's Erzähl. 1, 146 makes a strong peasant in Switz. worship 'money and *strength.*' A giant loses his *strength* by baptism, Rääf 39. Doubts of God are expressed by Wolfram: ist Got wîse? . . . hât er sîn alt gemüete, Willeh. 66, 18. 20. hât Got getriwe sinne, Parz. 109, 30. Resisting his will is 'ze himele klimmen und Got enterben,' En. 3500.—On men who pretend to be gods, see p. 385 n.

p. 7 n.] God is threatened and scolded, p. 20. With the mockery of Jupiter in Plaut. Trin. iv. 2, 100 agrees the changing of his golden garment for a woollen, and robbing Æsculapius of his golden beard, Cic. de Nat. D. 3, 34. Friðþiofr said: 'enda virði ek meira hylli Ingibiargar enn reiði Baldrs,' Fornald. sög. 2, 59; and pulled B.'s statue by the ring, so that it fell in the fire 86. King Hrólfr already considers Oðin an evil spirit, *illr andi*, 1, 95.—Dogs were named after gods by the Greeks also; Pollux, Onom. 5, 5 cites *Κόραξ*, *Ἄρπυια*, *Χάρων*, *Λυκίττας*. A dog named *Locke*, Sv. folks. 1, 135. Helbling's *Wunsch* is supported by a *Wille* in Hadamar v. Laber 289 and Altswert 126, 23. *Sturm* in Helbl. 4, 459 may have meant Thunder. The lime-bitch is called *Heila*, *Hela*, Döbel 1, 86. Nemnich 720. *Alke* is Hakelberend's dog, Zeitschr. des Osn. ver. 3, 406. A *Ruland* about 1420, and *Willebreht*, Ls. 1, 297-8, are exactly like men's names. Many names express the qualities and uses of the animal, such as *Wacker*, still in use, and leading up to old Norse, Saxon, Skirian and Suevic names, Grimm's D. Sag. 468; its dimin., *Wäckerlein*, *Weckerherlin*, *Wickerlein*, Fischart's Spiele 246. 491. Is *Wasser*, the common name of peasants' dogs in the Mark (Schmidt v. Wern. 253), a corrup. of *Wacker*? *Wackerlos*, *Vernim*, dogs in Froschmeus. Bbb. 5^b, *Hüterlin* in Keisersb. bilg. 140-4-5. Fondling names are *Harm*, Ls. 2, 411. Holle im Crane p. 30, *Bärilin*, Garg. 258^b, *Zuckerl*. Jucundiss. 54. To the Pol. *gromi-zwierz*, bait-hound, Linde 1, 779^a answers our *Hetzebolt*, Nic. v. Jeroschin 30, 12. *Bello*, *Greif*, *Pack-an*, *Pack-auf* (Medic. maulaffe 647), *Suoche*, Fichard 3, 245, explain themselves; also the Boh. greyhound *Do-lèt*, fly-to; O. Norse *Hopp* and *Hoi*, Hrolfkr. saga, *Hopf* in

Eulensp., *Estula* (es-tu-là?), Méon 3, 394-5. Ren. 25355. Not so clear is *Strom* in Fritz Reuter's Journ. to Bellingen 2, 98; is it 'striped'? or conn. with *Striun* in Hjelbl. 4, 456 from striunen, to roam? *Smutz* in Laber 358 must be conn. with *schmützen*, to counterfeit the hare's cry, Schmeller 3, 479. *Trogen*, Sv. äfvent. 1, 51 is our *Fidel*, trusty. *Gramr*, Fornald. sög. 1, 87. *Gífr, Geri*, two dogs in Fiölsvinus-mål. *Suati*, Marknsson 174^a. *Guldtand* Norske event. 2, 92. *Yrsa*, Fornald. sög. 1, 22, *Ursa* in Saxo. *Bettelmann* in Bürger 474^a and *Stallmeister* in Tieck's Zerbino express social rank, conf. *Malvoisin*, Ren. 1664. It were too bold to conn. *Leppisch* in Pauli Sch. u. ernst 77, with *Sâm*=Lapp, in Nialss. 71, or *Goth, Goz* with the nation so called (Michel's hist. des races maudites 1, 355. D. Sag. 454); more likely that the Silesian sheepdog's name *Sachs* (Weinhold) meant Saxon; conf. Boh. *Bodrok*, an Obodrite. King Arthur's dog *Cubul*, Nenn. 78. *Ciprián*, dog's name in MsH. 3, 305^a.

p. 8.] Christ and the old gods are often *worshipped together*. People got baptized and believed in Christ, en hêto â *Thór* til allra storæða. Widukind (Pertz 5, 462) tells, an. 965, of an 'altercatio super cultura deorum in convivio, Danis affirmantibus Christum quidem esse deum, sed alios ei fore majores deos, qui potiora mortalibus signa et prodigia per se ostentabant.' Æthelbert of Kent let heathen idols stand *beside* christian altars, conf. Lappenb. Engl. gesch. 1, 140. The converted Slavs clung to their old superstitions. Dietmar (Pertz 5, 735) says of the sacred lake Glomuzi: 'hunc omnis incola *plus quam ecclesias* veneratur et timet;' and at Stettin a heathen priest was for raising an altar to the god of the christians side by side with the old gods, to secure the favour of both, Giesebr. Wend. gesch. 2, 301.—It is only playfully, and with no serious intention, that the Minne-song links the name of God with heathen deities:

Ich hân *Got* nud die minneclîchen *Minne* (love)
gebeten flêlîche nu vil manic jâr,
daz ich sehier nâch *unser driër sinne*
vinde ein reine wîp. MS. 1. 184^a.

Venus, vil edeliu kûnegîn,
inch hât *Got*, vrowe, her gesant
ze freuden uns in ditze lant. Fraend. 233, 26.

The longer duration of heathenism, especially of Wôden-worship,

among the *Saxons*, is perceptible in the legend of the Wild Host, in many curses and the name of Wednesday. There also the custom of Need-fire was more firmly rooted. The Lohengrin p. 150 still rebukes the unbelief of the wild Saxons.

p. 11.] Where there was worship of springs, the Church took the caput aquæ into her department, Rudorff 15, 226-7. In that spell where Mary calls to Jesus, 'zench ab dein wat (pull off thy coat), und deck es dem armen man über die sat (over the poor man's crop),' Mone anz. 6, 473, a heathen god is really invoked to shield the cornfield from hail. Quite heathenish sounds the nursery rhyme, 'Liebe frau, mach's türl auf (open your door), lass den regen 'nein, lass 'raus den sonnenschein,' Schmeller 2, 196. Spots in the field that are not to be cultivated indicate their sacredness in heathen times, conf. *gudemans croft* in Scotland, the *Tothills* in England, Hone's Yearb. 873-4. To the disguised exclamations in the note, add ω $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho!$ and the Armoric *tan*, fire! Villemarqué's Barzas breiz 1, 76; conf. Pott 1, lvii.

p. 12.] To these old customs re-acting on the constitution, to the pelting of idols at Hildesheim and Halberstadt on *Lactare-day* (p. 190. 783), add this of Paderborn: 'In the cathedral-close at P., just where the idol Jodute is said to have stood, something in the shape of an image was fixed on a pole every *Lactare Sunday* down to the 16th century, and shied at with cudgels by the highest in the land, till it fell to the ground. The ancient noble family of Stapel had the first throw, which they reckoned an especial honour and heirloom. When the image was down, children made game of it, and the nobility held a banquet. When the Stapels died out, the ancient custom was dropped.'—Continu. of M. Klockner's Paderb. chron. The Stapel family were among the four pillars of the see of Paderborn; the last Stapel died in 1545, Erh. u. Gehrk. Zeitschr. f. vaterl. gesch. 7, 379. Compare also the sawing of the old woman (p. 782), the gelding of the devil, the expulsion of Death (p. 767), the yearly smashing of a wooden image of the devil, and the 'riding the black lad' in Hone's Yearb. 1108, Dayb. 2, 467.

p. 12.] The Introduction ought to be followed by a general chapter on the contents and character of our Mythology, including parts of Chaps. XIV. and XV., especially the explanation of how gods become men, and men gods.

CHAPTER II.

GOD.

p. 13-15.] The word god is peculiar to the Germanic languages. Guitecl. 1, 31: terre on lon clame Dieu *got*. On goddess see beginning of Ch. XIII. *diu gotheit* occurs already in Fundgr. 2, 91. In the Venetian Alps, God is often called *der got* with the Art., Schmeller's Cimbr. Wtb. 125. Is the Ital. *iddio* from *il dio*, which does not account for *iddia* goddess, or is it abbreviated from *domen-ed-dio*, which, like O. Fr. *domnedeu*, *damledeu*, *damreden*, comes from the Lat. voc. *domine deus*? Conf. Diez, Altrom. Sprachdenkm. p. 62.

Got is not the same word as *guot*, though the attempt to identify them is as old as OHG. (yet conf. the Pref. to E. Schulze's Gothic Glossary, xviii.): '*got unde guot plurivoča sint. taz (what) mit kote wirt, taz wirt mit kuote,*' Notker's Boeth. 172. Almost as obscure as the radical meaning of god is that of the Slav. *bogh*, some connecting it with Sanskr. *b'agas*, sun, Hüfer's Zeitschr. 1, 150. In the Old-Persian cuneiform writing 4, 61 occurs *bagâha*, *dei*, from the stem *baga*, Bopp's Comp. Gram. 452; Sanskr. *bhagavat* is adorandus. Hesychius has *βαγαῖος*, *Ζεὺς φρύγιος* (conf. Spiegel's Cuneif. inser. 210. Windischmann 19. 20. Bopp, Comp. Gr. 452. 581. Miklosich 3). Boh. *bůže*, *božatko*, Pol. *bożę*, *bożatko*, *godkin*, also *genius*, child of luck. Boh. *bůzek*, Pol. *bożek*, idol.

Beside *gudu*, gods, John 10, 34-5, we have *gupa*, Gal. 4, 8. The change of *þ* to *d* in derivation is supported by *afgudei impietas*, *gudalans impius*, *gudisks divinus*. Neuter is *daz apgot*, Mos. 33, 19. *abgote sibeniu*, Ksrchr. 65. *appitgot*, Myst. 1, 229. Yet, beside the neut. *abcotir*, stands *appetgöte* (rh. *kröte*), Troj. kr. 27273, and *abgote*, Maria 149, 42; also masc. in Kristes büchelîn of 1278 (cod. giss. no. 876): '*bette an den appitgot.*' *abgotgobide* in Haupt 5, 458 is for *abgotgiuobida*. In the Gothic *þó galiuga-gudu* for *εἰδωλα*, 1 Cor. 10, 19. 20, where the Greek has no article, we may perceive a side-glance at Gothic mythology; conf. Löbe gloss. 76^b. The ON. *goð* is not always *idolum* merely, but sometimes *numen*, as *goð öll*, *omnia numina*, Sæm. 67^b. *siti Hâkon með heiðin goð*, Hâkonarm. 21. *gauð*,

usually *latratus*, is a contemptuous term for a numen *ethnicorum* ; conf. *geyja*, to bark, said of *Freyja*, p. 7 note.

Our *götze* occurs in the *Fastn. Sp.* 1181. 1332, where the carved ‘*goezen*’ of the painter at Würzburg are spoken of. Gods’ images are of wood, are split up and burnt, *Fornm. sög.* 2, 163. v. d. Hagen’s *Narrenbuch*, 314. *Platers leben*, 37. So *Diagoras* burns his wooden *Hercules* (*Melander Jocos.* 329), and cooks with it; conf. *Suppl.* to p. 108 n. *Agricola* no. 186 explains *ölgötz* as ‘a stick, a log, painted, drenched with oil,’ Low Germ. *oligötze* ; but it might be an earthen lamp or other vessel with an image of the god, *Pröhle* xxxvi. In Thuringia *ölgötze* means a baking.

p. 15.] To the distortions of God’s name may be added : *gots* hingender gans ! *Geo. v. Ehingen*, p. 9. *potz* verden angstiger schwininer wunden ! *Manuel, Fastn. sp.* 81. *Er. Alberus* uses ‘*locks* angst,’ *H. Sachs* ‘*botz* angst.’ Is *potz*, *botz* from *bocks* (p. 995) ? Similar adaptations of *Dieu*, *Raynouard* sub v. *deus* ; *cullieu*, *Méon* 4, 462. *Ital. sapristi* for *sacristi*.

p. 15.] The addition of a Possess. Pron. to the name of God recalls the belief in a guardian-spirit of each individual man (p. 875). The expressions not yet obsolete, ‘my God! I thank my God, you may thank your God, he praised his God, etc.,’ in *Gotthelf’s Erzähl.* 1, 167 are also found much earlier : *hevot ghesworen bi sinen Gode*, *Reinaert* 526. *ganc dīnem Gote bevolen*, *Mor.* 3740. *er lobte sinen Got*, *Greg.* 26, 52. *durch meinen Gott*, *Ecke (Hagen)* 48. *saget iuivem Gote lop*, *Eilh.* 2714. *daz in mīn Trehtīn lōne*, *Koloc.* 186. *gesegen dich Got mīn Trehtīn*, *Ls.* 3, 10. *je le feré en Mondieu croire*, *Renart* 3553. 28465. *Méon* 2, 388. *son deable*, *Ren.* 278. 390. Conf. ‘*Juno-nem meam iratam habeam*,’ *Hartung*, *genius*.

The ‘God grant, God knows’ often prefixed to an interrogative, *Gram.* 3, 74, commits the decision of the doubtful to a higher power; conf. ‘*wēre Got, Gott behūte*,’ *Gram.* 3, 243-4. *Got sich des wol versinnen kan*, *Parz.* 369, 3; conf. ‘*sit cura deum*,’ *daz sol Got niht en-wellen*, *Et.* 6411. *daz enwelle Got von himele*, *Nib.* 2275, 1. *nu ne welle Got*, *En.* 64, 36.—Other wishes: *sō sol daz Got gebieten*, *Nib.* 2136, 4. *hilf Got*, *Parz.* 121, 2. *nu hilf mir, hilferīcher Got* 122, 26; conf. ‘*ita me deus adjuvet, ita me dii ament, amabunt*,’ *Ter. Heaut.* iv. 2, 8. 4, 1.

Got hüete dîn, Parz. 124, 17, etc. Got halde iuch 138, 27. Got lôn dir 156, 15. Got troeste iuch des vater mîn 11, 2. Got grüeze iuch, Iw. 5997. The freq. formulas 'God bless thee, greet thee,' addressed espec. to wine. Often in MHG., 'be it God who': *Got sî* der daz wende; der in ner' (heal); der uns gelücke gebe, Fr. 8350. 6900. Hartm. Erst. b. 1068.—[Many new examples of 'wilkomen Got und mir' are here omitted.] sît mir *in Gote* wilkomen, Pass. 34, 92. *im* und *den göten* (gods) willekomen, Troj. kr. 23105. God alone: *Got* willekume here von Berne, Dietr. Drachenk. 60^a. Me and my wife: willekomen mir und ouch *der frouwen mîn*, MS. 1, 57^b. bien venuz *mîner frouwen* unde mir, Parz. 76, 12.

The Supreme Being is drawn into other formulas: dankent ir und *Gote*, Lanz. 4702. des danke ich *dir* unde *Gote*, Flore 5915. *Got* und *iu* ze minnen (for the love of), Greg. 3819. nû lâz ich alle mîne dine an *Godes* genâde unde *dîn*, Roth. 2252. To intensify an assertion: ich fergihe (avow) *Got* unde *iu*, Griesh. pred. 2, 71. nein *ich* und *Got*, Ls. 2, 257; like the heathenish 'Oden och jag.' daz er *sich* noch *Got* erkennet, Walth. 30, 7. *Got* und ouch die *liute*, Greg. 271. *Got* und *reht* diu riten dô in ze heile, Trist. (Massm.) 176, 26. 177, 2. We still speak of complaining to God and the world. One could not but love her, 'da half kein *gott* und kein *tenfel*,' Höfer, Lorelei 234. So, 'to her and love': ich hân gesungen der *vil lieben* und *der Minne*, Neifen 13, 37. *frou Minne* und *ir*, vil sælic wîp 20, 33. ich wil *dir* und *deinem gaul* zusaufen, Garg. 240^b.

p. 17.] God has human attributes: par les *ians* Dieu, Ren. 505; so, Freyr lîtr eigi viuar *augum* til þîn, Fornm. s. 2, 74. par les *pies* quide *Diu tenir*, Méon Fabl. 1, 351. wan dô *Got* hiez werden ander wîp, dô geschuof er iuvern lîp selbe mit *sîner hant*, Flore 2, 259. The Finns speak of God's beard. He wears a helmet, when he is wrapt in clouds? conf. helot-helm, p. 463, Grîmnir pileatus, p. 146, and Mercury's hat; den *Gotes helm* verbinden, MsH. 3, 354^b; conf. the proper name *Gotahelm*, Zeuss trad. Wizemb. 76, like *Siguhelm*, *Friduhelm*. As Plato makes God a shepherd, Wolfram makes him a judge, Parz. 10, 27. God keeps watch, as 'Mars vigilat,' Petron. 77; conf. Mars vigila, Hennil vigila (p. 749). He creates some men himself: *Got selbe* worht ir sîezen lîp, Parz. 130, 23; gets honour

by it: ir schöenes lîbes hât Got iemer *êre*, MS. 1, 143^a; shapes beauty by moonlight: Diex qui la fist *en plaine lune*, Diniaux's Trouvères Artésiens 261; feels pleasure: dar wart ein wuof, daz ez vor Got ze himel was *genaeme*, Lohengr. 71. in (to them) wurde Got noch (nor) diu *werlt* iemer *holt*, Dietr. Drach. 119^a. So in O.Norse: Yggr var þeim *liðr*, Sæm. 251^a; conf. 'unus tibi hic dum *propitius* sit Jupiter, tu istos *minutos deos* flocci feceris,' and the cuneif. inscr. 'Auramazdá thuvám dushta biya,' Oromasdes tibi amicus fiat.

p. 17-8 n.] God's diligence: examples like those in Text.

p. 18.] Many new examples of God's 'anger, hatred, etc.' are here omitted.—Unser gote sint sô guot, daz si dînen tumben muot niht *râchen* mit einer donre-strâle, Barl. 207, 13. 'Got haz den lesten!' sprâchen die dâ vluchen hin (God hate the hindmost, cried the fugitives), Ottoc. 76^a. sô in Got iemer *hazze*, MsH. 3, 195^b. daz in Got *gheoene*, dishonour, Lanz. 3862. er bat, daz Got sînen *sluc* über in vil schiere *slüege*, very soon smite, Turl. krone 92; conf. *θεοβλαβής*, Herod. 1, 127. Got *velle* si beide, make them fall, Iw. 6752. ich wil daz mich Got *velle* und mir *schende* den lîp, Flore 1314. Got si *schende*, MsH. 3, 187^a. fort mit dir zu *Gottes boden*, Weise comöd. 39. Got *rech'* ez über sîn kragen, Ottoc. 352^a. so muoze mig Got *wuorgen*, Karlm. 368. nû *brennet* mich der *Gotes zan* (tooth) in dem fiur, Tôdes gehugde 679. sô *entwîche* mir Got, Flore 5277. Got ist an mir *verzaget*, Parz. 10, 30. ist Got an sîner helfe *blint*, oder ist er dran *betoubet* (deaved, daft), 10, 20. die gôte gar *entsliefen*, Albr. Tit. 2924.

p. 20.] The *irrisio deorum*, ON. *goð-gâ* (Pref. liii. and p. 7n.) reaches the height of insult in Laxdæla-s. 180. Kristni-s. cap. 9; OHG. *kot-scelta* blasphemia, MHG. *gotes schelster*. Conf. the abusive language of Kämchadales to their highest god Kutka, Klemm 2, 318. nû *schilte* ich mîniu *abgot*, scold my false gods, Lament 481. sînen *zorn huob* er hin ze Gote: '*richer* Got unguoter!' Greg. 2436-42. sô wil ich iemer wesen *gram* den goten, En. 7985. The saints scold (as well as coax) God, Keisersb. omeis 12^d. *wâfen schrîen* über (cried shame upon) Gotes gewalt, Wigal. 11558. Got, dâ bistu *eine schuldec* an (alone to blame), Iw. 1384. Charles threatens him: Karles *tença* à Dieu, si confust son voisin, 'jamais en France n'orra messe à

matin,' Aspr. 35^a. hé, saint Denis de France, tu *somoilles et dorz*, quant fauz tes homes liges tiens en est li gran torz, Guitecl. 2, 156. nemt iuwer gote *an ein seil und trenket si*, drench them, Wh. 1, 83^a. *tröwet* (believes) als dann *S. Urban* auch, wenn er niht schafft gut wein, werd' man ihn nach den alten branch werffen in bach hinein, Garg. pref. 10. In the Ksrehr. 14737 Charles threatens St. Peter: und ne mache dû den blinden hiute niht gesunden, dûn hâs ich dir zestôre, dûnen widemen ich dir zevuore. God is defied or cheated: *biss Gott selbst kompt* (to punish us), haben wir vogel und nest weggeraumbt, Garg. 202^a.

p. 20-1.] More epithets of God. He is hardly ever addressed as dear; but we find: an sînen *lieben* abgoten, Pass. 306, 20. *ir lieben* gote 38, 41. *der zarte* Got, Ls. 2, 285-6. Griesh. 22 (5. 9. 17 of Christ). *der süeze* Got von himel, Griesh., etc. in *svasugođ*, Sæm. 33^a. *tugenhafter* Got, Wh. 49, 16. Got der *gewâre*, Fundgr. ii. 90, 41. *hêre* is said of heathen gods, angels, emperors: ein Venus *hêre*, MS. 1, 55^a. *hâliy* dryhten, Beow. 1366.—God sees, tends, blesses, loves, rewards, honours, pities, forgets: Got der müeze dûn *pflegen*, Herb. 6160. Got *gesegene* uns immer mêre 7732. Got *segên* inuch, Got *lône* dir 8092. Got *minne* dich, Eracl. 644. Got müeze mich *êren*, MsII. 1, 59^b. daz mohte Got *erbarmen*, Wigal. 5342. als im Got *ergaz*, forgot, Herb. 15669. sô mîn Got *ergaz*, Troj. kr. 14072. des (him) hât Got *vergezzen*, der tivel hât in besezzen, Warnung 343. Our God-forgotten, God-forsaken.—The poor are *Godes volk*, Diut. 1, 438; *sîne* aerme, Maerl. 2, 230; daz *Gotes her* (host), Gute frau 1492; hence proper names like *Godesman*, Trad. Corb. 291, *Golasmannus*, Pol. Irmin. 93^b, *Kotesman*, Trad. Juvav. 131.—The Gen. *Gotes* intensifies the adjs. poor, wretched, ignorant, pure: owê mich *Gotes armen*, Nib. 2090. ich vil *Gotes armiu*, Gudr. 1209, 1. ich *Gotes arme* maget, Dietr. Drach. die *Gotes ellenden*, Ernst 3176. *der Gotes tumbé*, Helmbr. 85. *der Gotes reine*, Marienleg. 189, 428.

p. 22.] Earthly titles given to God: *der edel keiser* himelbaere, Tit. 3382. That of the king of birds: *Gott der hohe edle adler* vom himmel, Berthold 331. The M. Lat. *domnus* is not used of God, who is always *Dominus*, but of popes, kings, etc., Ducange sub v. O. Fr. *dame dieu*, *dame dé*, Roquef. sub v.; Prov. *dami*

drieu, damri deu, domini diens, Raynouard 3, 68; on *dame* conf. p. 299 n. Wallach. *dumnedeu* for God, *domn* for sir, lord. Slav. *knez, kniaz*, prince, is applied to God in Wiggert's psalms, conf. *kneze granitsa* in Lisch urk. 1, 9. So *ἀναξ, ἄνασσα* are used of kings and gods, espec. *ἄνακες* of the Dioscuri, and the Voc. *ἄνα* of gods only.

p. 22.] God is called Father in that beautiful passage: þonne forstes bend *Fæder* onlaeteð, Beow. 3218. Brahma is called *avus paternus*, Bopp's gloss. 217^a, and *Pitamaha*, great father, Holtzm. 3, 141. 153; conf. Donar as father, p. 167. In the Märchen, God becomes godfather to particular children: in KM. no. 126 he appears as a beggar, and gives his godson a horse, in the Wallach. märchen 14 a cow. The fays, as godmothers, give gifts. The *grandmother* travels all over the earth, Klemm 2, 160; conf. *anel, baba* (p. 641), *zloto-baba*, gold-grandmother; *mother* (p. 254).

p. 22.] The Saxon *metod*, ON. *miötudr* may be conn. with Sanskr. *mâtâ*, meter and creator, Bopp's Comp. Gr. 1134, and *mâtâ*, mother, creatress; conf. *ταμίας Ζεύς*.

p. 23.] In Homer too, God is he that *pours*: Zeus creates, begets mankind, Od. 20, 202. But Zeus *χέει ὕδωρ*, Il. 16, 385. *χιόνα*, Il. 12, 281. Poseidon *χέει ἀχλύν*, Il. 20, 321. Athena *ἤερα χέυε*, Od. 7, 15. *ὑπνον* 2, 395. *κάλλος* 23, 156. *χάριν* 2, 12, etc. Conf. p. 330, and 'Athena *ἤκε κόμας*,' let her hair stream, Od. 23, 156. God is he, 'der alle bilde *giuzet*,' Diut. 2, 241; der schepfet alle zît niuwe sêl (souls), di' er *giuzet* unde gît in menschen, Freid. 16, 25. the angel ' *giuzet* dem menschen die sêle in,' Berth. 209. God is 'der *Smit von Oberlande*, der elliu bilde wol *würken* kan,' MsH. 2, 247^a. He fits together: das *füege* Got, Rab. 554. Got *füege* mir'z ze guote, Frauend. 422, 22. dô bat si Got vil dicke *füegen* ir den rât, Nib. 1187, 1, like our eingeben, suggest. *sigehafte hende* (victorious hands) *füege* in Got der guote, Dietr. 8082. dô *fuogt* in (to them) Got einen wint, Rab. 619; conf. *Gevuoge*, p. 311 n. The Minne also fits, and Sælde (fortune): dir *füegest* sælde daz beste, Tit. 3375; our 'fügung Gottes,' providence. God destines, *verhenget*, MS. 1, 74^a (the bridle to the horse); OHG. *firhengan* (even *hengan* alone), concedere, consentire. He carries, guides: Got *truoc* uns zu dir in das lant (so: the devil brings you), Dietr. and Ges. 656. mich

hât selber *gewiset her* Got von himel, Keller's Erzähl. 648, 11. We say 'go with God,' safely, *σύν θεῷ βαίσεις*, Babr. 92, 6.

p. 23.] Though Berthold laughs at the notion of God sitting in the sky, and his legs reaching down to the earth, as a Jewish one, there are plenty of similar sensuous representations to be gleaned out of early poems, both Romance and German: 'Deo chi maent sus en ciel,' Eulalia; etc. *alwaltintir Got, der mir zi lebine gibôt*, Diemer 122, 24. *wanti Got al mag und al guot wil* 99, 18. God is eternal: *qui fu et iest et iert*, Ogier 4102.

p. 24.] To explain the Ases we must compare *ahura-mazdas* (p. 984 n.) and Sanskr. *asura* spiritual, living. Svâ lâti *áss* pik heilan î haugi, Fornald. sög. 1, 437. Rîn *ús-kunn*, Sæm. 248^a. *nornir áskungar* 188^a. A friðla is called *ása blóð*, Fornm. sög. 9, 322, fair as if sprung from Ases? *þá vex mer ásmegin*, iafuhâtt up sem himinn, Sn. 114. *ásmegin*, Sæm. 94^b. *ásmóðr* opp. to *jötunmóðr*, Sn. 109. *ása bragr* stands for Thôr, Sæm. 85^b. Sometimes *ás* seems to mean genius, fairy: in Nials-s. p. 190 a *Svinfells-ás* or *Sucefells-ás* changes a man that lives with him into a woman every ninth night; the man is called '*brúðr Svinfells-ás*, amica genii Svinfelliani. Here also mark the connexion of *ás* with a mountain (fell for fiall?). The Saxon form of the word is also seen in the names of places, *Osene-dred*, Kemble no. 1010 (5, 51), and *Osnu-brugga* (conf. *As-brú*, rainbow, p. 732). Note the OHG. *Kêr-ans*, spear-god, *Folch-ans*, Haupt's Zeitschr. 7, 529. That *Ansivarii* can be interpreted 'a diis oriundi' is very doubtful. Haupt's Ztschr. 5, 409 has 'des bomes *as*,' prob. for 'ast' bough, which may indeed be conn. with 'ás' beam, for it also means gable, roof-tree, firmament, *ἔρμα*, fulcrum. Varro says the Lat. *āra* was once *āsa*, *ansa*, sacred god's-seat, v. Forcellini. Pott 1, 244, Gr. D. Sag. p. 114. The Gr. *αἴσα* (p. 414) seems unconnected. Bopp 43^d connects *îśvara dominus* with an Irish *aesfhear aesar*, dens, from Pictet p. 20; but this contains fear, vir.

p. 26.] '*Hos consentes et complices Etrusci aiunt et nominant, quod una orientur et occidunt una*' says Arnobius adv. gentes lib. 3; does he mean constellations? conf. Gerhard's Etr. goth. p. 22-3. Does *áttúnga* brantir, Sæm. 80^b, mean the same as *âsa*, cognatorum?

p. 26.] As consulting *ragin* appear the gods in Sanskr. *râganas* and Etrusc. *rasena*. The Homeric Zeus too is counsellor,

μήστωρ, μητίετα. ‘*consilio* deorum immortalium, *consuesse* deos immort.’ says Cæsar B. Gall. 1, 12. 14. The pl. *regin* occurs further in Sæm. 32^b. 34^a *nytt regin*. 36^a *vís regin*. Hâkonar-m. 18 *râð öll ok regin*. Sæm. 248^b *dólg-rögnir*. Also *rögn*: höpt, bönd, rögn, Sn. 176. ‘wer gesaz bî Gote an dem *râte* dâ diu guote mir wart *widerteilet?*’ allotted, Ms. 2, 180^a. Just as impersonal as the Gen. pl. in OS. *regano-giscapu* sounds another in Haupt’s Ztschr. 2, 208, where Mary is styled ‘*kuneginne aller magene,*’ *virtutum*.

p. 26n.] The appearing of gods is discussed at p. 336. Saxo, ed. Müller 118, speaks of *sacra deúm agmina*. The gods live happy: *deorum* vitam apti sumus, Ter. Heaut. iv. 1, 15. *deus* sum, sic hoc ita est, Hecyra v. 4, 3. The beautiful and blithe are comp. to them: þyckir oss *Oðinn vera*, Hâk.-m. 15; conf. Asa-blôð above. *gê* her für *als ein götinne*, Renn. 12277. *ên wîf ghelîc ere godinnen*, Maerl. 2, 233. also *ochter God selve comen soude*, Lanc. 31321. Conf. the beauty of elves and angels, p. 449. The I. of Cos seemed to produce gods, the people were so handsome, Athen. 1, 56. Paul and Barnabas taken for Mercury and Jupiter, Acts 14, 12.

p. 27.] On *sihora armen* conf. Massm. in Haupt’s Ztschr. 1, 386 and Holtzm. in Germania 2, 448, who gives variants; *sihora* may have been equiv. to *frauja*. *Sigora-freá* in Cod. Exon. 166, 35. 264, 8 is liter. *triumphorum dominus*. A warlike way of addressing God in Nib. Lament 1672 is, *himelischer degen!*

p. 28.] At the end of this Chap. it ought to be observed, that some deities are limited to particular lands and places, while others, like *Ζεὺς πανελλήνιος*, are common to whole races. Also that the Greeks and Romans (not Teutons) often speak indefinitely of ‘some god’: *καί τις θεὸς ἡγεμόνευεν*, Od. 9, 142. 10, 141. *τίς με θεῶν ὀλοφύρατο* 10, 157. *ἀθανάτων ὅς τις* 15, 35. *τίς θεός ἐσσι* 16, 183. *τίς σφιν τόδ’ ἔειπε θεῶν* 16, 356. *ἦ μάλα τις θεὸς ἔνδον* 19, 40. *καί τις θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐνείκοι* 21, 196. 24, 182. 373. Solemnis formula, qua dii tutelares urbium evocabantur e civitatibus oppugnatione cinctis ambiguo nomine *si deus*, *si dea*, ne videlicet alium pro alio nominando aut sexum confundendo falsa religione populum alligarent, conf. Macrob. Sat. 3, 9. Nam consuestis in precibus ‘sive tu *deus* es sive *dea*’ dicere, Arnob. 3, 8. Hac formula utebantur Romani in precibus, quando

sive terra movisset, sive aliud quid accidisset, de quo ambigebatur qua causa cujusque dei vi ac numine effectum sit, conf. Gellius 2, 20 ibique Gronovius.

CHAPTER III.

WORSHIP.

p. 29.] For veneration of a deity the AS. has both *weorðscipe* reverentia, dignitas, and *weorðung*; the Engl. *worship*, strictly a noun, has become also a verb = *weorðian*. The christian teachers represented the old worship as *diobules gelp* inti *zierida* (pompa). In Isidore 21, 21. 55, 5 *aerlós* stands for impius. Beside the honouring of God, we find 'das Meien *ére*,' Ms. 2, 22^b, and 'duvels *ére*, Rose 11200. D. Sag. 71. Gote *dienen*, Nib. 787, 1. er *forchte* (feared) den Heilant, Roth 4415. Heartfelt devotion is expr. by 'mit *inneclíchen* muote,' Barl. 187, 16. *andachtliche* 187, 36. 14. mit dem *inneren* gebete. die *andáht* fuor zuu gibel aus, Wolkenst. p. 24.

p. 29.] Among most nations, the Chinese being an exception, worship finds utterance in prayer and sacrifice, in solemn transactions that give rise to festivals and lightides, which ought to be more fully described further on. Prayer and sacrifice do not always go together: betra er *óbedit* eun se *ofblótít* (al. *óblótít*), Sæm. 28^b. The Chinese do not pray, and certainly, if God has no body and no speech, we cannot attribute an ear or hearing to him, conseq. no hearing of prayer. Besides, an almighty God must understand thoughts as easily as words. Prayers, the utterance of petition, gratitude and joy, arose in heathenism, and presuppose a divine form that hears. Odysseus prays to Athena: *κλῦθί μεν, γὺν δὴ πέρ μεν ἄκουσον, ἐπεὶ πάρος οὔ ποτ' ἄκουσας ῥαιομένου*, Od. 6, 325. 13, 356. *κλῦθι, ἄναξ ὦ, 445*. Il. 16, 514; Poseidon and Apollo are addressed with the same formula. Gods are greeted through other gods: *Veneri dicito multam meis verbis salutem*, Plant. Pœu. i. 2, 195. But, besides praying aloud, we also read of soft muttering, as in speaking a spell, Lasicz 48. *θηρησκεύειν* is supposed to mean praying half aloud, Crenzer 2, 285. Latin *precari* (conf. *procus*), Umbr. *persnî*

(Aufrecht and Kirchoff 2, 28. 167) answers to OHG. *fergôn* poscere, precari, N. Cap. 153, Sanskr. *prach*, Zend. *pereç*. 'tases persnimu,' tacitus precare, pray silently, 'kutef persnimu,' caute precare, A. and K. 2, 168-9. 170. Sanskr. *jaṣ* = submissa voce dicere, praesertim preces, Bopp 135^a; conf. *jalp* loqui, Lith. kalbu: faveas mihi, *murmure* dixit, Ov. Met. 6, 327 (p. 1224). 'gebete *käuen*,' chewing prayers, occurs in Bronner's Life 1, 475; 'stille gebete *thauen*,' distil, in Gessner's Works (Zurich 1770) 2, 133. 'gebet *vrumen*,' put forth, Gudr. 1133, 1. *beten* und *himelspreken*, Gefken beil. 116. daz gebet ist ein süezer bote (messenger) ze himele, Ernst 20. Or, prayer resounds: daz dîn bete *erklinge*, Walth. 7, 35. precibus deum *pulsare* opimis, Ermold. Nigell. 2, 273. Prayer gushes out, is poured out: also daz gebet *irgie*, Krschr. 2172. M. Neth. gebed *utstorten*, Soester fehde p. 597; now, bede *storten*, preces fundere, like tranen st., lacrimas fundere. *gepet ausgiessen*, MB. 27, 353.

p. 29.] Other words for praying: Grk. *δέομαι* I need, I ask, *ἰκετεύω* and *λίσσομαι* beseech. ON. *heita* â einn, vovere sub conditione contingenti: *hêt* â Thôr, vowed, Oldn. läseb. 7 (conf. *giving* oneself to a partic. god, Oðinnu, p. 1018-9). OHG. *harên* clamare, *anaharên* invocare, N. Boëth. 146. OS. *grôtian* God, Hel. 144, 24. 145, 5. Does *προσκυνέω* come from *κυνέω* I kiss (as adoro from os oris, whence osculum), and is it conn. with the hand-kissing with which the Greeks worshipped the sun; *τὴν χεῖρα κύσαντες*, Lucian 5, 133; or from *κύων*? conf. *πρόσκυνες*, fawning flatterers, Athen. 6, 259, see Pott's *Zählmeth.* 255. *Ἀσπάζεσθαι* is also used of dogs fawning upon a master.

p. 30.] A suppliant is not only *bêtoman* in OHG., but *beteman* in MHG. Hartm. büchl. 1, 263. Prayer, our gebet, is a fem. *bete*: mîne flêhe und mîne bete, die wil ich êrste senden mit *herzen* und mit *henden*, Trist. 123, 22 (praying with hands, folded?). The MHG. *bêten* is always joined with *an*, as prepos. or prefix: an welchen got er baete, Servat. 1347. ein kreftige stat, dô man diu apgot anebate, Karl 10^a. Is it used only of false gods? conf. Pfeiffer's *Barl.* p. 446.

p. 30.] The MHG. *flêhen* supplicare takes the Dative: deme heiligen Geiste vlên, Wernh. v. Nieder-rh. 37, 17, etc. But with the Accus.: den tôren flêhen, Freid. 83, 3. alle herren flêhen, Walther 28, 33. fleha ze himele *frumen*, N. Boeth. 271;

conf. 'gebet vrumen' above. *Εὔχεσθαι* also takes a Dat.: *Διί*, Od. 20, 97. *Ἀθήνην* 2, 261. *Ποσειδάωνι* 3, 43. *ἐπεύχεσθαι Ἀρτέμιδι* 20, 60; conf. *εὐχῆ* (or *ἐν εὐχαῖς*, *ἐν λόγοις*) *πρεσβεύειν*, *φροιμάζομαι*, Æsch. Eum. 1. 20. 21.

p. 31.] Cau Goth. *aíhtrôn* and OHG. *eiscôn* be from aigan, and mean wish to have? OHG. *diccan* occurs in MHG. too: *digete* gein Gote, Altd. bl. 2, 149. an in *gediget*, prays, Kdh. Jesu 91, 4. *underdige* supplicatio, Serv. 3445.

p. 31.] Postures in prayer. Standing: diu *stét* an ir gebete in der kapellen hie bî, Iw. 5886. an daz gebet *stân*, Zappert p. 23. Bowing: diofo *ginigen*, bend low, O. iii. 3, 28. *sîn nîgen* er gein himel gap, made his bow, Parz. 392, 30. Hagen bows to the merwomen, Nib. 1479, 1. As the road is kindly saluted, so contrariwise: ich wil dem wege iemer-mêre *sîn vîent swâ dû* hin gâst, be foe to every way thou goest, Amur 2347. The Finnic *kumarran*, bending, worship, is done to the road (tielle), moon (kuulle), sun, (päiwällä), Kalew. 8, 103. 123. 145. diu bein biegen = pray, Cod. Vind. 159 no. 35. On kneeling, bending, conf. Zapp. p. 39. ze gebete *gevie*, Ksrehr. 6051. ze Gote er *sîn* gebete *lac*, Pantal. 1582. er *viel* au *sîn* gebet, Troj. kr. 27224. *viel* in die bede, int gebede, Maerl. 2, 209. 3, 247. *dô hup* er ane zu *reniende*: wo ime daz houbit *lac*, *dô* satzte her di fûze hin, Myst. 1, 218. legde *hleor on eorðan*, Cædm. 140, 32. Swed. *bönfulla*, to kneel in prayer. During a sacrifice they fell to the ground *ρίπτοντες ἐς ὠδας*, Athen. p. 511. The Ests crawl bareheaded to the altar, Estn. verh. 2, 40. Other customs: the Indians *danced* to the Sun, Lucian, ed. Lehm. 5, 130. Roman women, barefoot, with dishevelled hair, prayed Jupiter for rain. The hands of gods are kissed, conf. *προσκυνεῖν*. In contrast with looking up to the gods, *ἄνω βλέψας*, Moschus epigr., the eyes are turned *away* from sacred objects. Odysseus, after landing, is to throw back into the sea, with averted look, the *κρήδεμνον* lent him by Ino, *ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι*, Od. 5, 350. *ταρβήσας δ' ἐτέρωσε βάλ' ὄμματα, μὴ θεὸς εἴη*, 16, 179.

p. 32.] Uncovering the head: huic capite velato, illi sacrificandum est *nudo*, Arnob. 3, 43. *pilleis* capitibus inclinarent *detractis*, Ekehardus A.D. 890 (Pertz 2, 84). *tuot úwere kugelen* *abe*, und bitit Got, Myst. 1, 83, 25. son *chapel oste*, Ren. 9873; conf. 's *chäppli lüpf*e, Hebel 213. *helme* und ouch diu *hüetelîn*

diu wurden schiere ab genomen, Lanz. 6838. *sînen helm er abe bant* (unbound), und sturzt' in ûf des schildes rant; des *hüetels* wart *sîn houbet blôz*, wan *sîn zuht* war vil grôz, Er. 8963. In 1 Cor. 11, 4. 5, a man is to pray and prophesy with covered head, a woman with uncovered, see Vater's note. Penance is done standing naked in water, G. Ab. 1, 7; conf. Pref. lxx. The monk at early morn goes to the Danube to draw water, wash and pray, Vuk ii. 7, beg. of Naod Simeun. The Greeks went to the seashore to pray: *Τηλέμαχος δ' ἀπάνευθε κιών ἐπὶ θίνα θαλάσσης*, Od. 2, 260. *βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θίνα . . . ἀπάνευθε κιών ἡρᾶθ' ὁ γεραιὸς Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι*, Il. i. 34.

p. 33.] Arsenius prays with *uplifted hands* from sunset to sunrise, Maerl. 3, 197. in *crucis modum* coram altari se sternere, Pertz 8, 258; conf. ordeal of cross. Praying 'mit *zertânen armen*, *zertrenten armen*, Zellw. urk. no. 1029. 775. Hands are washed before praying: *χείρας νιψάμενος πολίης ἁλός*, in the hoary sea, Od. 2, 261. 12, 336. Helgafell, þângat skyldi engi maðr *ôþveginn* (unwashed) *líta*, Landn. 2, 12.

p. 33.] *Χάρις*, gratia, is also translated *anst*. Goth. *anstái* andahafta, gratiâ plena! OHG. fol Gotes *eusti*, O. i. 5, 18. *enstio* fol, Hel. 8, 8; conf. 'gebôno fullu' in Tat., and AS. mid gife gefylled. For ginâda Otfried uses a word peculiar to himself, *êragrehti*, Graff 2, 412. The cuneif. inscr. have constantly: 'Auramazdâ miya upastâm abara,' Oromasdes mihi opem ferebat; 'vashnâ Auramazdaha,' gratiâ Oromasdis.

p. 34.] Other ON. expressions for prayer: blôtaði Oðinn, ok biðr hann *líta* á sitt mâl, Hervar. saga c. 15. ôreiðom angom *litið* ockr þinnig, ok gefit sitjondom sigr, Sæm. 194^a. mâl ok mannvit gefit ockr maerom tveim, ok laeknis-hendur meðan lifom, ibid.—As the purpose of prayer and sacrifice is twofold, so is divine grace either mere favour to the guiltless, or forgiveness of sin, remission of punishment. Observe in Hel. 3, 18: thiggean Herron is huldi, that sie Hevan-cuning *lêdes álêti* (ut Deus malum averteret, remitteret), though Luke 1, 10 has merely *orare*, and O. i. 4, 14 only ginâda beitôta. He is asked to spare, to pity: *ἴλῃθι*, Od. 3, 380. 16, 184. *φείδεο δ' ἡμέων* 16, 185. *σὺ δὲ ἴλεως γενοῦ*, Lucian 5, 292. 'taivu ainomen Tapio,' be entreated, Kalev. 7, 243; conf. *τόδε μοι κρήνον ἐέλωρ*, Il. 1, 41. Od. 17, 242. (Kl. schr. 2, 458.)

The Hindu also looks to the *East* at early morning prayer, hence he calls the South *daxa*, *daxima*, the right. In praying to Odin one looks *east*, to Ulf *west*, Sv. forns. 1, 69. *solem respiciens* is said of Boiocalus, Tac. ann. 13, 55. Prayer is directed to the *sun*, N. pr. bl. 1, 300, and there is no sacrificing after sunset, Geo. 2281. On the other hand, ‘*Norðr horfa dyr*’ occurs in Sæm. 7^b. Jötunheimr lies to the North, Rask afh. 1, 83. 94. D. Sag. 981-2.

p. 35 n.] Mock-piety: wolt ir den heiligen die *zehen* (toes) *abbeissen*? Bronner 1, 295. alle heiligen *fressen* wollen, Elis. v. Orf. 251. *götze-schlecker*, Stald. 1, 467. In thieves’ lingo a Catholic is *tolefresser*, *bilderfresser*, Thiele 317^a. *magliavutts*, *götzenfresser*, Carisch 182^b. Whence comes Ital. *bachettone*? conf. *bigot*, Sp. *beato*. die alte *tempeltrete*, Spil v. d. 10 jungfr. in Steph. 175. du rechté *renne umme id olter*, you regular Run-round-the-altar, Mone schausp. 2, 99. *fämmchen*, as early as Er. Alberus Praec. vitae ac mor. 1562, p. 90^a.

p. 35.] On Sacrifice, conf. Creuzer symb. 1, 171. ‘*opphir=vota*,’ Gl. Sletst. 6, 672. Gifts=sacrifices, p. 58. *si brâhten ir obfer nud antheiz*, Diemer 179, 25. In Latin the most general phrase is *rem divinam facere*=*sacrificare*; we also find *commovere*, *obmovere*, Aufr. u. Kirchh. 2, 165. *Victima*, the greater sacrifice, is opposed to *hostia*, the less, Fronto p. 286. To ‘*oblutiones* für allen gebilden (before the statues and shrines), ut tenor est foundationis, cedens pastori’ (found. at Rûden, Westph. 1421, Seibertz Quellen d. Westf. gesch. 1, 232) answers the Germ. *wîsung* *visitatio*, *oblatio*, Graff 1, 1068, from *wîsôn*, *visitare*. *wîsod*=*oblei*, *visitatio*, Schmueller 4, 180. The Swiss now say *wîsen* for praying at the tombs of the dead, Stald. 2, 455.

p. 35.] On *blôt*, *blôstr* see Bopp’s Comp. Gr. 1146. Goth. *Guf blôtan*, Deum colere, 1 Tim. 2, 10. In ON., beside gods’ sacrifices, there are *âlfa blôt*, p. 448, *dîsa blôt*, p. 402 [and we may add the *blôt-risi* on p. 557]. *blôt-hauy* and *stôrblôt*, Fornm. sög. 5, 164-5. *sleikja blôt-bolla*, Fagrsk. p. 63. A proper name *Blôtmær*, acc. *Blôtmnâ* (-mew, the bird), Laudn. 3, 11 seems to mean *larus sacrificator*,=the remarkable epithet *blotvogel*, A.D. 1465, Osnabr. ver. 2, 223; or is it simply ‘naked bird’? conf. *spottvogel*, *speivogel*, *welvogel* [gallows-bird, etc.]. ON. *blôtravgr* =prone to curse, for *blôta* is not only consecrate, but execrate.

p. 37 n.] Mit der *blotzen* haun, H. Sachs iii. 3, 58°. eine breite *blötze*, Chr. Weise, Drei erz. 194. der *weidplotz*, hunting-knife, *plötzer*, Vilmar in Hess. Ztschr. 4, 86. die *bluote*, old knife, Woeste.

p. 37.] *Antheiz* a vow, but also a vowed sacrifice, as when the Germans promised to sacrifice *if they conquered*, Tac. Ann. 13, 57, or as the Romans used to vow a *ver sacrum*, all the births of that spring, the cattle being sacrificed 20 years after, and the youth sent abroad, Nieb. 1, 102. ir obfer unde *antheiz*, Diemer 179, 25. *gehêton wîg-weorðunga*, Beow. 350. aerþon hine deað *onsægeðe*, priusquam mors eum sacrificaret, Cod. Exon. 171, 32; conf. MHG. iuwer lîp ist *ungeseit*, ἀφατος, Neidh. 47, 17. What means OHG. *frêhtan*? [frêhan? frech, freak?]. N. Boeth. 226 says of Iphigenia: dia Chalchas in friskinges wîs *frêhta* (Graff 3, 818); conf. ON. *frétt* vaticinium, divinatio (Suppl. to p. 94), and AS. ‘on blôte oððe ou *fyrhte*,’ Schmid 272, 368, where fear or fright is out of the question.

p. 38.] AS. *cweman*, also with Dat., comes near fullafahjan: ‘onsecgan and godum *cweman*,’ diis satisfacere, Cod. Exon. 257, 25. Criste *cweman* leofran lâce 120, 25. Like AS. *bring* is OHG. *antfanqida*, victima, Diut. 1, 240. What is offered and accepted *lies*: Theocr. epigr. 1, 2 uses κείσθαι of consecrated gifts.

p. 39.] To AS. *lúc* add *læcan* offerre, conf. placare. *lác* onsecgan, Cod. Exon. 257, 30. *lác* xenium, donum, *lácdaed* munificentia, Haupt’s Ztschr. 9, 496^a.

p. 39.] On ἀπαρχαί conf. Pausan. 1, 31. Callimach. hy. in Del. 279. Another definite term for sacrifice seems to be the obscure Goth. *daiqs*, massa, Rom. 11, 16 [is it not dough, teig, a lit. transl. of φύραμα?] *Wizót* survived in MHG. too: frône *wizót*, Servat. 3337. Massmann derives *hunsl* from *hinþan*; Kuhn in Berl. Jb. 10, 192—5, 285 from *hu* to pour, which = θύειν acc. to Bopp 401. *hunsljadu* σπένδομαι 2 Tim. 4, 6. *unhunslags* ἄσπονδος 3, 3. *ufsneipan* = θύειν, kill, Luke xv. 23-7. 30, and *ufsniþans* immolatus, 1 Cor. 5, 7 plainly refer to cutting up the victim. *Hunsaloo* in the Ecbasis may be either *hunsal-aha* (-water) or *huns-alah* (-temple), Lat. ged. p. 289. 290.

O.Slav. *trêba* = libatio, res immolata, templum; *trêbishche* βωμός. ‘qui idolothyta, quod *trebo* dicitur, vel obtulerit aut manducaverit,’ Amann Cod. mss. Frib. fasc. 2, p. 64. O.Boh. *třeba*,

Russ. *treba*, sacrifice. O.Sl. *trèbiti*, Pol. *trzebić*, Serv. *triebiti*, purify; conf. the place-name *Trebbin*, Jungm. 4, 625^b. Pol. *trzeba*, *potrzeba*, oportet, it is needful. Serv. *potreba*, Boh. *potřeba*, need; conf. Lith. *Potrimpus* and *Antrimp*, *Atrimp*, Hanusch 216-7. D. Sag. 328. Sacrifice is in Lett. *šobars*, Bergm. 142; in Hung. *aldomás*, Ipolyi 341.

p. 40.] The right to emend *áibr* into *tibr* is disputed by Weigand 1997; conf. Diefenbach's Goth. wtb. 1, 12. On *τέφρα* see my Kl. Schr. 2, 223; Umbr. *tefro* n. is some unknown part of the victim, Aufrecht u. K. 2, 294. 373. May we connect the Lett. *šobars*, plagne-offering? Some would bring in the LG. *zefer* (= käfer), see Campe under 'ziefer,' and Schmell. 4, 228; conf. OHG. *arzihôr*, Graff 5, 578, and *cecpurhuc*, n. prop. in Karajan. Keisersb., brös. 80^b, speaks of *ungesuber*; we also find *unzuter* vermin, conf. *unâz*, uneatable, i.e. vermin, Mone 8, 409. The Grail tolerates no *ungezibere* in the forest, Tit. 5198. The wolf is euphemistically called *ungeziefer*, Rockenphil. 2, 28. The *geziefer* in the pastures of Tyrol are sheep and goats, Hammerle p. 4.

With OHG. *wihan*, to sacrifice, conf. the AS. *wig-weorðung* above, and Lith. *weikin*, ago, facio, Finu. *waikutan*.

p. 41.] The *diversity* of sacrifices is proved by Pertz 2, 243, *diversos sacrificandi ritus* incoluerunt; and even by Tac. Germ. 9: *deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat.*

To a sacrifice the god is invited, is asked to join: *καλέει τὸν θεόν*, Herod. 1, 132. *ἐπικαλέει τ. θ.* 4, 60. *ἐπικαλέσαντες τ. θ. σφάζουσι* 2, 39. The gods are present at it, Athen. 3, 340-1. Why *bones* are offered to the gods, Hes. theog. 557. *primitiae ciborum* deo offerenda, Athen. 2, 213. The rising *smoke* and *steam* are pleasing to gods, Lucian's Prometh. 19. *ἐκ δὲ θυμάτων Ἡφαιστος οὐκ ἔλαμπε*, Soph. Antig. 1007. Men *strengthen* the gods by sacrifice, Haupt's Ztschr. 6, 125. They sacrifice to Wêda (Wodan), crying: 'Wedki *taeri!*' dear Wêda, consume! accept our offering, Schl.-Holst. landeskunde 4, 246. The god gives a sign that he accepts: þâ kômu þar hrafnar fljugandi ok gullu hâtt, as a sign 'at Oðinu mundi þegit *hafa* blôtit,' Fornm. sög. 1, 131.

p. 42.] Part of the *spoils of war* given to the God of the Christians, Livl. Reimchr. 2670—73. 3398 to 3401. 6089. 4696. 11785. 11915. ‘*brünien, pfert und rische man*’ are to be *burnt* in case of victory 4700. 4711. If *victima* is from *vinco*, it must have been orig. a sacrifice for victory, ON. *sigur-giöf*, *victim*. The *ehren-gang* in Müllenh. Schl.-Holst. s., p. 108 was once prob. the same.

p. 42.] In *expiatory offerings* the idea is, that the wrath of God falls on the victim: clearly so in the *scapegoat*, Levit. 16, 20. Griesh. pred. 2, 119; conf. Grimm on the A. Heinr. p. 160. Also in the *plague-offering* at Massilia, Petron. c. 141.

p. 42.] Forecasting the *future* by sacrifice: *ante pugnam miserabiliter idolis immolavit* (Decius), Jorn. c. 18.

p. 42.] Sacrif. *til árs* also in Fornm. sög. 10, 212: *sîðan gerði naran mikit ok hallaeri, var þá þat ráð tekit at þeir blótuðu Olaf konung til árs ser.* With Hålfðan’s sacrifice conf. the *ἐκατομφόνια* offered by him who had slain 100 foes, Pausan. iv. 19, 2.

p. 44.] Human Sacrifice seems to have been an ancient practice in most nations, as well as the burning of live men with the dead. On the other hand, capital punishments were unknown or rare. Hercules, ad quem Poeni omnibus annis *humana* sacrificaverunt *victima*, Pliny 36, 5. Men were sacrif. to Artemis, Paus. 7, 19; to the playing of flutes, Aufr. u. K.’s Umbr. Sprachd. 2, 377. In lieu of it, youths were touched on the forehead with a bloody knife, O. Jahn on Lycoreus 427; conf. the red string on the neck in the ‘Amicus and Amelius.’ God, as Death, as old blood-shedder (p. 21), asks human victims. Hence they are promised in sickness and danger, for the gods will only accept a life for life, Gesta Trevir. cap. 17, from Cæs. B. Gall. 6, 16. For sacrificing a man on horseback, see Lindenbl. 68. Adam of Bremen (Pertz. 9, 374) says of the Æsts: ‘*dracones adorant cum volucris, quibus etiam vivos litant homines, quos a mercatoribus emunt, diligenter omnino probatos ne maculam in corpore habeant, pro qua refutari dicuntur a draconibus.*’ While a slave-caravan crosses a river, the Abyssinians, like the Old Franks, make the gods a thank and sin offering of the prettiest girl, Klöden’s Beitr. 49. In spring a *live child* is sacrificed on the funeral pile, Dybeck’s Runa 1844, 5: *î þann tíma kom hallaeri mikit á Reiðgotaland. enn svâ gæck frétin, at aldri mundi ár fyrri koma, enn þeim sveini vaeri blótat,*

er æðstr vaeri þar î landi, Hervar. saga p. 452, conf. 454. On the two Gallehus horns is pictured a man holding a child-victim. Saxo, ed. Müller 121, says of Frö at Upsala: '*humani generis hostias mactare aggressus, foeda superis libamenta persolvit;*' he changed the *vetere[m] libationis morem*. To the 'sacrare aciem' in Tac. Ann. 13, 57 (p. 1046 n.) answers the ON. *val jela*, Hervar. s. 454. Traces of Child-sacrifice especially in witch-stories (p. 1081), such as tearing out and eating the heart. *Bones* collected and offered up, conf. the tale of the good Lubbe p. 526, and the villa of *Opferbein* now *Opferbaum* near Würzburg, see Lang's reg. 3, 101 (year 1257). -4, 291 (year 1285).

p. 46.] An *animal* sacrifice was expiatory when offered to the invading plague, p. 610. 1142. Only edible beasts sacrificed: 'cur non eis et canes, ursos et vulpes mactatis? quia rebus ex his deos *par est* honorare coelestes, quibus *ipsi alimur*, et quas *nobis ad victum* sui numinis benignitate dignati sunt,' Arnob. 7, 16. On *dog*-sacrifice see p. 53. The *colour* and *sex* of an animal were important (p. 54), conf. Arnob. 7, 18—20; and in a female, whether she was breeding 7, 22; whether it had hair or bristles (p. 75), conf. 'dem junker, der sich auf dem frönhof lagert, soll man geben als off der hube gewassen (grown) ist mit federn, mit borsten,' Weisth. 3, 478. In buying it, one must not bargain, Athen. 3, 102. The skin was hung up and shot at, p. 650.

p. 46.] The people by eating became partakers in the sacrifice, conf. 1 Cor. 10, 18: οὐχὶ οἱ ἐσθίωντες τὰς θυσίας κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσὶ; p. 41.

p. 47.] On sacrificing *Horses* (p. 664) and its origin, see Bopp's Gl. 24^a, *asvamédha*; conf. Feifalik on the Königinh. MS. 103. Tyndareus made Helen's wooers swear on the sacrif. *horse*, and then bury it, Paus. iii. 20, 9. Horses sacrif. by Greeks to Helios ib. 5, Ov. Fasti 1, 385; by Massagetæ to the Sun, Herod. 1, 216. *White horses* thrown into the Strymon 7, 113. Illi (Moesi) statim ante aciem *immolato equo* concepere votum, ut caesorum extis ducem et litarent et vescerentur, Florus 116, 21. May the Goth. *aihvattundi*, βάρτος, refer to sacrifice? and was the horse burnt with thorn-bushes, or was the fire kindled by *rubbing* with them?

The *ora* in the passage from Tacitus might mean men's heads, yet conf. p. 659. It has yet to be determined how far the *bodies*,

horses and arms of the *conquered* were offered to gods. To dedicate the *wîeges-erwe*, spoils (Diemer 179, 27), seems Biblical. Shields and swords offered up to Mars, Ksrchr. 3730. The Serbs presented the weapons of slain enemies, Vuk Kralodw. 88.

p. 47 n.] *Horseflesh* eaten by witches (p. 1049); by giants, Müllenh. 444. Foals eaten, Etnn. unw. doctor 338—40. The Wild Hunter throws down legs of horse, Schwartz p. 11. *Plica Polonica* attributed to eating horseflesh, Cichocki p. 7.

p. 49 n.] *Asses* sacrificed by the Slavs, Büsching 101-2. Cosmas speaks of an ass being cut into small pieces; see Vuk's pref. to Kralodw. 9. Ass-eaters, Rochholz 2, 267. 271. Those of Oudenaerde are called *kickefreters*, chicken-munchers, Belg. Mus. 5, 440.

p. 49.] *Oxen* were favourite victims among the Greeks and Romans: τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης ἱερά ρέξον ταύρους παμμέλανας Ἐνοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτῃ, Od. 3, 5; namely, nine bulls before each of the nine seats 3, 7. Twelve bulls sacrificed to Poseidon 13, 182. To Athena ρέξω βοῦν ἦνιν εὐρυμέτωπον ἀδμήτην, ἦν οὐπω ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνήρ. τήν τοι ἐγὼ ρέξω, χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας 3, 382; conf. 426. 437, *auratis cornibus hostiae immolatae*, Pliny 33. 3, 12. Perseus offers on three altars an ox, cow and calf, Ov. Met. 4, 755. *bovem album Marti immolare et centum fulvos*, Pliny 22, 5. *niveos tauros immolare*, Arnob. 2, 68. At the 'holmgang' the victor kills the sacrificial bull, Egils-s. 506-8. *rauð hann í nýju nauta blóði*, Sæm. 114^b. The wise bird demands 'hof, hörğa marga, ok gullhyrðar kýr' 141^a. In Sweden they still have *God's cows*; does that mean victims, or priestly dues? A loaf in the shape of a calf is *julkuse*, Cavallius voc. verl. 28^b. 37^b. A *sacrificial calf*, Keller's Altd. erz. 547. The names *Farrenberg*, *Bublemons* seem derived from bovine sacrifices, Mone's Anz. 6, 236-7. A *cow* and *calf* sacrif. to the plague, p. 610; a *black ox* with *white* feet and star, Sommer 150; conf. the *cow's head*, Wolf's Märch. no. 222. A *red cow*, *kravicu buinu*, Königsh. MS. 100; conf. *rôte kalbela âne mâl*, Griesh. 2, 118 (from Numb. 19, 2). *diu rôten riuder*, Fundgr. 2, 152. Mone in Anz. 6, 237 remarks justly enough, that agricultural nations lean more to bovine sacrifices, warlike nations to equine. Traces of bull-sacrifice, D. Sag. 128-9. 32.

p. 50.] To *majalis sacrivus* answers in the Welsh Laws 'sus

coenalis quae servatur ad coenam regis,' Leo Malb. Gl. 1, 83. Varro thinks, 'ab *suillo* genere pecoris *immolandi* initium primum sumtum videtur,' Re Rust. 2, 4. porci duo menses a mamma non dijunguntur. porci *sacres*, *puri* ad sacrificium ut immolentur. porci lactentes, *sacres*, delicii, nefrendes 2, 4. (Claudius) cum regibus foedus in foro icit, *porca caesa*, ac vetere feccialium praefatione adhibita, Suet. c. 25. duo *victimae porcinae*, Seibertz no. 30 (1074). A *frischling* at five schillings shall stand tied to a pillar, Krotzenb. w., yr 1415 (Weisth. 3, 513). The *gras-frischling* in Urbar. Aug., yr 1316, seems to mean a sheep, MB. 34^b, 365. *frischig*, *frischling*, a wether, Stald. 1, 399. opferen als einen *friskine*, Mos. 19, 8. ein *friskine* (ram) dâ bî gie, Diemer 19, 19. With *friscing* as recens natus conf. σφαγαὶ νεοθήλου βοτοῦ, Æsch. Eum. 428. King Heiðrekr has a *göltr* reared, with 12 judges to look after it, Hervar. saga c. 14 (Fornald. sög. 1, 463); conf. the *giafjoltr*, Norw. ges. 2, 127.

p. 52.] Ἄρνα μέλαιναν ἐξενέγκατε, Aristoph. Ran. 847. Men sacrif. a ram, and sleep on *its hide*, Paus. iii. 34, 3. Goats sacrif. to Juno: αἰγοφάγος Ἡρη 15, 7. Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis, seu poscet *agno*, sive malit *haedo*, Hor. Od. i. 4, 12; conf. bidental, Suppl. to p. 174. A boy of nine kills a *black goat* with white legs and star, over the treasure, and sprinkles himself with the blood, Sommer's Sag. p. 140; a *goat with golden horns* 150-1. 179. 'diu ôsterwîche gêt über *dehein geiz*' says Helbl. 8, 299; does it mean that only lambs, not goats, are eaten at Easter? A *black sheep* sacrif. to the devil, Firmenich 1, 206^b; a *sheep* to the dwarf of the Baumann's cave, Gödeke 2, 240. The Prussian *goat-hallowing* is described by Simon Grunau in 1526, Nesselm. x. Lasicz 54; conf. Tettau and Temme 261. A he-goat sacrif. *with strange rites* in Esthonia on St. Thomas's day, Possart 172.

p. 52] *Dogs* sacrif. in Greece, Paus. iii. 14, 9; in Umbria, Auf. und K. 2, 379. To the nickelman a *black cock* is yearly thrown into the Bode, Haupt 5, 378. Samogits sacrif. *cocks* to Kirnos, Lasicz 47. When Ests sacrif. a *cock*, the blood spirts into the fire, the feathers, head, feet and entrails are thrown into the same, the rest is boiled and eaten, Estn. ver. 2, 39. σκύμνους παμμελάνας σκυλάκων τρισσοὺς ἱερεύσας, Orph. Argon. 962. The bodies or skins of victims hung on trees, p. 75—9. 650. in alta pinu *rotiri*

cornua cervi, Ov. Met. 12, 266. incipiam captare feras et reddere pinu *cornua*, Prop. iii. 2. 19.

p. 55.] That the victim should be *led round* was essential to every kind of lustration, Aufr. u. K.'s Umbr. spr. 2, 263. κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεῶν ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην ἦγον, Od. 20, 276.

p. 55.] *Small sacrificial vessels*, which participants brought with them, are indic. in Håk. goda saga c. 16, conf. 'ask ne eski,' ibid. An altar with a *large cauldron* found in a grave-mound near Peccatel, Mecklenb., Lisch 11, 369. On the Cimbrian cauldron in Strabo, see Lisch 25, 218. Out of the cavern near Velmede a brewing-cauldron was lent when asked for, Firmenich 1, 334^b [so Mother Ludlam's cauldron, now in Frensham Church]; old copper kettles of the giants were preserved, Faye 9.

p. 57.] Former sacrifices are indicated by the banquets at assizes and after riding the bounds. A victim's flesh was boiled, not roasted, though roasting and boiling are spoken of at the feast of Bacchus, Troj. kr. 16201-99. For distribution among the people the victim was cut up small: the ass, p. 49; the gädä into eight pieces, Sv. folks. 1, 90. 94; Osiris into fourteen pieces, Buns. 1, 508. Before Thor's image in the Guðbrands-dalr were laid every day four *loaves of bread* and *slátr* (killed meat), Fornm. sög. 4, 245-6; conf. Olafssaga, ed. Christ. 26. Gruel and fish are offered to Percht on her day (p. 273); meat and drink to Souls (p. 913 n.); the milk of a cow set on the Brownies' stone every Sunday, Hone's Yrbk. 1532.

p. 57.] *Smoke-offerings* were known to the heathen: incense and bones offered to gods, Athen. 2, 73. *thus et merum*, Arnob. 7, 26. Irish *tusga, usga*, A.S. *stór*, thus, *stéran*, thurificare, Haupt's Ztschr. 9, 513^b. At each altar they set 'eine risten flahses, ein wahs-kerzelin und *wirouches* korn,' Diut. 1, 384. Also *candles alone* seem to have been offered: candles lighted to the devil and to river-sprites (p. 1010. 584). Men in distress vow to the saints a taper the size of their body, then of their shin, lastly of their finger, Wall. märch. p. 288; conf. 'Helena (in templo) sacravit calicem ex electro *mammae suae mensura*,' Pliny 33. 4, 23. The shipwrecked vow a candle as big as the mast, Hist. de la Bastille 4, 315; so in Schimpf u. Ernst c. 403; otherwise a *navicula cerea*, or an *argentea anchora*, Pertz 6, 783-4; a 'wechsîn *haus*' against fire, h. Ludwig 84, 19; or the building of a chapel. Silver

ploughs and *ships* offered (p. 59n. 264n.), D. Sag. 59. Pirates offer a tenth part of their booty, p. 231; conf. *ἐνταῦθα τῶ ναῶ τριήρους ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦν ἔμβολον*, Paus. i. 40, 4. Stones are carried or thrown on to a grave (otherw. branches, Klemm 3, 294): on Bremund's grave by pilgrims, Karlm. 138. To sacrifice by stone-throwing, Wolf, Ztschr. 2, 61; to lay a stone on the herma, Preller 1, 250; a heap of stones lies round the herma, Babr. 48. O. Müller, Arch. § 66, thinks these *έρμαῖα* were raised partly to clear the road. Darius on his Scythian expedition has a cairn raised on the R. Atiscus, every soldier bringing a stone, Herod. 4, 92. Each pilgrim contributes a stone towards building the church, M. Koch, reise p. 422. J. Barrington, Personal Sketches 1, 17-8, tells of an Irish custom: By an ancient custom of everybody throwing a stone on the spot where any celebrated murder had been committed, on a certain day every year, it is wonderful what mounds were raised in numerous places, which no person, but such as were familiar with the customs of the poor creatures, would ever be able to account for. *Strips of cloth* are hung on the sacred tree, F. Faber 2, 410. 420; the passer-by throws a *twig* or a *rag* on the stone, Dybeck 1845, p. 6. 4, 31; or *nâlar* 4, 35; the common folk also put *pennies* in the stone, 3, 29, and throw *bread*, *money* and *eggshells* into springs 1844, 22. *si het ir opfergoldes noch wol tûsent marc, si teilt ez sîner seele, ir vil lieben man*, Nib. 1221, 2 (p. 913 n.).

p. 57.] Herdsmen offer bloody victims, husbandmen *fruits of the earth*, D. Sag. 20. 21. *ears* left standing for Wôdan (p. 154 seq.); a bundle of *flax*, Wolf's Ndr. sag. p. 269; for the little woodwife *flax-stems* or a tiny *hut of stalks of flax*, Schönw. 2, 360-9. *sheaves of straw* made for the gods, Garg. 129^b. The Greeks offered *stalks* and *ears*, Callim. 4, 283; hic placatus erat, seu quis libaverat *uvam*, seu dederat sanctae *spicea sertu comae*, Tib. i. 10, 21; tender *oak-leaves* in default of barley, Od. 12, 357. The Indians had grass-offerings, Kuhn rec. d. Rigv. p. 102, as the pixies received a bunch of grass or needles. Firstfruits, *θαλύσια*, to Artemis, Il. 9, 534. The *flower-offering* too is ancient, being one of the Indian five, viz. reading the Vedas, sprinkling water, burning butter, *strewing flowers* and *sprays*, hospitality, Holtzm. 3, 123. The Sanskr. *śéśa* = reliquiae, flores qui deo vel idolo oblatis sunt, deinde alicui traduntur; conf. the flower-offering of Saras-

vati, Somad. 1, 120-1, and 'Hallows an offering to the clouds, Of kutaja the fairest *blossoms*,' Meghadûta 4. For Greece, see Theocr. epigr. 1. The offering to 'Venus' is *bluomen* und *vingerlîn*, Ksrchr. 3746. In Germany they danced round the first violet, p. 762. The people call a stone in the forest, three miles from Marburg, 'opfer-stein,' and still lay *flowers* and corn upon it. A rock is crowned with flowers on Mayday, Pröhle's Unterharz no. 347. 263. The country folk on the Lippe, like those about the Meisner, go into the Hollow Stone on Easter-day, Firm. 1, 334; they think of Valeda, as the Hessians do of Holda. The same day the villagers of Waake, Landolfshausen and Mackenrode troop to the Schweckhäuser hills, where an idol formerly stood, Harrys i. no. 4.

p. 59 n.] *Λείβον δ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς*, Od. 2, 432. *οἶνον ἔκχεον, ἣδ' εὐχοντο θεοῖς*, Il. 3, 296. Before drinking, they poured some on the ground to the gods 7, 480; whereas the Scythians spilt *no wine* (Lucian Toxar. 45), and the German heroes drank *minne* without spilling any, D. Sag. 236-7. *poculis aureis memoriae defunctorum commilitonum vino mero libant*, Apul. Met. 4 p.m. 131.

p. 61.] *St. John's* and *St. Gertrude's minne*: later examples in Gödeke's Weim. Jb. 6, 28-9, and Scheller 2, 593. *postea dominis amor S. Johannis ministretur*, MB. 35^a, 138. *potum caritatis propinare*, Lacomblet 487 (yr. 1183). *dar truoc man im sand Johannis minne*, Ottoc. 838^b. *Johannes liebe, J. minne trinken*, Weisth. 1, 562-4. *trag uns her sant Johans min*, Keller erz. 32. *si trinkent alsamt sant Hans min* 34. In Belgium they said: '*Sinct Jans gelei ende Sinct Gertrous minne sy met u!*' Men pray to St. Gertrude for good lodging, Eschenb. denkm. p. 240. In Wolkenstein 114, *minne sanct Johans* means the parting kiss. A wife says at parting: *setz sant Johans ze bürgen* (surety) mir, daz wir froelich und schier (soon) zuo einander komen, Ls. 3, 313; conf. drinking the scheidel-kanne, Lüntzel Hildsh. stiftsfehde 80. In ON. 'bad þâ drecka *velfarar minni sitt*,' Egilss. p. 213. People give each other *John's blessing* at Christmas, Weisth. 1, 241-3. The two Johns are confounded, not only by Lintpr. (Pertz 3, 363), but in the Lay of Heriger: *Johannes baptista pincerna* (cupbearer), Lat. ged. des MA. p. 336.

p. 63.] On the shapes given to pastry, see p. 501 n. The forms or names of *ôster-flade* (-pancake), *pfadelat* (patellata), *ôster-*

stuopha (-scone), p. 781, *furiwiz* (Graff 1, 1104), are worth studying. Günther 647: 'before this sacred fire thy image now is brought' reminds one of Voetius's straw figure set before the hearth.

The *Carrying-about of divine images* was known to the ancients: Syriam deam *per vicos agrosque* circumferre, Lucian de dea Syria 49. Lucius cap. 36. *circumgestare* deam, Apul. p.m. 194-6. The Northmen of Guðbrands-dalr carry Thor's image out of his house *into the Thing*, set it up, and bow to it, St. Olafs s., ed. Christ. 23-6. The men of Delbruck carried about a *false god Hilgerio* on a long pole, Weisth. 3, 101 n. May Ulrich of Lichtenstein's progress as *Dame Venus* be explained as a custom dating from the time of heathen progresses? That also was 'at Pentecost,' from April 25 to May 26, 1227; Whitsunday fell on May 30.

Here ought to be mentioned the sacred *festivals*, whose names and dates are discussed in D. Sag. 71-2. 'Festa ea Germanis *nox* (it was *sideribus inlustris*, i.e. *illumis*, new-moon), et *solemniibus epulis ludicra*,' Tac. Ann. 1, 50; conf. Germ. 24, where the sword-dance is called *ludicrum*. Beside feasting and games, it was a part of the festival to bathe the goddesses, p. 255.

CHAPTER IV.

TEMPLES.

p. 67.] For names compounded with *alah*, see Förstemann. *Halazes-stat* in Ratenzgowe (Hallstadt by Bamberg), MB. 28, 98 (yr. 889) seems a misreading for *Halahes-stat*; and *Halazzes-stat* 28, 192 (yr. 923) for *Halahhes-stat*. For the chap. in Baluze 1, 755 has *Halax-stat*, where Pertz 3, 133 has again *Halaz-stat*, but Bened. more correctly *Alaya-stat*. But even Pertz 3, 302 has *Halax-stat*. Dare we bring in the AS. *ealgian* (*tueri*) and the Lat. *arcere*, *arx*? D. Sag. 319. Pictet in Origines 1, 227 connects *alhs* with Sanskr. *alka*. What means 'alle *gassen* und *alhen*' in the Limbg. chron. p.m. 5? With the Aleis in Tacitus conf. the Scythian *κόρακοι*, *φίλιοι δαίμονες* = Orestes and Pylades, Lucian's *Toxar*. 7. D. Sag. 118.

AS. *weoh*, templum: *weoh* gesôhte, Cod. Exon. 244, 6. Doners-*we* in Oldenburg seems to mean D.'s temple; and Esch-*wege* in Hesse may be a corrup. of Esch-*weh*, though acc. to Förstem. 2, 111 it was already in the 10th cent. Eskine-*wag*, -*weg*; conf. Wôdenes-*wege*, p. 152 and Oðins-*ve*, p. 159. Even in OHG. we find *we* for *wih*: *za themo we* (al. *parawe*) ploazit, Gl. Ker. 27. In ON. Vandils-*ve*, Sæm. 166^a. Frös-*vi*, Dipl. Suecan. no. 1777; Götä-*wi* (Göte-*vi*) 1776. It is said of the gods: *valda veom*, Sæm. 41^b. Skaði says: *frá mînom veom oc vöngom*, 67^a. Valhallar til, ok *vess* heilags 113^a; does *vess* belong to *ve*, or stand for *vers*? In Sæm. 23^b (F. Magn. p. 255 n.) ‘*alda ve iarðar*,’ populorum habitaculum, is opp. to *úttve* = *úttgarða*, gigantum habitacula. The Goth. *veihs*, sacer, OHG. *wîh*, is wanting in OS., AS., and ON. Cote-*wîh*, nomen monasterii (Pertz 7, 460), is afterw. Góttweih; conf. Ketweig, Beham 335, 31. Chetewic in Gerbert (Diemer’s Pref. xxi).

p. 68 n.] *Ara* = *āsa*, *ansa*, is a god’s seat, as the Goth. *badi*, OHG. *petti*, AS. *bed* mean both ara and fanum, D. Sag. p. 115. *beod-gereordu* (n. pl.), epulae, Cædm. 91, 27. ad apicem gemeinen *gumbet*, MB. 29^a, 143 (yr. 1059). *gumpette*, Hess. Ztschr. 3, 70; conf. Gombetten in Hesse. Does the OHG. *ebanslihti* (Graff 6, 789) mean *ara* or *area*? O. Slav. *kumir*, *ara*, idolum; conf. Finn. *kumarran*, adoro, inclino me. On other Teut. words for altar, such as ON. *stalli* and the plur. *hörgar*, see D. Sag. 114-5.

p. 69.] OHG. *haruc* seems preserved in Harabes-heim, Cod. Laresh. 3, 187, and in Hargenstein, Panzer’s Beitr. 1, 1; conf. *Hercynius*. AS. *Besinga-hearh*, Kemble no. 994. ON. *hâtimbrodöm hörgi roedr*, Sæm. 42^a. *hof* mun ek kiosa, ok *hörga marga* 141^a. Thors-*argh*, -*aerg*, -*hary*, now Thors-hälla, Hildebr. iii. D. Sag. 115. The *hof* sometimes coupled with *hörgr* occurs even in MHG. in the sense of temple, temple-yard: *ze hofe* geben (in atrium templi), Mar. 168, 42. *ze hove* giengen (atrium) 169, 30. *den hof rûmen* (temple) 172, 5; conf. ON. *hofland*, temple-land, Munch om Skiringssal 106-7. D. Sag. 116-7. Likewise *garte*, *tún*, pl. *túnir*, *wiese*, *au*e (p. 225) are used for holy places, Gr. ἄλσος.

p. 69.] OHG. *paro*, AS. *bearo*, are supported by *kiparida* = *nemorosa*, which Graff 3, 151 assoc. with *kipârida*; by AS. *bearewas*, saltūs, Haupt’s Ztschr. 9, 454^b, and ‘*bearo sette*, *weobedd*

worhte,' Cædm. 172, 7. Lactantius's 'antistes nemorum, luci sacerdos' is rendered 'bearwics bigenga, wudubearwics weard' 207, 27. 208, 7. Names of places: *Parawa*, Neugart, Cod. dipl. no. 30 (yr. 760); *Barwithsyssel*, Müllenh. Nordalb. stud. 1, 138; ON. *Barey*. The OHG. *za themo paruwe*, Diut. 1, 150 is glossed on the margin by 'to deme hoen althere, to demo siden althere,' Goslarer bergg. 343.

p. 69 n.] OHG. *luoc*, specus, cubile, delubrum, Graff 2, 129. in *luakirum*, delubris, Diut. 1, 530^a. *löh*, lucus, Graff 2, 128. In Rudolf's Weltchr. occurs *betelöch*, lucus, pl. beteloecher. Notker's Cap. 143 distinguishes the kinds of woods as *walden*, *forsten*, *löhen*. The Vocab. optim. p. 47^a has: *silva wilder walt*, *nemus schoener walt*, *lucus dicker walt*, *saltus hoher walt*. Mommsen, Unterital. dial. 141, derives *lucus* from *luere*, hallow. There are *hursts* named after divine beings: *Freckenhorst*, *Givekanhorst* (conf. *Freckastein*, *Givekanstén*. ok þâr stendr enn *Thórsteinn*, Landn. ii. 12). It comes of forest-worship that the gods are attended by *wild beasts*, Wuotan by wolf and raven, Froho by a boar.

p. 69.] Worshipping in the still and shady *grove* was practised by many nations. 'Thou hast scattered thy ways to the strangers under every *green tree*' complains Jeremiah 3, 13. κλυτὸν ἄλσος ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης, Od. 6, 321. ἐν ἄλσει δενδρήεντι Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος 9, 200. ἄλσει Περσεφοναίης 10, 509. ἄλσος ὑπὸ σκιερὸν ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος 20, 278. Athenæus 4, 371-2, celebrates the *cool* of the sacred grove. inhorruit *atrum* majestate *nemus*, Claudian in Pr. et Olybr. 125 (on *nemus*, see p. 648). in tuo *luco* et *fanio*, Plaut. Anul. iv. 2, 8. *lucus sacer*, ubi Hesperidum horti, Pliny 5, 5. itur in *antiquam silvam*, *stabula alta ferarum*, Æn. 6, 179. nunc et in *umbrosis* Fauno decet immolare *lucis*, Hor. Od. i. 4, 11. nec magis auro fulgentia atque ebore, quam *lucos* et in iis *silentia* ipsa adoramus, Pliny 12, 1. proceritas silvæ et secretum loci et admiratio umbræ fidem numinis facit, Seneca ep. 41. As the wood is *open above*, a *hole* is left in the top of a temple, conf. the Greek hypæthral temples: Terminus quo loco colebatur, super eum *foramen patebat in tecto*, quod nefas esse putarent Terminus intra tectum consistere, Festus sub v.; conf. Ov. Fasti 2, 671. Servius in Æn. 9, 448. The Celts *unroofed* their temples once a year (ἀποστεγάζ.), Strabo 4, p. 198. A grove in Sarmatia was called ἀλιεύμα θεοῦ, piscatura dei, Ptol.

3, 5. The Abasgi in the Caucasus venerated groves and woods (*ἄλση καὶ ὕλας*), and counted trees among their gods, Procop. 2, 471; conf. the prophetic rustle of the cypresses in Armenia (p. 1110). Even in the Latin poems of the MA. we find: *Amoris nemus Paradisus*, Carm. bur. 162. *circa silvae medium locus est occultus, ubi viget maxime suus deo cultus* 163. In Eckhart 186, 32 the Samaritan woman says, 'our fathers worshipped *under the trees* on the mountain.' In Troj. kr. 890: *si wolden gerne hûsen ze walde ûf wilden riuten*. Walther v. Rh. 64^b: *in einen schoenen grüenen walt, dar diu heidensche diet mit ir abgöten geriet* (ruled?). In stories of the Devil, he appears in the *forest gloom*, e.g. Ls. 3, 256, perhaps because men still thought of the old gods as living there. Observe too the relation of home-sprites and wood-wives to trees, p. 509.

Worshipping on *mountains* is old and widely spread; conf. *âs, ans* (p. 25), and the *Wuotans-bergs, Donners-bergs*. Three days and nights the Devil is invoked on a mountain, Müllenh. no. 227. Mountain worship is Biblical: 'on this mountain (Gerizim),' John 4, 20; see Raumer's *Palest.* p. 113.

p. 73.] Like the Donar's oak of Geismar is a large *holy oak*, said to have stood near Mülhausen in Thuringia; of its wood was made a *chest*, still shown in the *church* of Eichenried village, Grasshof's Mühl. p. 10.

p. 74.] On *thegathon*, see Hpt's *Ztschr.* 9, 192, and Wilmans' essay, *Münst.* 1857. *summum et principem omn. deorum, qui apud gentes thegaton nuncupatur*, Wilkens biogr. of St. Gerburgis; conf. Wigand's *arch.* 2, 206. *tagaton* discussed in Ritter's *christl. phil.* 3, 308. It is Socrates's *δαιμόνιον*, Plato's *τὸ ἀγαθόν*, the same in Apul. *apolog.* p. m. 278. Can *thegatho* be for *theo*, as *Tehota* is for *Thinda*? Förstem. 1, 1148.

p. 75.] The *holy wood* by Hagenau is named in Chmel reg. Ruperti 1071, D. Sag. 497. *fronwald*, Weisth. 1, 423. On the word *bannwald* conf. Lanz. 731: *diu tier* (beasts) *bannen*. Among holy groves was doubtless the *Fridewald*, and perh. the *Spiess*, both in Hesse, *Ztschr. f. Hess. gesch.* 2, 163. *Friðesleálf*, Kemble no. 187. 285; *Óswudu* 1, 69 is a man's name, but must have been that of a place first. The divine grove *Glasir* with golden foliage, Sn. 130, stands outside Valhöll; Sæm. 140^b says Hiörvarð's abode was named *Glusis lundr*.

p. 75.] The adoration of the *oak* is proved by Velthem's Sp. hist. 4, 57 (ed. Le Long, fol. 287): Van ere *eyken*, die men *anebede*.

In desen tiden was ganginge mede
tusschen Zichgen ende Diest ter stede
rechte bi-na te-midden werde,
daer dede menich ere bedeverde
tot ere *eyken* (dat si u cont),
die alse een cruse gewassen stont,
met twee rayen gaende ut,
daer menich quam overlaut,
die daer-ane hinc scerpe ende staf,
en seide, dat *hi genesen wer daer-af*.
Som liepeuse onder den bôm, etc.

Here is a Christian pilgrimage of sick people to a cross-shaped tree between Sicken and Diest in Brabant, and the hanging thereon of bandage and staff upon recovery, as at p. 1167. 1179; conf. the heathen *oscilla* (p. 78). The date can be ascertained from Le Long's Velthem.

p. 77.] '*Deos nemora incolere persuasum habent (Samogitae) credebat deos intra arbores et cortices latere*' says Lasicz, Hpt's Ztschr. 1, 138. The Ostiaks have holy woods, Klemm 3, 121. The Finnic 'Tharapita' should be *Tharapila*. Castrén 215 thinks -pila is *bild*, but Renvall says *tharapilla* = horned owl, Esth. *torropil*, Verhandl. 2, 92. Juslen 284 has *pöllö bubo*, and 373 *tarhapöllö bubo*. With this, and the ON. bird in Glasis lundr, conf. a curious statement in Pliny 10, 47: in *Hercynio Germaniae saltu* invisitata genera *aliturum* accepinus, quarum *plumae iguivum modo colluceant* noctibus; conf. Stephan's Stoflied. 116.

p. 78 u.] *Oscilla* are usu. dolls, puppets, OHG. *tocchun*, Graff 5, 365. They might even be *crutches* hung up on the holy tree by the healed (Suppl. to 75). But the prop. meaning must be images. On *church walls* also were *hung* offerings, votive gifts, rarities: si hiezen diu *weppe hâhen in die kirchen an die mâre*, Servat. 2890.

p. 79.] A *Celtic grove* descr. in Lucan's Phars. 3, 399; a *Norse temple* in Eyrbyggja-s. c. 4.

p. 80.] Giefers (Erh. u. Rosenkr. Ztschr. f. gesch. 8, 261—

285) supposes that the *templum Tanfanae* belonged at once to the Cherusci, Chatti and Marsi; that Tanfana may come from *tanfo*, *truncus* (?), and be the name of a grove occupying the site of *Eresburg*, now *Ober-Marsberg*; that one of its *trunci*, which had escaped destruction by the Romans (*solo aequare* he makes burning of the grove), was the *Irmensul*, which stood on the Osning between *Castrum Eresburg* and the *Carls-schanze* on the *Brunsb-berg*, some 4 or 5 leagues from *Marsberg*, and a few leagues from the *Buller-born* by *Altenbeke*, the spring that rose by miracle, *D. Sag.* 118.

p. 80.] To the *isarno-dori* in the *Jura* corresp. *Trajan's Iron Gate*, *Turk. Demir kapa*, in a pass of *Dacia*. Another *Temir kapa* in *Cilicia*, *Koch Anabas.* 32. *Müller lex. Sal.* p. 36. *Clausura* is a narrow pass, like *Θερμόπυλαι*, or *πύλαι* alone; conf. *Schott's Deutschen in Piemont* p. 229.

p. 85.] As *castrum* was used for *templum*, so is the *Boh. kostel*, *Pol. kościel* for church. Conversely, *templum* seems at times to mean *palatium*; conf. 'exustum est *palatium* in *Thornburg*' with 'exustum est famosum *templum* in *Thornburg*,' *Pertz* 5, 62-3, also 'Thornburg *castellum et palatium* *Ottonis*' 5, 755. The *OS. rakud* is both *templum* and *palatium*. Beside 'casulae' = *fana*, we hear of a *cella antefana* (*ante fana*?), *Mone Anz.* 6, 228.

p. 85.] *Veniens* (*Chrocus Alamann. rex*) *Arvernus*, *delubrum* illud quod *Gallica lingua vassogalate* vocant, diruit atque subvertit; *miro enim opere factum fuit*, *Greg. Tur.* 1, 32. The statement is important, as proving a difference of religion between *Celts* and *Germans*: *Chrocus* would not destroy a building sacred to his own religion. Or was it, so early as that, a christian temple? conf. *cap.* 39.

p. 85.] Expressions for a built temple: '*hof ätti hann î tîninu, sêr bess enn merki, þat er nu kallat trölluskeið*,' *Laxd.* 66. *sal*, *Graff* sub v.; *der sal*, *Diemer* 326, 7. *AS. reced*, *OS. rakud*, seems conn. with *racha*, *usu.* = *res*, *caussa*, but '*zimborón thia racha*,' *O.* iv. 19, 38; conf. *wih* and *wiht*. Later words: *pluoz-hús*, *blóz-hús*, *Graff* 4, 1053. *abgot-hús fanum* 1054. The *Lausitz Mag.* 7, 166 derives *chirihhá*, *AS. cyrice*, from *circus*. *O. Sl. tzerky*, *Dobr.* 178; *Croat. czirkva*, *Carniol. zirkva*, *Serv. tzkva*, *O. Boh. ejerkeu*, *Pol. cerkiew* (conf. *Gramm.* 3, 156. Pref. to

Schultze xi. Graff 4, 481). The sanctuary, ON. *grīðastaðr*, is not to be trodden, Fornm. sög. 4, 186; beast nor man might there be harmed, *no intercourse* should *men with women* have (engi viðskipti skyldu karlar við konur ega þar, Fornald. sög. 2, 63.

p. 86.] Heathen places of worship, even after the conversion, were still royal manors or sees and other benefices endowed with the estate of the old temple, like *Herbede* on the Ruhr, which belonged to Kaufungen, D. Sag. 589. Mannh. Ztschr. 3, 147. Many *manors* (also *glebe-lands* acc. to the Weisthümer) had to maintain 'eisernes vieh, fasel-vieh,' bulls for breeding (p. 93). In Christian as in heathen times, holy places were revealed by signs and wonders. A *red-hot harrow* is let down from heaven (Sommer), like the *burning plough* in the Scyth. tale (Herod. 4, 5), D. Sag. 58-9. Legends about the building of churches often have the incident, that, on the destined spot in the wood, *lights* were seen at night, so arranged as to show the ground plan of the future edifice. They appear to a subuleus in the story of *Gandersheim*, Pertz 6, 309-10; to another, *Frickio* by name, in the story of *Freckenhorst*, where St. Peter as carpenter designs the figure of the holy house, Dorow. i. 1, 32-3; conf. the story at p. 54 and that of *Wessobrunn*, MB. 7, 372. *Falling snow* indicates the spot, Müllenh. 113; conf. *Hille-snee*, Holda's snow, p. 268 n. 304. Where the *falcon stoops*, a convent is built, Wigand's Corv. güterb. 105. The spot is suggested by *cows* in a Swed. story, Wieselgren 408; by *resting animals* in a beautiful AS. one, Kemble no. 581 (yr 974).

p. 87.] On almost all our German *mountains* are to be seen *footmarks* of gods and heroes, indicating places of ancient worship, e.g. of *Brunhild* on the Taunus, of *Gibich* and *Dietrich* on the Hartz. The *Allerlättenberg* in Hesse, the 'grandfather-hills' elsewhere, are worth noting.

CHAPTER V.

PRIESTS.

p. 88.] Religion is in Greek *εὐσέβεια* and *θηρησκεία* (conf. *θηρ-σκέυω*, p. 107). *κατ' εὐσέβειαν* = pie, Lucian 5, 277. *Religio* = iterata lectio, conf. intelligere, Lobeck's Rhematicon p. 65. It

is rendered in OHG. glosses by *heit*, Hattemer 1, 423; *gote-dehti* devotio, *cote-dehtigi* devout, *anadaht* intentio, attentio, Graff 5, 163. Pietas, peculiarly, by ‘*heim-minna unde mäg-minna*,’ Hatt. 1, 423. *Crédischeit*, Servat. 762, is sham-piety, conf. p. 35 n. ‘*Dîs fretus*’ in Plaut. Cas. 2, 5 = Gote forahltac, O. i. 15, 3.

p. 88.] *Gudja*, *godji*, seems to be preserved in the AS. proper name *Goda*, Kemble 1, 242. For ἀρχιερεύς, Ulph. has *auhumists gudja*, Matt. 27, 62. Mk. 8, 31; but *auhumists veiha*, Joh. 18, 13. The priest hallows and is hallowed (p. 93), conf. the consecration and baptism of witches. Göndul consecrates: *nû vigi ek þik undir öll þau atkvæði ok skildaga, sem Oðinn fyrimaelti*, Fornald. sög. 1, 402. The words in Lactant. Phoenix, ‘*antistes nemorum, luci veneranda sacerdos*,’ are rendered by the AS. poet: bearwes *bigenga*, wudubearwes *weard* 207, 27. 208, 7. The priest *stands before God*, ἐναντι τοῦ θεοῦ, Luke 1, 8: *giangi furi Got*, O. i. 4, 11. The monks form ‘*daz Gotes her*,’ army, Reinh. F. 1023. The Zendic *âthrava*, priest, Bopp Comp. Gram. 42. Spiegel’s Avesta 2, vi. means fire-server, from âtars fire, Dat. âthrê. Pol. *wiadz* priest, prop. prince or sacrificer, Linde 2, 1164^b; conf. Sansk. *xi* govern, kill, *waja* dominans.

p. 89.] *Ewart* priest: ein *éwart* der abgote, Barl. 200, 22. Pass. 329, 56, etc. *éwarde*, En. 244, 14. *prêster* und ir *éwe méster* 243, 20.

p. 89 n.] Zacharias is a *fruod gomo*, Hel. 2, 24. Our *kluger* mann, *kluge* frau, still signify one acquainted with secret powers of nature; so the Swed. ‘*de klokar*,’ Fries udfl. 108.—The phrase ‘*der quote man*’ denotes espec. a sacred calling: that of a priest, Marienleg. 60, 40, a bishop, Pass. 336, 78, a pilgrim, Uolr. 91. Nuns are *quote frowen*, Eracl. 735. *klôster* und *quote liute*, Nib. 1001, 2, etc. *die goede man*, the hermit in Lanc. 4153-71. 16911-8, etc. So the Scot. ‘*gudemans croft*’ above; but the name *Gutmans-hausen* was once *Wôtenes-hûsen* (Suppl. to 154). *Bons-hommes* are heretics, the Manichæans condemned at the Council of Cambery 1165; *buonumini*, Macchiav. Flor. 1, 97. 158. The shepherds in O. i. 12, 17 are *quoté man*. Engl. *good-man* is both householder and our *biedermann*. Grôa is addressed as *gôð kona*, Sæm. 97^a; in conjuring: Alrûn, du vil *quote* (p. 1202 n.)

p. 89.] Christian also, though of Germ. origin, seems the

OHG. *heit-haft* sacerdos, from *heit*=ordo; hence, in ordinem sacrum receptus. MHG. *heithafte* liute, sacerdotes, Fundgr. 1, 94; conf. *eithafte* herren, Ksrchr. 11895. AS. *geþungen*, reverend, and espec. religiosus, Homil. p. 344.

p. 90.] Agathias 2, 6 expressly attributes to the heathen Alamanns of the 6th cent. *diviners* (*μάντεις* and *χρησμολόγοι*¹), who dissuade from battle; and princes in the Mid. Ages still take clergymen into the field with them as counsellors: *abbates pii, scioli bene consiliarii*, Rudl. 2, 253. Ordeals are placed under priestly authority, Sæm. 237-8. In the popular assembly the priests enjoin silence and attention: *silentium per sacerdotes, quibus tum et coërcendi jus est, imperatur*, Germ. 11. In addition to what is coll. in Haupt's Ztschr. 9, 127 on 'lust and unlust,' consider the *tacitus precari* of the Umbr. spell, and the opening of the Fastnachts-spiele.

p. 91.] The Goth. *þróþjan, úsþróþjan* transl. *μύειν* initiare, and *γυμνάζειν*, exercere GDS. 819; may it not refer to some sacred function of heathen priests, and be connected with the Gallic *druoid* (p. 1036 n.), or rather with *þrúðr* (p. 423)? Was *heilac* said of priests and priestesses? conf. 'heilac huat,' cydaris, Graff 4, 874; Heilacflât, Cod. Lauresh. 1, 578; Heilacbrunno, p. 587; Heiligbâr, p. 667-8. Priests take part in the sacrificial feast, they consecrate the cauldron: sentu at Saxa Sunnmanna gram, hann kann helga hver vellanda, Sæm. 238^a; so Péter was head-cook of heaven, Lat. ged. des MA. p. 336. 344. Priests maintain the *sacred beasts*, horses and boars, Herv.-s. cap. 14; conf. RA. 592. In beating the bounds they seem to have gone before and pointed out the sacred stones, as the churchwardens did afterwards; they rode especially round old churches, in whose vaults an idol was supposed to lie. Priests know the art of quickening the dead, Holtzm. 3, 145. They have also the gifts of healing and divination: *ιατρόμαντις*, Æsch. Suppl. 263.

p. 91.] In many Aryan nations the priestly garment is *white*. Graecus augur pallio *candido* velatus, Umber et Romanus trabea purpurea amictus, Grotef. inscr. Umbr. 6, 13. Roman priests and magistrates have white robes; see the picture of the flamen

¹ The *μάντις* interprets dreams, entrails, flights of birds, but is no speaker of oracles, *χρησμολόγος*, Paus. i. 34, 3. [In Plato's *Timæus* 72 B, *μάντις* (fr. *μάλνομαι*) is the inspired speaker of oracles.]

dialis in Hartung 1, 193. Schwenck 27; amictus veste *alba* sevir et praetor, Petron. 65. The Cimbrian priestesses in Strabo are λευχίμωνες (p. 55-6), and the Gothic priests in Jorn. cap. 10 appear in *candidis* vestibus. The Gallic druids are arrayed in *white* (p. 1206), the priest of Gerovit in *snow-white*, Sefridi v. Ottonis p. 128 (Giesebr. Wend. gesch. 1, 90). In the Mid. Ages too white robes belong to holy women, nuns. die goede man met *witten* clederen, Lanc. 22662-70.

The Gothic *pileati* (Kl. schr. 3, 227. GDS. 124) remind us of the 'tria genera *pileorum*, quibus sacerdotes utuntur: *apex, tutulus, galerus*' in Suetonii fragm. p. m. 335. The picture of a *bearded* man in Stålin 1, 161-2, is perhaps meant for a priest. The *shaven hair* of Christian and Buddhist monks and nuns is probably a badge of servitude to God; GDS. 822.

p. 91.] Snorri goði, like the AS. *coifi*, rides on a mare, Eyrbygg. s. 34; and the flamen dialis must not mount any kind of horse, Klausen Æn. 1077. Hartung 1, 194. Possibly even the heathen priests were not allowed to eat things with blood, but only herbs. Trevrizent digs up roots, and hangs them on bushes, Parz. 485, 21; in a similar way do Wilhelm the saint and Waltharius eke out their lives, Lat. ged. d. MA. p. 112.

p. 92.] Among gestures traceable to priestly rites, I reckon especially this, that in the vindicatio of a beast the man had to lift up his right hand or lay it on, while his left grasped the animal's right ear. The posture at hammer-throwing seems to be another case in point, RA. 65-6. GDS. 124-5.—Kemble 1, 278 thinks *coifi* is the AS. *ceofa*, diaconus.

p. 93.] Christian priests also are called 'God's man, child, knecht, scalc, deo, diu, wine, trut,' or 'dear to God,' conf. Mannhardt in Wolf's Ztschr. 3, 143. Gotes *man* (Suppl. to p. 20-1). Gotes *kint*=priest, Greg. 1355. Reinh. 714; or=pilgrim, as opp. to welt-kind (worldling), Trist. 2625. der edle Gotes *knecht*, said of Zacharias and John, Pass. 346, 24. 349, 23. 60; of the pilgrim, Trist. 2638. Gotes *rîter*, Greg. 1362. ein wârer Gotis *scalc*, Ksrchr. 6071. OHG. Gota-*deo*, Gotes-*deo*, fem. -*diu* (conf. *ceile De, culde*, servant of God, Ir. sag. 2, 476). der Gotes *trât*, Pass. 350, 91. Among the Greek priests were ἀρχίθεοι, Lucian dea Syr. 31; conf. the *conscii* deorum, Tac. Germ. 10. Amphiaraus is *beloved* of Zeus and Apollo, i.e. he is μάντις. On his

death Apollo appoints another of the same family, Od. 15, 245. 253.

p. 93.] If priesthood could be hereditary, the Norse *goði* must have been free to marry, like the episcopus and diaconus of the early Christians (1 Tim. 3, 2. 12) and the Hindu Brahmin. Not so the Pruss. *waidlot* or *waidler*, Nesselm. p. xv. and p. 141. To appoint to the priesthood is in ON. *signa goðom*, or *gefa*, though the latter seems not always to imply the priestly office: þeir voro gunnar goðom signaðir, Sæm. 117^b. *gefinn* Óðni, Fornm. sög. 2, 168. enn gaf hann (Brandr) guðunum, ok var hann kallaðr Guð-branar, Fornald. sög. 2, 6; his son is Guðmundr, and his son again Guðbrandr (= OHG. Gota-beraht) 2, 7. Does this account for *divination* being also hereditary (p. 1107)?

p. 93.] The god had part of the spoils of war and hunting (p. 42), priest and temple were paid their *dues*, whence tithes arose: *hof-tollr* is the toll due to a temple, Fornm. s. 1, 268. On priestly dwellings see GDS. 125.

p. 94.] German divination seems to have been in request even at Rome: *haruspex ex Germania missus* (Domitiano), Suet. Domit. 16. Soothsayers, whom the people consulted in particular cases even after the conversion, were a remnant of heathen priests and priestesses. The *Lex Visig.* vi. 2, 1: '*ariolos, aruspices, vaticinantes* consulere,' and 5: '*excrabiles divinorum pronuntiationes* intendere, salutis aut aegritudinis *responsa* poscere.' Liutpr. 6, 30: '*ad ariolos vel ariolas* pro responsis accipiendis ambulare,' and 31: '*in loco ubi arioli vel ariolue* fuerint.'

The ON. *spá-maðr* is called *ráð-spakr*, Sæm. 175^a, or *fram-víss* like the prophet Grápir 172^a. 175^a. þú fram um sér 175^{a,b}. farit er þaz ek forvísæ 175^a. þú öll um sér orlög for 176^b. Grápir lýgr eigi 177^b. Gevarus rex, *divinandi* doctissimus, *industria praesagiorum* excultus, Saxo Gram. p. 115. (conf. p. 103-4. 1106). The notion of oraculum (what is asked and obtained of the gods), vaticinium, divinatio, is expr. by ON. *frétt*: *fréttir* sögðu, Sæm. 93^a. *frétta* beiddi, oracula poposci 94^a. geck til fréttar, Yngl. 21 (Grk. *χρᾶσθαι τῶ θεῶ*, inquire of the god). Conf. frêhtan, Suppl. to p. 37; OHG. *freht* meritum, *frehtic* meritus, sacer; AS. fyrht in Leg. Canuti, Thorpe p. 162.

p. 95.] German women seem to have taken part in sacrifices (p. 56n.); women perform sacrifice before the army of the Thracian

Spartacus (B.C. 67), who had Germans under him, Plutarch Crass. c. 11. The Romans excluded women, so do the Cheremisses, p. 1235-6, the Lapps and the Boriâts, Klemm 3, 87. 111-3.

p. 95-6.] A *druvas Gallicana vaticinans* is mentioned by Vopiscus in Aurel. 44, in Numer. 13-4; by Lampridius in Alex. Sev. 60. Drusus is met by a *species barbarae mulieris humana amplior*, Suet. Claud. c. 1. Dio Cass. 55, 1. *Chatta mulier vaticinans* Suet. Vitel. c. 14. *Veleda* receives gifts: Mumius Lupercus inter dona missus Veleadae, Tac. Hist. 4, 61. A modern folktale brings her in as a goddess, Firmenich 1, 334-5. On *Albruna* conf. Hpt's Ztschr. 9, 240. Of *Jettha* it is told in the Palatinate, that she sought out and hewed a stone in the wood: whoever sets foot on the fairy stone, becomes a fixture, he cannot get away, Nadler p. 125. 292. Like Pallas, she is a founder of cities. Brynhild, like Veleada, has her hall on a *mountain*, and sits in her *tower*, Völs. s. cap. 25. Hother visits prophetesses in the waste wood, and then enlightens the folk *in edito montis vertice*, Saxo Gram. p. 122. The *white lady* of princely houses appears on a *tower* of the castle. The witte Dorte lives in the *tower*, Mullenh. p. 344. When misfortune threatens the Pedaseans, their priestess gets a long beard, Herod. 1, 175. 8, 104. Women carve and read runes: Kostbera kunni *skil rúna*, Sæm. 252^a, *reist rúna* 252^b. *Ornÿ reist rúnar á kefli*, Fornm. s. 3, 109. 110 (she was born dumb, p. 388). In the Mid. Ages also women are particularly clever at writing and reading. RA. 583.

p. 98.] To the Norse prophetesses add *Grôa völv*a, Sn. 110, and *Göndul*, a valkyr, Fornald. s. 1, 398. 402, named appar. from gandr, p. 1054. 420. *Thorgerðr* and *Irpa* are called both *hörğa-brúðr*, temple-maid, and *Hölga-brúðr* after their father Hölgi, p. 114. 637. A Slav pythonissa carries her sieve in front of the army, p. 1111-2; others in Saxo Gram. 827; conf. O. Pruss. waidlinne, Nesselm. pref. 15.

CHAPTER VI.

GODS.

p. 104 n.] The Goth. *manleika*, OHG. *mannalîhho* (conf. *ἀνδρίας* fr. *ἀνήρ* man), lasts in MHG. wehsîne *manlich*, Fundgr. 2, 123.

guldin *manlich*, Servat. 2581. 'apud *manlich*,' where the image stands, Notizenbl. 6, 168.

p. 105.] Though Tacitus mentions no image in human shape, but only signa and formae (*effigiesque et signa quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt*, Germ. 7, conf. *vargr hângir fyr vestan dyr, ok drûpir örn yfir*, Sæm. 41^b);—yet the expression 'numen ipsum, si credere velis,' used of the divine Mother in her bath, cap. 40, does seem to point to a statue.

p. 106.] In the oldest time fetishes—stones and logs—are regarded as gods' images, Gerh. Metron. p. 26. Gr. τὸ βρέτας in the Tragic poets is a god's image of wood (conf. εἰκών), though Benfey 1, 511 says 'of clay;' ξόανον, prop. graven image fr. ξέω I scrape, often means a small image worn on the person, e.g. the Cleo in Paus. iii. 14, 4; ἄγαλμα, orig. ornament, then statue; ζώδιον, liter. little-animal 15, 8. Statues were made of particular kinds of wood: ξόανον ἄγνου, of the vitex agnus-castus 14, 7 (conf. ramos de *nobilissimo agno casto*, Evag. Fel. Fabri 1, 156-7), as rosaries of mistletoe were preferred. cum paupere culta stabat in exigua *lignus* aede deus, Tib. i. 10, 20. Irish *deilbh*, *deilbh*, *deilbhín*, *deilbhog*, imago, statua, figura. Beside the Boh. *modla*, idolum (fr. model? or fr. modliti, to pray?), we find *balwan*, block, log, idol, Pol. *balwan*, Miklos. *bal'van'*, Wall. *balavann*, big stone (p. 105 n.), which Garnett, Proceed. 1, 148, connects with Armoric 'peulvan, a long stone erected, a rough unwrought column.' OHG. *avara* (p. 115-6) stands for imago, statua, pyramis (irman-sûl), pyra, ignis, Graff 1, 181; conf. *Criaches-avara* (p. 297); OS. *avaro* filius, proles, AS. *eafora*. The idea of idolum is never clearly defined in the Mid. Ages: the anti-pope Burdinus (A.D. 1118-9) is called so, Pertz 8, 254-5. Even Bede's 'idolis servire' 2, 9 is doubtful, when set by the side of 'daemonicis cultibus servire' 2, 5.

p. 107.] On Athanaric's worship of idols, conf. Waitz's Ulfila p. 43. 62. Claudian de B. Getico 528 makes even Alaric (A.D. 402) exclaim: Non ita *dî Getici* faxint *mauesque parentum*! Compare the gods' waggon with *sacer currus* in Tac. Germ. 10 and Suppl. to 328-9 below. Chariots of metal have been found in tombs, Lisch Meckl. jb. 9, 373-4. 11, 373.

p. 108.] That the Franks in Clovis's time had images of gods, is proved further by Remigius's epitaph on him: Contempsit cre-

dere mille Numina, quae *variis* horrent portenta *figuris*. On the other hand, Gregory of Tours's account (1, 34) of the Alamann king Chrocus in the 3rd century compelling St. Privatus in Gaul to sacrifice to idols, is vaguely worded: *Daemoniis immolare compellitur, quod spurcum ille tam exsecrans quam refutans*; on Chrocus conf. Stälin 1, 118.

p. 108 n.] Old idols in churches were placed behind the organ (Melissantes orogr. p. 437—9) in Duval's Eichsfeld 341. 'An idols' chamber was in the old choir,' Leipz. avant. 1, 89—91; 'the angels out of the firewood room,' Weinhold's Schles. wtb. 17^b; fires lighted with idols, conf. Suppl. to p. 13—15. Giants' ribs or hammers hung outside the church-gate, p. 555 n.; urns and inverted pots built into church-walls, Thür. mitth. i. 2, 112—5. Steph. Stoffiel. p. 189, 190. A heathen stone with the hoof-mark is let into Gudensberg churchyard wall, p. 938.

p. 113.] The warming (*baka*), anointing and drying of gods' images is told in Friðþiofs-s. cap. 9 (p. 63). But the divine snake of the Lombards was of gold, and was made into a plate and chalice (p. 684). The statua ad humanos tactus *vocalis*, Saxo p. 42, reminds of Memnon's statue. Some trace of a *Donar's* image may be seen in the brazen dorper, p. 535. On the arm-rings in gods' images conf. the note in Müller's Saxo p. 42. Even H. Sachs 1, 224^b says of a yellow ringlet: 'du nähmst es Gott von füssen 'rab,' off God's feet; and ii. 4, 6^a: ihr thet es Got von füssen nemmen. Four-headed figures, adorned with half-moons, in Jaumann's Sumlocenne p. 192—4. On nimbi, rays about the head, conf. p. 323 and Festus: *capita deorum appellabantur fasciculi facti ex verbenis*. Animals were carved on such figures, as on helmets; and when Alb. of Halberstadt 456^a transl. Ovid's 'Illa mihi niveo factum de marmore signum Ostendit juvenile, gerens in vertice picum,' Met. 14, 318, by 'truoc einen speht úf sínér ahseln,' he probably had floating in his mind Wôdan with the raven on his shoulder. Even in Fragm. 40^a we still find: swnor bî allen gotes-bilden.

p. 114 n.] Gods' images are iustinet with divine life, and can move. Many examples of *figures turning round* in Bötticher's Hell. Temp. p. 126. One such in Athenaeus 4, 439; one that *turns its face*, Dio Cass. 79, 10: *sacra retorserunt oculos*, Ov. Met. 10, 696; one that *walks*, Dio Cass. 48, 43. *ιδρώει τὰ ξόανα*

καὶ κινέεται, Lucian ed. Bip. 9, 92. 120. 378; *deorum sudasse simulacra*, Cic. de divin. 2, 27. simulacrum Apollinis Cumani *quatrūdno flevit*, Augustin. Civ. Dei 3, 11; Lannvii simulacrum Junonis sospitae *lacrimasse*, Livy 40, 19; *lapidum fletus* = statnarum lacrimae, Claudian in Eutrop. 2, 43. simulacrum Jovis *cachinnum* repente edidit, Suet. Calig. 57. *Flames* burst out from head and breast, Herod. 6, 82. An Artemis *drops her shield*, Paus. iv. 13, 1. Not only are they spoken to (interdium cum Capitolino Jove secreto fabulabatur, modo *insusurrans* ac praebens invicem *aurem*, modo clarius, nec sine jurgiis, Suet. Calig. 22), but they answer. Being asked, 'visne ire Romam, Juno?' she *nods* and says *yea*, Livy 5, 22.

The same in Teutonic heathenism. Thôr's image *walks* and *talks*, Fornm. s. 1, 302. As Thorgerð's image bends its hand to keep the gold ring on, Mary's does the same, see above, and Ksrchr. 13142-265-323. Vinc. Bellov. 25, 29 foll. by Heinr. de Hervord ad an. 1049. A Virgin sets the Child down, and *kneels* to it, Marienleg. 228; the Child is *taken from her*, Pass. 144, conf. Ges. Ab. 3, 584. A Mary *receives a shot*, and saves the man it was aimed at, Maerl. 2, 202. A Crucifix *embraces* a worshipper, Keisersb. seel. par. 75^d; *bows* to one who has forgiven his mortal foe, Sch. u. Ernst 1522 cap. 628; 'dat cruce *losede den voet*, unde stotte ene,' kicked him, Detm. 1, 7. An image *bites* the perjurer's hand off, Sch. u. Ernst c. 249; *speaks*, Alexius 444. 490. Maerl. 2, 201; and *turns round*, KM. 1 (ed. 2) xlix. The stone visitant in Don Juan *nods* and *walks*. Gods' images *fall from heaven* acc. to the Scythian legend; so does the figure of Athena, Paus. i. 26, 7. Or they are *stolen* from abroad, *dii evocati*, e.g. a Juno (Gerh. Etrusker p. 31), and Artemis from Tauris, Schol. to Theocr.; conf. Meiners 1, 420-3. So, in the Mid. Ages, relics were stolen. Again, idols are *washed, bathed*, Schol. to Theocr.; conf. the Alraun, p. 1203. They were even solemnly burnt; thus in the Bœotian dædals, every 60 years, 14 oaken images of Hera were consigned to the flames, E. Jacobi's Hdwtb. d. Gr. u. Rom. mythol. 394.

p. 115.] The numbers *three* and *four* in conn. with gods' images occur even later still. At Aign on the Inn near Rottalmünster, next the Malching post-house, a St. Leonard's pilgrimage is made to *five brazen idols*, the biggest of which is called the

Worthy. The peasants say none but the worthy man can lift it. If a youth after his first confession fails to lift the figure, he goes to confession again, and comes back strengthened. The festival is called The three golden Saturday nights in September. A girl proves her virginity (also by lifting?). The Austrians have a Leonard's chapel too, yet they pilgrim to Aign, and say 'he is the one, the Bavarians have the right one,' conf. Panzer's Beitr. 2, 32—4. A nursery-tale (Ernst Meier no. 6, p. 38) describes a wooden sculpture in the shape of a horse with four heads, three of which belong to Donner, Blitz and Wetter, evidently Donar, Zio and Wuotan.

p. 118.] Similar to the irmen-pillar with Mercury's image in the Ksrchr., is a statue at Trier which represented Mercury flying, Pertz 10, 132. The Lorsch Annals make Charles find gold and silver in the Irmenseule. There are also stories of mice and rats living inside statues, Lucian somn. 24; in Slavic idols, says Saxo; the Thor that is thrown down swarms with large mice, adders and worms, Maurer bek. 1, 536. What Rudolf of Fulda says of the *Irminsul* is repeated by Adam of Bremen (Pertz 9, 286). 'irmesuwel der cristenheit,' Germania 1, 451, conf. 444. The Roman de Challemaine (Cod. 7188, p. 69) describes the war of the Franks with the Saxons :

En leur chemin trouverent un *moustier*
 que li Saisne orent fet pieca edifier.
 une idole y avait, que les Saisnes proier
 venoient come dieu touz et gloirefier.
 quar leur creance estoit selonc leur fol cuidier
 quele les puist bien sauver jousticier.
Neptusnus ot à non en lonneur de la mer.

One is reminded of the lofty Irminsul by the story of an idol *Lug* or *Heillug*, 60 cubits high, in the Wetterau, Ph. Dieffenbach 291 (heiliger lôh?).

p. 121.] On Caesar's '*Sol et Vulcanus et Luna*,' see GDS. 766. The Indiculus comes immediately after the Abrenuntiatio, in which Thuner, Wôden and Saxnôt have been named; its Mercury and Jupiter therefore stand for German gods, as indeed several German words are used in it: nod-fyr, nimidas, frias, dadsisas. The Abrenuntiatio requires you to give up the *trilogy* Thuner,

Wôden, Saxnôt, and all the unholies that are *their fellows*; so there *were* three heathen gods, and more. On the trilogy conf. Pref. li. liv., and in Verelius, sub v. blotskap, the passage out of the Trojamanna-s. p. 34, where Brutus invokes Thôr, Oðin and Gefjon.

p. 122.] Saxo's way of looking at the Norse gods is noticed p. 384-5. The thunder-god, who is *Thoro* at p. 41, and *Thor* at p. 103, he once names *Jupiter*. Besides, he has *Pluto* and *Dis* = Othinus as Valföðr 36. 140-7; and *Proserpina* = Hel, 43.

p. 123.] Lepsius, Einl. p. 131, says the Egyptian week had not 7, but 10 days. 'Nine days' time' is a common reckoning among savages, Klemm 2, 149. To *nundinae* corresponds *ἐννῆμαρ*, yet Nieb. 1, 308, and O. Müller Etr. 2, 324 think the Romans had a week of 8 days. The seven-day week is Semitic, was unknown to Greeks or Romans, and rests on a belief in the sacredness of the number 7; conf. Nesselm. on the origin of the week (Königsb. deutsche gesellsch., May 22, 1845). Titurel 2753:

Die sieben stern sieben tugende haltent,

Die muozen alle mensehe haben, die dâ zît der tage waltent.

The Provençal names of days in Raynouard sub v. *dia*. O. Fr. de-mierkes for mercre-di, de-venres for vendre-di; conf. Roquef. suppl. v. kalandre.

p. 125.] MHG.—I. *Sunnentac*, MS. 2, 190^b. Amur 1578. 1609-21. Griesh. 114. 141. *suntac*, Pass. 299, 68. 81.—II. *mîntac*, Frauend. 32, 11. *maentags* 82, 1.—III. *aftermaentag*, Hätzl. lxxviii^a. *aftermontag*, Uhl. volksl. p. 723. *zistag* and *zinstag*, Wackern. Bas. hss. 54-7; also Schweiz. geschichtsfr. 1. 82-3. 161. 4, 149. *cîntag*, Weisth. 1, 759. *zinstag*, Dietr. drach. 320^b. Justinger 59, Keisersp. *zistig*, Tobler 458. *eritag*, Fundgr. 1, 75. MB. 27, 89^a (1317). 132^a (1345). Lang reg. 4, 711^a (1300). Grätzer urk. of 1319, etc.; but *ibid.* *erchtag*, 1310. Schwabe tintenf. 19. 56. *erctag* in Hartlieb, Superst. II., cap. 31-2. *erichtag*, Beheim, 76, 16. H. Sachs 1, 206^d. Hutten 3, 358. *eretag* in Guben, 48, 32.—IV. *mitwoche*, Bas. hss. 57. *mittoche*, Diemer, 357, 5. von dem mitechen, Tund. 44, 27. *des mittichen*, MB. 27, 90 (1317). 27, 98 (1321). *der midechen*, Grätzer urk. of 1320, *mitich*, *mitichen*, 1338. *midechon*, Griesh. 2, 48. 'an dem nehsten *quotentag* (!), Schreiber 1, 486 (see p. 124 n).—V. Records of the 14th cent. waver betw. *donresday*

and *donredag*. *Dunrstac*, Pass. 57, 87, etc. *dünderstag*, *dunders-
tag* alw. in Cour. of Weinsbg. *dorstage*, Schweiz. geschichtsfr.
3, 260 (1396). *Dunredagh*, Maltzan 2, 6. Hpt Ztschr. 5, 406.
donredagh, Maltzan 2, 45.—VI. *phincztag*, Beheim 78, 8. MB.
27, 131^a (1343). *vritach*, Griesh. 2, 48. *frehtag*, Grätzer urk.
of 1310. *des vriegtages*, S. Uolrich, 1488.

p. 125.] OS.—These have to be guessed from the follow-
ing later forms: I. *sundach*, Ssp. *sondag*, Pom. 1486. Klempin
488.—II. *mandag*, *ibid.*—III. *dinsdag*, Cöln. urk. of 1261.
Höfer no. 5. *dinstag*, 1316, *ib.* p. 112; *dynsdais*, p. 277. *dince-
dagh*, Pom. urk. of 1306, p. 354. *dinscdag*, Magdeb. urk. of
1320, p. 142. *dinstagh*, Quedl. of 1325, p. 179. *dingsttag*,
Ravnsbg. urk. of 1332, p. 258. *dynstag*, Siebertz no. 652. 658
(1315-43). *dinxtdag*, Ditm. landr. of 1447 ed. Michels. p. 32.
dynsthdach, Detmar 2, 287. *dinschedach*, Weisth. 3, 88. 90.
dyngsteday, urk. of Maltzan 2, 270. *dincsedagh* 2, 34. *dinghe-
stedaghes*, *dingsted.*, *dynsted.*, *dyngesd.* 2, 179. 210. 207. 142.
dinxstedages, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 405-406. *dingsteday*, Hammer-
bröker recht. Did any Low German district in the Mid. Ages
retain Tisdag? Scarcely: all seem to have forms beginning
with *din*, agreeing with Nethl. *dinsdag*, and corrup. from the
older *disendach*; hence our present *dienstag*. *Dinstag* appears
as early as 1316 at Schleusingen, 1320-2 at Erfurt (Höfer p. 120.
146. 153). *dingesdag*, Klempin 488.—IV. *gudinsdag*, *güdens-
dag*, Höfer no. 6. 7. (1261-2). *des mitwekens*, Maltzan 2, 88.
in *deme mitwekene* 2, 113. *des mydweken*, Hpt Ztschr. 5, 406.
des middewekenes, Höfer 166 (in 1323 at Halberstadt). *midl-
wekenes* 370 (in 1331). *medewekes* 360 (in 1324). *middeweke*,
Klempin.—V. *dunresdach*, Ssp. *donredag*, Klempin. *dunredagh*,
urk. of Maltzan, 2, 6. Hpt 5, 406. *donredagh*, Maltzan 2, 45.
—VI. *vridach*, Ssp. *frigday*, Klempin.—VII. *sunavent*, Ssp.
2, 66 (one MS. *satersdach*). *sonnavend*, Klempin. *saterdag* is
Nethl. and Westph., not Saxon. *saterstag*, Seibertz 724^a (1352).
satirsdach, Marienlieder. Hpt 10, 80-1. *saterstag*, Spiunr. evang.,
Cöln 1538, title. In Freidank 169, 15, one MS. changes 'suones
tac' into *satersdach*. *soterdag*, Firmenich 1, 301^b; *sorreschteg* 1,
495 at Eupen.

M. NETHL.—I. *sondach*, Decker's Lekensp. 1, 38.—II.
maendach, Decker *ib.*—III. *dinxdach*, Decker. *disdag* *desdag*,

Coremans p. 49. *disendaighes*, Hedu p. 443. De klerk 1, 804. *disendach*, Uhl. 1, 415.—IV. *woonsdach*, Decker.—V. *donredach*, Decker. *donderdach*, Lanc. 13970.—VI. *vridach*, Decker. den *vriindach*, Lanc. 25310. *sfrindaghes*, Maerl. 3, 284. *sfrindaechs*, De klerk 1, 708 in 1303.—VII. *saterdach*, Decker. In the Leven van Jezus p. 27-8. 74-5. 234 the Jewish notion of Sabbath is lamely rendered by *saterdach*.

p. 126.] FRIS.—III. *tihsdî*, *tisdey*, Hpt Ztschr. 1, 107.—VII. A fuller form 'sn-avend' occurs in the Gen. *snavendes*, Anhalt urk. of 1332, Höfer 163.

North-Fris. forms in Outzen, p. 38.—IV. *Weadansdai*, Landeskunde 4, 248. *Winjsday* in Silt, Müllenh. 167.—V. *Türsdei* and *Tüsdei*.—VII. *in*=evening, eve, as in 'gude e'en to ye,' Shaksp. good-en.

AS.—IV. Mercuris die, hoc est *Wódnesdag*, Kemble 5, 94 (in 844).

OE.—III. *tweisdaie*. IV. *wensdaie*, Garner, Procdgs. p. 232.

ON. in Gulaf. p. 9.—III. *Tysdagr*. IV. *Oðensdagr*. V. *Þorsdagr*. VI. *Freadagr*. VII. *Þvatðagr*.

SWED.—I. *sunundaghr*, östg. (conf. p. 126 n.). VII. *löghurdagh*, östg.

NORW.—IV. *mekedag*. VI. *Freadag*, Dipl. Norv. vol. 3, no. 787 (in 1445).

JUT.—IV. *Voensdag*, *voinsdau*, Molb. dial. 653. VI. *Freia*. VII. *Luora*, Foersom, p. 12.

ANGL.—IV. *Vonsdaw*.

p. 127 n.] On the Roman altar in Swabia, see Stälin, 1, 111. On the circle of planetary gods, Lersch in Jb. d. Rheinlande iv. 183. v. 298—314. The 8 figures on the altar may signify the gods of *nundinae*. The Germ. week has Odin in the middle, his sons Tyr and Thor next him: Mars, Mercury, Jupiter.

p. 129.] Snorri too, in his Formáli, has interpretations and comparisons with the Bible and classical mythology. Freyr he identifies with Saturn (p. 217).

p. 130.] The Ests, Finns and Lapps name the days thus:—

Est.—I. *pühhapäüw*, holy day. II. *esmaspäüw*, first day. III. *teisipäüw*, second day. IV. *kesknüddel*,¹ mid-week. V.

¹ The Slavic *nedélia*, orig. Sunday, now means week.

nelyapääw, fourth day. VI. *rede* (*redi*), fast-day? VII. *laupääw*; *poolpääw*, half-day.

FINN.—I. *sunnantai*. II. *maunani*. III. *tiistai*. IV. *keski-wiyeko*. V. *tuorstai*. VI. *peryandai*; is this Perun's day displaced (conf. *Perendan* below)? or, as the Finns have no F, a corrup. of *Fredag*? [Prob. the latter, conf. *Peryedag*; and the Finns are fond of adding an N.]. VII. *lauwandai*.

SWED. LAPP.—I. *ailek*. II. *manoday*. III. *tisdag*. IV. *kaskawakko*. V. *tuoresdag*. VI. *peryedag*. VII. *lawodag*.

NORW. LAPP.—I. *sodno beive*. II. *vuosarg*. III. *mangebarg*. IV. *gaskvokko*. VI. *fastobeive* fast-day, and *peryedag*.

CHAPTER VII.

WODAN.

p. 131.] The name of the highest god, whom the other gods serve as children their father (Sn. 23), often occurs in OHG., like *Herrgott* much later, as a man's name: *Wotan*, Schaunnat 312, *Woatan* 318, *Wuotan* 342. 386-9. Langobardic glosses have *Odan* and *Godan*, Hpt Ztschr. 1, 557; conf. *Godán* 5, 1. 2. In the Abren. we find *Woden*; perh. *Wedan* teo is OS. (Suppl. to 154); on *Wodan* conf. Lisch Meckl. Jb. 20, 143. AS., beside *Wôden*, has *Othan* (Sup. to 5); *Oðon*, Sal. and Sat. 83; *Eowðen* (p. 161 n.). Nth Fris. *Wede*, *Wedke*, Müllenh. 167. *Wedki* taeri! Landesk. 4, 246. For Norse *Oðinn*, once *Oddiner*, conf. Munch on Odd's Ol. Tr. 94. *Audon*, Yngl. c. 7, Does *Audun* in Norw. docs. stand for *Oðin*? *Oden* in Östögtl.=hin onde, Almqvist 371^a. In the Stockh. Adress-calender för 1842, p. 142, are actually two men named *Odin*. Rask, Afh. 1, 377-8, takes the Lett. *Vidvut* for the *Vodan* of the *Vides* (Lettons), while Vogt 1, 141 makes *Widewud*, *Waidewud* a Prussian king. With *Vut* in the Grisons, conf. *Vuodan* in the Valais, of whom M. C. Vullie-min relates in his *La reine Berte et son temps*, Laus. 1843, p. 3: 'Un jour on avait vu *Wuodan* descendre le Rhône, telle était du moins la croyance populaire, l'épée nue dans une main, un globe d'or dans l'autre, et criant rigou haionassou (fleuve soulève toi)! et le fleuve s'élevant avait détruit une partie de la ville.' On my inquiring (through Troyon) if the name in the story was really

Wuodan, the answer was distinctly Yes, and the town destroyed was Martigny. Carisch 182^b has *vutt* idol, which some derive from *vultus*, vout, face, or portrait, others from *rotum*; conf. magliavutts (Sup. to 35 n.).

p. 132.] Wuotan from watan, like *θεός* from *θέειν*, Sansk. *vādanas*, Schleicher in Kuhn's Ztschr. 4, 399. He stands closely conn. with *weather*, OHG. *wetar*, aër, aether, and wind (Sup. to 115); he is storm, byr, furia, wild hunter, uma, Ymir, Jumala, spirit; he is also called Ofnir, Vafuðr, Vafþrúðnir. But why in Sæm. 3^b does Oðinn give önd, and Hoenir öð, when surely Oðinn should give öð? The Bav. *wueteln* is known to H. Sachs: *das es aufwudlet grün in grün* (of herbs) v. 377^d. *wudelt das kraut auf*, v. 378^c; conf. *Wuotilyósz*, *Wódelgeát*, p. 367 n., and Wóden's relation to Geát, p. 164-5. We can put him on a par with Zeus, Indra, Loptr: *ἀήρ, ὃν ἄν τις ὀνομάσειε καὶ Δία*, Meineke's Fragm. com. 4, 31. Æschylus in *Eum.* 650 says of Zeus: *τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω στρέφων τίθησιν, οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει*. Zeus merely touches, breathes upon Io, and she conceives *Eparphos* (the touched), Æsch. *Prom.* 849—851. *ἐξ ἐπαφῆς κύξ ἐπιπνοίας Δίος*, Æsch. *Suppl.* 18. 45. *ἐφάπτωρ* 312. *θείαις ἐπιπνοίαις πάυεται* 576. Ducange sub v. *Altanus* has a peculiar gl. Aelfrici: *Altanus Voden*, quae vox saxonice Wodanum seu Mercurium sonat (conf. p. 162 n.). In Wright 17^b 'Altanus þoden,' otherw þoden is *turbo*; *altanus auster* is a wind. On *Woldan* see Hpt Ztschr. 5, 494.

p. 132.] With Otfried's *gotewuoto* conf. a Schlettst. gl. of the 9th century: 'sub tyranno, under themo *godowóden*.' *Der wüeterich*, *Servat.* 2853. *cin tobender w.*, *Barl.* 254, 21; conf. *gwyth*, p. 150 n. In the Eifel the wild host is called *Wodes-heer*, and a savage monster of a mau *Wuodes-woor*, *Schmitz* 1, 233. In the Wetterau band of robbers was one Werner *Wuttwuttwutt*, *Schwenker* 574. *Pfister* 1, 157. 162.

p. 133.] It is not *Sviðr*, gen. *Svinns*, but *Sviðar* ok *Sviðrir*, gen. *Sviðurs*, in Sæm. 46^b. Sn. 3. 24. 195.—Beside *vafuðir*, *herfaðir* (p. 817), Oðinn bears the names *Herjann*, *Herteitr*, *Gunnarr*, *Lex. myth.* 641^a; conf. *Herjans dís*, Sæm. 213^b. *fleyggði* O. ok í folk umskaut 5^a. *valr lá þar á sandi* vitinn enum eineygja Friggjar faðmbyggvi (ibi caesi in arena jacuere, dedicati unoculo qui Friggæ amplexibus delectatur), Sn. 1848, 236.

Non humile obscurumve genus, non funera plebis
Pluto rapit vilesque animas, sed fata potentum
 Implicat, et claris complet Phlegethonta figuris,

Saxo Gram. 36.—The *boar's head* in the Alamann order of battle is expressly acknowledged by Agathias 2, 8 (Stälin 1, 160).

p. 134.] With Paul the Deacon's account conf. the older setting in the Prol. leg. Rotharis in Hpt Ztschr. 5, 1. There *Wodan* and *Frea* remind you altogether of *Oðinn* and *Frigg* in the Grímnismâl. O. is called *Sigr-höfundr*, Egilss. 640, and his dwelling *Sigtúnir*, Yngl. 5. Su. 15.

p. 136.] On name-giving, ON. nafn-festi, see GDS. 153-4. With *Hliðsciálf* conf. Valaskiálf, p. 817 n. Does OHG. Bughen-scelp belong here? Cod. Lauresh. no. 2597. The Gl. Sletst. 15, 7 have *scelb* fornicie, also those in Hpt Ztschr. 5, 196. *scelp* fornicix, Graff 6, 479. *biscilbit* in clida, Diut. 1, 342; and clida belongs to hlið, OHG. hlit, operculum. The Lex. myth. 434 explains Hliðskiálf as *porta coeli tremens*.

p. 136-7 n.] *God's chair* means also the rainbow (p. 733); *God's little chair*, among the Lausitz Wends, the corpse-bird (p. 1134). The German märchen of the Tailor who climbs the Lord's *chair*, of iron-booted Ferdinand, of faithful John and strong Francis, who arrive at a heaven with many *doors* (conf. Wolf's Deut. mär. u. sagen no. 5, KM. no. 3, 35, Müllenh. mär. no. xii.), resemble the Greek notion of Zeus's *throne* and the several *doors* through which he attends to the prayers, vows and offerings of men, Lucian's Icaromenippus, c. 25-6.

p. 138.] *Wunsch*, *wish*, seems akin to Sansk. *vāṅksh*, *vāṅch* opto, desidero, Bopp Gl. 315^a. Pott 1, 235, which Bopp thinks identical with Welsh *gwanc*, desire. Wish in O.Fr. is *souhait* (p. 951n.) and *avel*, pl. aviaux, Ren. 25131, 26828. plus bel lui nestuest *souhaidier*, Ogier 1, 140. *Wunsch* is god of bliss and love, who wishes, wills and brings good to men. We still speak of God as the *giver of all good, all gifts*, Kl. Schr. 2, 327-9. *Wünschen* is to romance, exaggerate, imagine: sam ez *gewünschet* waere, Rab. 240. ob ieman *wünschen* solde, Nib. 281, 3. 780, 1. und der nu *w.* solde, Ecke 202 (Hagen). Also to wish into being, create, Wigal. 327. 887. 5772. so viel nur immer Gott Vater *w.* kann, Zingerle 2, 64. mit *wunsch*, by divine power,

Tit. 347; and conversely *verwünschen* to annihilate. *wünschen* lernen, to learn conjuring, Müllenh. 395. 402. [Of *wunsch* as the Ideal, a page and a half of examples is here omitted.]

p. 141.] *Wish* personified appears most freq. in Hartmann, which is the more remarkable, as he got no prompting from his French original. The last line on p. 138:

der Wunsch het in *gemeistert* sô, Greg. 1097. Er. 2740.

only reminds us partially of a French poet, Thib. de N. 95:

benect soit le *maistre*
qui tele la fist naistre;

while Chrestien's Erec has nothing similar, either here, or in describing the horse (Hartm. Er. 7375), or the palace and twenty ladies (8213-77); and where Hartm. boasts of his Enite:

man sagt daz nie kint gewan
ein lîp sô gar dem *Wunsche* glîch, Er. 330,

Chrestien's Erec 407 has merely:

que tote i avoit mis s'entente
nature, qui faite l'avoit (conf. vv. 415. 425).

Presently, however, in his:

ich waene *Got* sînen vlîz
an si hâte geleit
von schoene und von saelekeit, Er. 338,

where Chrestien had said, v. 429:

onques *Dex* ne sot faire mianz
le nes, la bouche, ne les iauz,

Hartm. draws nearer to his prototype again. His *Wunsches gewalt* often occurs in later writers:

beschoenen mit *Wunsches gewalte*, Flore 6927.

ir lîp aller wolgestalt

gar in des *Wunsches gewalt*, Meleranz. 8768.

Wunsches gewalt hân, Berth. 239. 240.

hie *Wunsches gewalt*, hie liep âne leit

in immerwerender sicherheit, Heiur. Suso in Die ewige weisheit.

But the phrase becomes more and more impersonal:

si hât an ir *wunsch gewalt*, Altsw. 98.
 an im lît der *wunschgewalt*, Dietr. drach. 41^b.
 drîer *wünsche gewalt*, MS. 2, 145^b (KM.³ 3, 146-7).
 geben mit alles *wunsches gewalt*, Pass. 298, 1.
 aller *wünsche gewalt*, Uhl. volksl. 1, 21.

conf. ἔξουσις τυχεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς αἰτήσασθαι ὅτου ἐπιθυμῆι, Athen. 3, 24. [Another page and a half of examples is here omitted.]

p. 143 n.] Even Wolfram in Wh. 15, 7 has 'des *Wunsches zil*'; and des *Wunsches paradis* actually occurs in Barl. 52, 8 and in the Rudolf. Vilmar p. 64.

p. 143.] Wish is the meting, moulding, casting, giving, creating (p. 22, 104 n. 139), figuring, imaging, thinking, faculty, hence also imagination, idea, image, figure. There is about Wish something inward, uttered from within: der Wunsch *tihtet*, Troj. 3096, ûz *tiefer sinne grunde erwünscht* mit dem munde 2960. Apart from the passage in the Iliad, χάρις answers to *wunsch*, not only in Lucian's Pro Imag. c. 26 p. 52: κόμην ταῖς χάρισιν ἀπέεικασε, but, as God imparts wishing, it is said of Hermes: ὃς ῥά τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔργοισι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάξει, Od. 15, 319. Beside des *Wunsches* aue and heilwâc, we have also a *wunschsee* and *wunschbrunne*, Pröhle's Unterharz. s., no. 345; a *Wünschberg* in Panzer's Beitr. 1, 116, *Wenschenborch* in Hpt Ztschr. 1, 258, *Wunschilburg* in Henricus Pauper 115, *Wünschelburg* a village near Glatz. 'Joannes *Wunschelberg* doctor vixit circa an. 1400,' Flacius cat. test. verit. 782, in Zarneke's Univ. Leipzig 764 an. 1427, 888 an. 1438. A *Wünschmichelbach*, Baader's Sagen no. 345; a *Wünschensuhl* near Marksuhl, Thuringia; a 'super *Wünsche*' and *Wunscheidorf*, Rauch 2, 198. 200.

p. 143-4.] Förstemann has no name *Wunse*, *Wunseo*, which would mean wisher, adopter, but Karajan quotes *Wensco* and *Sigiwunh* (for Sigiwunse, conf. Sigtÿr), and *Sigewunses-holz* about Eichstadt (for Sigiwunses-holz), MB. 31, 363, year 1080.—The *Oskmeyjar* are called nunnor Herjans, Oðius meyjar, Su. 212^a. *Oskopnir* might be connected with it and explained as 'stragem, campum *electionis* aperiens' from *opna* aperire, of which the Völs. saga c. 18 makes *uskaptr*. Beside the *Wúscfreá* of Deira, a later one is mentioned by Beda 138, 19. 153, 5.

p. 145.] As Wuotan sends *wind* and *weather*, and stills the stormy sea, it is said of the christian God: *daz er uns alle tage dienet mit weter ioch mit wint*, Diemer 89, 18. In Parzival, Feirefiz ascribes it to Juno that she *daz weter fuoete*, fitted 750, 5; dem Juno ie gap *segels luft* 757, 7; *segelweter fuogte* 767, 3.— If *ygg* be terror, *yggdrasil* means the horse of dread, the storm-courser, perhaps the rushing god himself, as we know that Óðinn bears the surname *Ygg*, and is always figured as the rider in the air, the furious hunter. In that case *Yggdrasils askr* (Pref. li.) is the stormful god's ash. Óðinn is also *Hróptr*, alte clamans, conf. OHG. hrnoft, clamor, Graff 4, 1137: *Hróptr glaðr*, Hpt Ztschr. 3, 154; *Hróptatýr*, p. 196. And the surname *Farma-týr*, *Farmagud* may not be out of place here, as deus vecturarum nauticarum, from farmr, onus nauticum. *Mefingr*, Sæm. 272^a is perh. conn. with mafr, seamew. Other by-names are *Fengr*, Sæm. 184^a. Völs. saga c. 17, p. 157; *Sváfnir*, Sæm. 93^a; *Fiölnir*, Sæm. 10^a, 46^b, 184^a. Völs. saga c. 17, p. 157 and conf. 136. 193. 200. 323. He is 'inn reginkunngi baldur í brynjo,' Sæm. 272^b.

p. 145.] Similar expressions for dying are: AS. *Dryhten sêcean*, Beow. 373. ON. *kenna einom áttunga brautir til Oðins landa*, Sæm. 80^b. *far till Oden*, Geyer 1, 123; conf. *gefa Oðni*, Landn. 5, 10. The miser collecting treasures is said in Sweden to *tjenu Oden*, Geyer 1, 123. Kl. schr. 3, 197.

p. 145 n.] The conception of Óðinn as an evil being is clear in the ON. '*hvaða Oðins látum?*' quid hoc mali est? shortened to '*hvaða látum?*' quid hoc rei est? Wormius mon. dan. p. 11; lát is amissio, mors; conf. our 'was des teufels?' Fornm. sög. 3, 179 has '*ófögnudr sendr af Oðni*,' mischief sent from O.; *Oðindæll* 11, 151 periculosus, insociabilis, difficilis, is interpr. 'illr viðfangs' 12, 430; *Oðindala* 6, 374 periculum, infortunium, interpr. 'vandracði, vandamâl, naudsyn' 12, 430. Dæll itself is mansuetus, affabilis.

p. 147.] Óðin's outward appearance is alluded to in many other places; hinn *eiueggji* Friggjar faðm-byggvir, Sn. 1848 p. 236. He is *Hengikjaptr*, labeo, cui pendet maxilla, Sn. 146 (p. 1075 n.); *Harbarðr*, Flaxbeard, from hör, linum; to Sigurðr appears the *Longbeard*, and helps him to choose Grani, Völs. c. 13. GDS. 688-9. To Saxo's '*Othinus os pileo obnubens*' answers his surname *Grîmnir* larvatus, from grîma. As '*Grîmnir*' he

shews himself to men in the guise of a beggar to try them, *e.g.* to Geirröðr; as 'Gestr blindi' to Heiðrekr, as 'Gângrâðr' to Vafþrúðnir. Compare the German *märchen* of the old Beggar-woman, KM. 150, whose clothes begin to burn, as Grímní's did. In the case of Heiðrekr, Gestr guesses riddles for another, as the miller or shepherd does for the abbot, Schmidt 85—9. Again Oðinn appears as the one-eyed *bóndi* *Hrani*, and bestows gifts, Hrolf Kr. saga c. 39. 46 (Fornald. s. 1, 77. 94). The Fornm. s. 5, 171-2 says: 'hann var stuttklaeddr, ok hafði síðan hatt niðr fyrir andlitit, ok sâ ôgerla âsjonu hans; skeggjaðr var hann;'; conf. the *blind* (one-eyed?) *Hatt*, Sv. äfventyr 1, 363. GDS. 578. Swed. legend gives Oðinn a pointed hat, *uddehatt*, which agrees with the peculiar shape of certain tombstones, wedge-shaped, like a man-trap. But he is called *hauga-dróttinn*, Vitterh. acad. handl. 14, 73. Now *uddehatt* is usu. a dwarf's hood or cape of darkness; hence also he appears as 'lord of dwarfs.' At the same time the hat is a wishing-hat and Mercury's hat. He appears as an *old man*, or as a *hunter on high horse* with three honnds which he gives away to a youth; and a Småland story expressly names him *Oden*, Sv. folkv. 1, 212. *Gammal grôman* gives advice, but may not stay beyond cock-crow, Arvidsson, 3, 3. Similar is the *one-eyed witch*, Norske event. 141-2.—In Germany too we can now find many traces of this divine apparition. A *Graymantle*, a *Broadhat* often turns up in nursery tales, see Haltrich p. 10. 39. 44; an *old man* fetches the children, p. 4. He appears as *Old One-eye* 45. 55, as *Stone-goat* 44, *Wild-cat* 63. God comes in the guise of an *old beggar*, stands *godfather*, and gives gifts, KM. no. 26; or as a *grey-bearded mannikin*, Frommann's Munda. 4, 328; conf. the old beggar-woman, KM. no. 150; as *One-eyed Flap-hat*, Alsatia 1856 p. 131. A *grey smith* heals, Hpt Ztschr. 1, 103. In St. Martin's cloak and hood Simrock sees Wuotan's wishing-cloak, Martinsl. xvii.

p. 147.] When Oðinn hurled the spear, then, says the Völuspá, was the first war in the world. He is *geira dróttinn*, Egilss. 639. *geiri undaðr oc gefinn Oðni*, Sæm.:27^b. *marka sik Oðni*, p. 1077. Under Otto III. a man in a dream, after taking a pious vow, was *transfixed by two lances* of the martyrs Crispin and Crispinian, Pertz 5, 787. The giant *Oden* in Sv. äfvent. 455

(some versions omit the name) possesses costly things, as the god does his *spear*. Out of such notions sprang the OHG. names *Kérans*, *Folchans*, Hpt Ztschr. 7, 529. Is this spear more like Apollo's destructive dart, or the sceptre of Zeus (p. 680)? Is the name of the Lombard royal line of *Gunginge* conn. with *Gúnguir*? GDS. 687-8.

p. 148 n.] In Herod. 4, 15 Aristeas is called Apollo's *raven*, i.e. priest, as Porphyry tells us the Magians called the priests of the Sun-god ravens. *Three ravens* fly with St. *Benedict*, Paul. Diac. 1, 26. In Goethe's *Faust* 12, 127 the witch asks Mephistopheles: But where are your two ravens?—*Doves* sit on Gold-Mariken's *shoulders*, Müllenh. 403. A dove sits on the head and shoulder of a boy at Trier, Greg. Tur. 10, 29; one perches three times on the head of St. Severus, Myst. 1, 226-7, another settles on St. Gregory's shoulder 1, 104.

p. 148.] Flugu hrafnar tveir of *Hnikars öelum*, *Huginn* til hanga, enn á hrae *Muninn*, Sn. 322. The ravens daily sent out return at dögurðarináli 42; conf. F. Magnusen's *Dagens tider* p. 42. fara *Viðris grey* valgiörn um ey, Sæm. 154^a. *hrafnar tveir* flugu með þeim alla leið, Nialss. 80. On *Odens foglar*, *Odens scular*, see Sup. to 159.

p. 148.] *Oðin-Neptunus* resembles both Poseidon and Zeus, who rise out of the sea as bulls. Oðinn shows himself to Olaf as a boatman, *nökkva maðr*, Fornm. s. 2, 180; and, as the *man in the boat*, fetches Sinfjötli's body, Völs. c. 10. Like him are the divine steersman in the *Andreas* (Pref. xxiv. xxv.), and the thirteenth man who steers the twelve Frisians, who has the axe on his shoulder, throws it at a well-spring, and teaches them justice, Richth. 439. 440. Yet we also come upon Oðinn *Hnikar* as a *karl af biargi*, Sæm. 183-4.

p. 149.] *Byr*, *Burr* is Oðin's father, p. 348-9. gefr hann (O.) *byri* brögnom, Sæm. 113^b. A fair wind, ON. *óska-byrr*, is in the Swed. rhyming chron. *önsko bör*. Even the German may very likely have had a *wunsch-bür* as well as *wunsch-wint*, for we find in Pass. 379, 19: in kam von winde ein ebene *bür*, die in die segele dâ sluoc. 201, 29: dô quam ein alsô gelîche *bür*. 380, 78: daz in wart ein guote *bür*. On the other hand: sô er den *wint* ze *wunsche* hât, Er. 7795. *wunsches weter*, Urstende 125, 85. Got schuof im sanften süezen wint, Ernst 5, 238 (Sup. to 145).

The *himmlische kind* makes *guten wind*, Osw. 960-5. 1220; but also the *storm wind* 1137. 2731. To the Greeks it was Zeus espec. that sent a fair wind: *Διὸς οὖρος*, Od. 15, 297. *Ζεὺς οὖρον ἵαλλεν* 15, 475. *Ζεὺς εὐάνεμος*, Paus. iii. 13, 5. Also a *Ἐρμῆς ἀέριος* is named 'inter deos qui ad pluviam eliciendam a mago advocantur,' Cass. Dio 71, 19; and Hermes or Theuth was the Egyptians' rain-god 71, 8 (Sup. to 175).

p. 150.] With the AS. dialogue betw. Sat. and Sal., conf. Kemble's Salomon p. 323: *Mercurius gigas*. In Altd. Bl. 2, 190 the other dialogue is entitled 'Adrian and Ritheus,' and contains the words: 'saga me, hwâ wrât bôcstafas aerest? ic þe secge, *Mercurius se gígant*.' In Småland there rides a man resembling Oðinn, with fiery breath, and a rune staff in his mouth, Hpt Ztschr. 4, 509.—Theuth not only invented letters, but dice: *πεπτείας*, *κυβείας* as well as *γράμματα*, Plato's Phædr. 274. And Oðinn is not only the finder of runes, but lord of dice-throwing. An ON. dicer's prayer is (Sup. to 1234): at þú *Fiölnir* falla látir, þat er ek kasta kann! F. Magn. lex. myth. 646 (Fiölnir = Oðinn, Sup. to 145). And there was a proverb: þú ert ecki einn í leik, ef Oðinn styðr þik. On the Devil as dicer, conf. p. 1007. Players invoked Thôrr and Oðinn, Frigg and Freyja together with Enoch and Elias, Christ and Mary, F. Magn. lex. myth. 646.

p. 150 n.] On *Gwydion* and *Don* see Villemarqué's *Bardes bretons* 388. The milky way was also called 'Arian rod merch *Don*,' Davies's *Mythol.* 205. Leo in Hpt Ztschr. 3, 224 derives *Gwydion* from *gwyd*, mens, *μένος* (p. 162 n.), like Oðinn from ON. *óðr*, mens. The Irish *diu Geden*, Gael. *di ciadain*, *ciadaoin* may indeed be expl. as *ceud aoine*, first fast; but see O'Brien 168^a.

The sentence in the Prol. legis *Salicæ*: '*Mercurius Trismegistus primus leges Ægyptiis tradidit*,' comes from *Isid. orig.* 5, 3. *Tervagan*, *Tervigant* may have to do with *Trebeta*, *Gesta Trev.* (Pertz 10, 131).

p. 154.] On *Wodenes-berg*, *-husen*, *-wege* conf. Förstem. 2, 1566. in *Wodeneswege* Pertz 8, 604; *de Wodeneswege* 8, 676. *Vudeneswege*, Lisch, Örzen 2^b, 161; *Gudenswege*, 2^b, 136. Again, *Wodonesberg*, Lacombe. 1, no. 97. 117. *Witanes-berc* (*Wnotanes?*), *Cod. dipl. Juvav.* 95 (an. 861). *Mons Mercurii*, *Fredegar* c. 55. Then, *Wódensbeorg*, *Kemble* 5, 78. 137. *Woddanbeorg* 3, 457.

Wónklinc 3, 415. 5, 112. 291. *Wóncumb* 5, 78. 137. *Wóðnesdene* 5, 238. *Wóðnesdíc* 3, 403. 413. 452-5-6. 460-4-6. 5, 215. 238. *Wónlond* 5, 235. 6, 355. *Wóðdes geat* 5, 78. 137. *Wónstoc* 3, 227 (Kl. Schr. 2, 57). *Wónác*, quercus Jovis 3, 458. *Wón-alre* (-alder) 4, 459. But how are *Wonred*, *Wonreding*, *Beow.* 5925-38 to be explained? OS. *Wetanspeckia* for *Wêdanespeckia* (-bridge, wooden bridge), Lünzel 12. 53. Nth Fris. *Wedes-hoog*, *Wens-hog*, *Winis-hog*, Müllenh. 167. Other names in Nordalb. stud. 1, 138. *Weadanask*, Jb. f. Schlesw.-holst. landesk. 4, 248. *Wonsfleth* in Holstein, OS. *Wódenstorp*, now *Wunstorf* (Kl. schr. 2, 58), can acc. to Förstem. 2, 1578 be traced back to *Wungeresdorf*. *Wuninsdorp*, Cæs. Heisterb. 9, 18. *Wótenes-láuseu*, Trad. Fuld. Dronke 38, 221. Cod. Fuld. no. 610 p. 274, now *Gutmanns-hansen* (Dronke 237^a). A *Wons-husen* in Weimar, and one near Nidda, Landau's Wetterau 218. *Wonsaz*, Bamb. verein 10, 108. A *Wonsees* betw. Baireut and Bamberg; yet conf. 'in der *wonsass*,' MB. 27, 141, and *wonsassen*, Schm. 4, 80. Kl. schr. 2, 58. A *Sigeboto de Wuonten-geseze* (*Wuotanes*?) in MB. 11, 167. About the Fichtelgebirge lie also *Wunsiedel* (*Wotanes-sedal*?), *Wonsgehüi*, *Wonsgehüu*, *Wondsgehüu*, *Wohnsgehüig*, a village on the Neunberg by Mistelgau, Baireut, Panzer's Beitr. 2, 101. 'flumen quod vulgo *Wotinprunno* dicitur,' Sin-nacher, 2, 635. *Watan-brunnon*, Lacomblet 1, no. 103.

p. 154.] *Oðinn* is a rider; hence called *Atriði*, he who rides up? (as *Thórr* is *Hlórríði*, p. 167 n.); conf. also *Yggdrasils askr* and the story of the World-tree, p. 960. The *Hervarar-saga* (*Fornald.* s. 1, 486) has a riddle on *Oðinn* and *Sleipnir*. On a rune-stone in Gothland is supposed to be carved 'Oden and his eight-legged *Sleipnir*,' Dybeck 1845, 91. The horse is often mentioned with him: 'om Oden och *hans hästar*' they say in Upland and Gothland; in Småland they speak of '*Odens stall* och *krubba*,' Rääf; conf. the 'hunter on high horse,' Sup. to 147. A horse with *six* legs in *Haltrich* 35-6; with *eight* 49; an eight-legged talking sun-steed 101.

p. 155 n.] '*Odinus pascit equos suos in follem inclusus*,' Páll Vidalin 610; conf. 'i bälg binda,' Vestg. lag. p.m. 48. veit ee at ee hêck vindga meiði â naetur allar nîo, geiri undaðr ok gefinn *Oðni* sialfr sialfum mer, Sæm. 27^b (see note on KM. no. 146). Charles also *splits a stone* before the battle, *Wächter's Heidn.*

denkm. 42-3; conf. the story of the Swedish general 45, and that of Hoier, Benecke's Wigal. 452. In Irish legend too the divine hero Fin Barre has his horse shod by a mortal smith, and juggles the fourth leg in, Ir. sagen 2, 85; conf. Kl. schr. 2, 450.

p. 157.] In the district of Beilngries, Bavaria, the bunch of ears is left for the *Waudl-gaul*, and beer, milk and bread for the *Waudl-hunde*, who come the third night and eat it up. If you leave nothing, the beaver (*bilmer-schnitt*) will pass through your fields. In the last cent. they still kept up a harvest-feast called *Waudls-mähe*, setting out fodder for the black steeds of *Waude*, while they drank and sang:—

O heilige sanct Mäha,
 beschere übers jahr meha,
 so viel köppla, so viel schöckla,
 so viel ährla, so viel tausend gute gährla.

If the reapers forgot, they were told: 'Seids net so geizig, und lasst dem heiligen S. Mäha auch was steha, und macht ihm sein städala voll;' conf. the less complete account in Panzer's Beitr. 2, 216-7. *Three stalks* are left for *Oswald*, three ears tied three times round with flowers, viz. the cornflower (*centaurea*, blue), the *blotze* (red poppy, *papaver rhœas*), and camomile. The red poppy is also called *Miedel-magn* (Mary's mohn), Panzer 2, 214-5-6. Schm. 2, 555. 608; in Swabia, Her-got's kitele or mäntele. The Russians leave a sheaf standing for *Volos* (Veles), 'toward Volos's beard (borod).'

p. 159.] *Oðins-ve* occurs (988) in 'episcopatus *Othenes-wigensis*,' Lappenb. Hamb. urk. no. 5. *On-sjö*, *Oden-sjö* in Skåne, Röstanga-socken, lies over a submerged castle named *Odinsgård* (see the story in Sup. to 946), Dybeck's Runa 1844, 32-3. In *Ons-källa* were washed the old men that threw themselves down the cliff, Geyer 1, 115. *Onsänger* in Småland. *Odens-brunn* in Upland, Wendel-socken, Dyb. Runa 1844, 90. With *Wóden worhte weos*, conf. Woldan hewing his church-door, Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 69. *Oðinn*, unlike *Thórr*, hardly ever occurs in names of men: Rääf 235-7 gives *Odhankarl*, *Odhinkarl*.

p. 159.] On the plant-name *Woden-tungel*, -star, see K. Schiller's Ndrd. pflanzenn. 32; conf. 'Ἐρμού βάλις, Mercurii surculus, filix, and Ἐρμού βοτάνιον, herba mercurialis, Diosc. 4,

183-8.—Several birds were sacred to Oðinn: ‘*korpar, kråkar, skatar* bör man icke skjnta, emedan de äro *Odens foglar*, dem han vid Olofsmässan *har hos sig i åtta dagar*, då han plocker och tager en stor del af dem. *Ardea nigra*, en temligen stor fogel af häger-släktet, kallas *Odens svala*,’ Rääf; see Sup. to p. 148.

p. 160.] *Wæns-let* suggests ðlf-liðr, p. 207. Kl. schr. 2, 58. Who off a thief has cut the thumbs, To him good luck in throwing comes, Garg. 192^a. Do they say anywhere in Scandinavia *Odensfinger*, *Ousfinger*? Acc. to F. Magn. lex. myth. 639 the *lung*s were sacred to Oðinn and Mercury; conf. the Tables of Blood-letting.

p. 162.] *Oðinn, Thórr, Freyr* in Snorri’s Edda 131 answers to *Oðinn, Asabragr, Freyr* in Sæm. 85^b; and invocations in Swed. folk-songs give him the first place: ‘*hjälp mig Othin, thu kan bäst! hjälp mi Ulf och Asmer Gry!*’ Arvidss. 1, 69. The same in Danish: ‘*hielp mig Othin, du kan best! hielp mig Ulf og Asmer Grið!*’ Syv 48. *Asmer Gri*=*Asa-grim*; conf. ‘*hielp nu Oden Asagrim!*’ Arvidss. 1, 11.

p. 162 n.] On Zeus *τρίτος* and *Τριτογένεια*, conf. Welcker’s Trilogie 101-2. At banquets the third goblet was drunk to Zeus: τὸ τρίτον τῷ Σωτήρι, Passow s.v. σωτήρ. Athena *τρίτη*, Babr. 59, 1.

p. 162.] Oðinn=*Hár*, Sæm. 46^a; =*Íafnhár* 46^b; =*Þriði* 46^a. But where do we find *Tveggi* outside of F. Magn. lex. myth. 644? conf. Egilss. 610, where we can scarcely read *Thriggi* for *Tveggi*. On the Sansk. *Ekatas, Dvitas, Tritas* see Kuhn in Höfer 1, 279. 281-9. Zend. *Thraetaono, Thríta*, Spiegel’s Zendav. 7. 66. *Thraetaono*=*Feridun*,=the *three-quartered*, says Leo 3, 192-5 (1st. ed.).

p. 163.] ON. *Vili* [weak decl., gen. *Vilja*] would be Goth. *Vilja*, OHG. *Willo*. The strong gen. in ‘*brôðr Vilis*,’ Egilss. 610 is evid. a slip for *Vilja*, though we do find the strong nom. *Vilir* in Yngl. saga c. 3. May we conn. *Vili* with the Finn. *veli*, Lap. *rälja*, Alban. *βελά*, *frater*? GDS. 271.

p. 163 n.] Munch 1, 217 thinks *Mithothin* arose from misunderstanding metod; to me it is plainly *Fellow-Othin*, like our mit-regent, etc. Saxo’s *Ollerus* is the Eddic *Ullr*, as is clear from his using a *bone* for a ship, Saxo p. 46. Yet *Ullr* seems a

jumble of Saxo's Ollerus and Snorro's Vilir, Yngl. c. 3 (Kl. schr. 5, 425): *skip Ullar*, Sn. Hafn. 420 = skiöldr; *askr Ullar* 426. Ydalir, his hall, Sæm. 40^b. *Uller sagr*, F. Magn. lex. 766. *Ullar hylli*, Sæm. 45^b; *hríngr U.* 248^a; *U. sefi* = Baldr 93^a. Ullr is Thór's stepson, Sn. 31. 101-5; boga-, veiði-, öndr-, skialdar-ás 105.

p. 165.] I might have spoken here of Oðin's relation to his wife *Frigg*, p. 299, and to *Skaði*, whom the Yngl. saga c. 9 calls his wife.

CHAPTER VIII.

THUNAR.

(Conf. KL. SCHR. 2, 402—438.)

p. 166.] *Donar* stands related to *donen* extendere, expansion of the air (Hpt Ztschr. 5, 182), as *τόνος* to *τείνω*, yet *tonare* is in Sansk. stan, resembling *στένω*, *στόνος* and our stöhnen, Kl. schr. 2, 412. In AS., beside *Thunor*, of whom there is a legend (p. 812-3), we have also *Dhór*, Sal. and Sat. 51. So the rubric over John 5, 17 has *þunres-dæg*, while that over John 5, 30 has *þurs-dæg*; and the Norman Dudo calls him *Thur*, Wormius mon. 24. The Abren. has *Thuner*, dat. *Thunare*. MHG. still *duure*, Pass. 227, 81. Dietr. drach. 110^b. *des dunres sun* (Boanerges), Pass. 227, 59 (Kl. schr. 2, 427). For the compound Swed. *tordön*, Dan. *torden*, the Norw. has *thorðuan*, Faye 5, the Jemtl. *torn*, Almqv. 297, Westgötl. *thorn* and *tänn*. In the Dan. märchen *Torden-vejr* means Thor, as *Donner-wetter* in Germ. curses stands for Donar. The Swed. Lapps call the thunder-god *Tiermes*, Klemm 3, 86-7, Ostiaks *Toruim* 3, 117, Chuvashes *Tóra*, *Tór*, Yakuts *Tunara*, Voguls *Tórom*, Rask's Afh. 1, 44. 33.

p. 167.] ON. *reið* is not only vehiculum, but tonitru: *lystir reið* (al. þruma), Gulaf. Hafn. 498. Norw. *Thorsreia* tonitru, Faye 5. Danish critics regard *Ökuþórr* as a different being from *Asaþórr*, and as belonging to an older time; yet Su. 25 places them side by side, and looks upon Thor too as *Ökuþórr*, conf. 78. He *drives* a chariot; conf. the Schonen superst. about Thor,

Nilsson 4, 40-4.¹ In Östgötl. the *aska* is called *goa*; when it thunders, they say 'goa går,' Kalen 11^a; *gojfar* kör, Almqv. 347, but also *gomor* går 384, and *kornbonden* går 385. In Holland: 'onze lieve Heer *veel* (drove) door de lucht.' Father God is rolling *d'brenta* (milk-vessels) up and down the cellar steps, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 54. Can the old *kittel-kar* (kettle-car?) of the giant with *two goats* refer to Donar's chariot? Müllenh. 447; conf. Kl. schr. 2, 422. Thôrr carries a *basket* on his back: *meis*, *iarumeis*, Sæm. 75^a. Sn. 111. OHG. *meisa*, Graff 2, 874.

p. 167.] God thunders: die blikzen und die donrelege sint mit gewalte in sîner pflêge, MS. 2, 166^b. Zeus raises tempest: ὄτε τε Ζεὺς λαίλαπα τείνη, Il. 16, 365; 'what doth Zeus?' meant how's the weather? O. Müller's Gr. gesch. 1, 24. Jupiter, alles *weters gewalt* het er, Krschr. 1152 (p. 630). In France: ni oïstau nes *Damledeu tonant*, Aspremont 22^b. nes *Deu tonant* ni poïstau oïr, Mort de Gar. 145-9. noïssiez *Deu tonant*, Garins 3, 205; conf. 'si gran romore facevano, che i tuoni non si sarieno potuti udire,' Decam. 2, 1. When a thunderstorm comes on, men say: 'schmeckste *paar öchsel*? merkste a *scheindl*?' Weinl. schles. wtb. 82; 'ecce ubi iterum diabolus ascendit!' Cæs. Heist. 4, 21. The Russians shout words of insult after the retreating tempest, Asbjörnson's Hjemmet 193.

p. 163.] Thunder is God (or the angels) *playing at bowls*: uns Herr *speelt kegeln*, Schütze 4, 164. die engel *kegeln*, Müllenh. 358; conf. the skittle-playing in the Odenberg, p. 953. Or it is anger, and the thunder-bolt his rod, Pol. bozy *prąten*.

p. 168.] The same *Taranis* is in the Vedas a surname of Indra the thunder-god, he that passes through, from *taran*=trans; and so Perun may be conn. with *πέρα* (but see p. 171, and Kl. schr. 2, 420). Welsh *taran* thunder, Gael. *tairneach*, *tairneanach*, also *torrunn*. *Taranuenns*, Mone's Bad. urgesch. 2, 184. In Burgundy a town *Tarnodurum*, whose later name *Tonnerre* and 'le *Tonnerrois*,' Jos. Garnier 51, prove that the notion of thunder lay in the old name; conf. Kl. schr. 2, 412.

p. 169 n.] Thôrr heitir *Atli* oc *âsabragr*, Sn. 211^a, conf. *Atli* 208^a. The Lapps call their Tiermes *uiycke*, and his deputy

¹ The surnames *Hlórriði*, Sæm. 211^a, and *Eindriði* need not conflict with the statement that Thôrr walks or else drives (p. 167 n.). In Sn. 101 he is called *föstri Vingnis* ok *Hlôru* (p. 187. 257). In Sn. Formáli 12 *Loride* is called Thôr's son, and *Loricus* Thôrs *föstri*, who has a wife *Gloru*.

yunkare, *stor-yunkare*, Klemm 3, 86, the Ests their Pikker *wana essa*, old father, Verh. 2, 36-7; and the American Indians their Supreme Being the *grandfather*, Klemm 2, 153. With the mountains *Etzel*, *Altwater* we may perh. associate a high mountain *Oetschan*, Helbl. 7, 1087 (now Öftscher), from Sl. otets, voc. otche, father; conf. Kl. schr. 2, 421.

p. 170 n.] The St. Bernard or Great Bernard is called *Montjoux*, A.D. 1132. On the jugum *Penninum*, deus *Penninus*, see Zeuss 34. 99. Dieffenb. Celt. 1, 170. Several inscriptions 'Jovi *Pænino*, *Penino*' in De Wal no. 211—227. A Mount of joy in Meghaduta 61; in Moravia the *Radost*, joy. Finn. *ilo-kivi*, stone of joy, Kalev. 3, 471.

p. 171.] Comes ad *Thuneresberhe* (yr. 1123), Erh. 150; apud *Thuneresberg* 133. Sifrit de *Touresbere* (1173), MB. 33^a, 44. Sifridus de *Donresberch* (1241-58) 33^a, 68. 90. Of a dragon it is said: er hete wol drî kiele verslunden (swallowed) und den *Dunresbere*, Dietr. drach. 262^b (str. 834). vom *Donresberge*, Hpt Ztschr. 1, 438. A *Donnersberg* by Etteln, S. of Paderborn. AS. *Ðunresleá*, Kemble 3, 443. 4, 105. 5, 84. *Ðunresfeld* 3, 394. 5, 131, conf. 6, 342. *Doneresbrunno*, Ztschr. f. Hess. gesch. 1, 244.

p. 171.] With Slav. *grom*, *hrom* (Kl. schr. 2, 418) put our LG. *grummeln* of distant thunder, Ir. *crom*, *cruim* thunder, Fr. *grommeler* growl; also Lith. *grauja* it thunders, *growimmas* thunder.

p. 171.] To Lith. *Perkunas* musza, Nesselm. 411^b, and *P. grauja*, *grumena* 286^a, add the phrases: *Perkuns* twyksterejo (has crashed), *P. uždege* (has kindled); *Perkúno* szowimmas (stroke), *P. growimmas* (peal), *P. žaibas* (flash); *perkunija* thunderstorm. The Livl. reimchr. 1435 says of him: als ez *Perkune* ir abgot gap; daz nimmer sô harte *gevrôs*. Near Battenhof in Courland is a *Perkunstein* with legends about it, Kruse's Urgesch. 187. 49; a *Perkunken* near Liban. *Pehrkonos* is hedge-mustard. The Lapps have an evil god or devil *perkel*, *pergalak*, Finn. *perkele*, Kalev. 10, 118. 141. 207. 327 (Sup. to 987).

p. 172.] In Finn. the oak (tammi) is called God's tree, *puu Yumalan*, Kalev. 24, 98. 105-7. 115-7; conf. Zeus's oak p. 184, robur Jovis p. 170. Ju-glans, *Διὸς βάλανος* = castanea, Theophr. 3, 8. 10. Diosc. 1, 145. The oak being sacred to Thôrr, he slays

the giants that take refuge under it; under the beech he has no power over them. It has been remarked, that lightning penetrates twenty times as far into the oak as into the beech, Fries bot. udf. 1, 110.

p. 172.] A Swed. folksong (Arvidss. 3, 504) makes Thôrr live in the mountain: *locka till Thor i fjäll*. Beside *Fiörgvin's* daughter Frigg, another daughter *Iörð* is called Oðin's wife, and is mother of Thôrr. But if Thôrr be = *Fairguni*, he is by turns Oðin's father and Oðin's son; and he, as well as Frigg, is a child of earth (*iörð*), Kl. schr. 2, 415. GDS. 119.

p. 173.] Of Enoch and Elias, who are likewise named together in the ON: dicer's prayer (Sup. to 150), we read in Fundgr. 2, 112:

sie hânt och die wal (option),
 daz sie den *regin behabin* betalle (keep back rain)
 swenne in gevalle (when they please),
 unt in abir *lâzin vliezen* (again let flow);
 ir zungin megin den himel besliezen (shut up)
 unt widir *ûftuon* (open),
 sô si sich wellint muon.

The Lithuanians call Lady-day *Elyiôs diena*, *Ilyios diena*, on which it begins or ceases to rain. They derive it from *ilyia*, it sets in (to rain); is it not rather *Elias's day*? Elias legends of Wallachia and Bukowina in Schott. 375. Wolf Ztschr. 1, 180. On his battle with Antichrist conf. Griesh. 2, 149.

p. 174.] *Hominem fulgure ictum cremari nefas; terra condi religio tradidit*, Pliny 2, 54. Places struck by lightning were sacred with the Greeks, and were called *ἡλύσια*, *ἐνηλύσια*, because the descending deity had visited them. They were not to be trampled: *hoc modo contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere fulgurales pronuntiant libri*, Ann. Marcell. 23, 5. One peculiar rite was thoroughly Etruscan: such a spot was called *bidental*, because a *two-year old sheep* was sacrif. there, Festus sub vv. *bidental*, *ambidens*. O. Müller's Etr. 2, 171; the railing round it was *puteal*, and may be compared to the Ossetic skinpole: *bidental locus fulmine tactus et expiatus ove*, Fronto 277. Cattle struck dead by lightning are not to be eaten, Westendorp 525.

p. 175.] *ἕτερός*, Umbr. *savitu*, Aufr. u. Kirchh. 2, 268. *ἕε δ'*

ἄρα Ζεὺς πάννυχος, Od. 14, 457. Athen. 4, 73. τὸν Διὶ ἀληθῶς ὄμην διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρεῖν, Aristoph. Clouds 373; conf. imbrem in *cribrum* gerere, Plaut. Ps. i. 1, 100. Διὸς ὄμβρος, Od. 9, 111. 358. οὔτε Πελοποννησίοις ὕσεν ὁ θεός, Paus. ii. 29, 6. An Egypt. magian conjures the *air-god Hermes* (τὸν ἀέριον) for rain, Cass. Dio 71, 8. *Indra*, who has the thunderbolt, is also god of rain; when he disappeared, it rained no more, Holtzm. 3, 140. 1, 15. In Dalecarl. *skaurman åk*, the shower-man rides = it thunders, Almqv. 258; conf. Goth. *skura vindis* = λαίλαψ, OHG. *scúr* tempestas, grando, AS. *scúr* procella, nimbus, ON. *skúr* nimbus (Kl. schr. 2, 425).

p. 175.] Another rain-procession in 1415, Lindenbl. 301. Petronius's 'uvidi tanquam mures' is like our MHG. in Eracl. 142^b: *sô sît ir naz als eine mûs* (from Enekel), wet as a drowned rat. A prayer of the *legio tonans*, likewise under M. Antonine, brings on torrents, Cass. Dio 71, 8. A Hungarian prayer for rain, Ungarn in parab. 90; others in Klemm 2, 160 (Kl. schr. 2, 439—458).

p. 176.] *Pikker*, Kalewipoeg 3, 16. 23. 358. 16, 855. *pikker-taati* 20, 730. On *pikker* and *pikne* see Estn. Verh. 2, 36-7. He is the avenging thrice-nine god, that appears in the lightning, and with *red-hot iron rod* (*raudwits*) chastises even the lesser gods, who flee before him, like the giants before Thor, to human hearths 2, 36—38. *Pikne* seems an abbrev. of *pitkäinen*, tonitru, which occurs in the Finnic form of the Esth. prayer for rain, Suomi 9, 91, and comes from *pitkä* longus; *pitkäikäinen* longaevis, the Old = Ukko, says Castrén myth. 39, or perhaps the long streak of the lightning. On *Toro*, *Toor*, *Torropel* see Estn. Verh. 2, 92.

p. 176.] *Ukko* blesses the corn, Peterson 106. In a waste field on the coast of Bretagne St. Sezny throws his hammer, and in one night the corn grows up into full ripe ears around it, Bret. Volkss. by Aug. Stöber, prob. after Souvestre.

p. 177.] The Thunder-god must be meant in the story of the *red-bearded* giant and the *carriage* with the golden *he-goat*, Wolf Ztschr. 2, 185-6. With the N. American Indians both *Pahmoniqa* and *Jhüchinchiü* (red thunder) are men's names, Catlin tr. by Bergh. 136. 190-1.

p. 178.] The three phenomena of lightning are described as simultaneous in Hes. Theog. 691: *κεραυνοὶ ἵκταρ ἄμα βροντῇ τε*

καὶ ἀστεροπῆ ποτέοντο. Distinct from fulgur is a fourth notion, *fulguratio* (sine ictu).

p. 178.] *Fulgur* is called *bliks*, as late as Justinger. *Bliæberg*, now the ruined castle of Plixburg (Plickhs-perckh in old docs.), stands in the Münster valley near Colmar, oppos. a dwarf's mountain, Schöpflin Als. dipl. no. 1336. des snellen *blickes* tue, Freid. 375. *himelblicke*, Servat. 397. 1651. Roth. 3536. In Styria, *himlatzen* to lighten, *weterblicke* fulgura, Hpt Ztschr. 8, 137. *wetterleich*, Stalder 2, 447. hab dir das *plab feuer!* H. Sachs ii. 4, 19^a. *blue light* in thunderstorms, Schwab's Alb. 229. Lightning strikes or 'touches': mit blitz *gerührt*, Felsenb. 1, 7. It arises when *sparks* are struck with the *fiery axe*, p. 180^a. 813; af þeim *liomom leiptrir* qvômo, Sæm. 151^a. Κρονίδης ἀφίει ψολόεντα κεραυνόν, Od. 24, 539. ἀργῆτι κεραυνῶ ὄ, 128. 131. *trifulcum* fulgur, Festus, Varro ap. Non. 6, 2. Sen. Thyest. 1089. *ignes trifulci*, Ov. Met. 2, 848. Ibis 471. *tela trifulca*, Claudian iii. Cons. Hon. 14. genera fulminum *tria* esse ait Caecina, *consiliarium, auctoritatis et status*, Am. Marc. 23, 5; conf. O. Müll. Etr. 2, 170. The Etruscans had *nine* fulgurating gods 2, 84. In Romanic, lightning is *camêg*, form. also *calaverna*, *chaláverá*; *straglüsçh*, *sagietta*, *sactta* lightn. that pierces, also *lütscherná* (lucerna?). Lith. *záibas* lightn., *Perkuno záibas* streak of lightn., from *zíbeti* to shine, Nesselm. 345. Mere fulguratio, summer-lightn., distant, feeble, that does not strike, the Finns call *Kalevan tulet*, *K. ralkiat*, i.e. Calevae ignes, bruta fulmina autumnalia, or *kapeen tulet*, genii ignes. Lightning is named πῦρ Διός, Hebr. *fire of God*.

p. 178 n.] *Blecken*, *plechazan*, heaven opening, reminds of the Bastarnae, who thought, when it lightened, the sky was falling on them, Livy 40, 58; conf. Duncker p. 84. In Servian songs *munya* is the vila's daughter, *grom* her brother. *Mèsesets*, moon, marries *Munya*, Vuk 1, 154 n. 229—231.


p. 178.] *Tonitrus* is *toniris chlaccha*, Hattem. 3, 598^b. *tonnerklapf*, Justinger 383. 'thunderclap words,' Fr. Simpl. 1, 231. *dôzes klac*, Parz. 379, 11. Troj. 12231. 14693. *donrescal*, Fundgr. 2, 116. *tonnerbotz*, Garg. 270^b. 219^b, from *donerbôz*. ON. *skrugga tonitru*, conf. *skröggr fulminans*. Dan. *tordenskrald*, *tordenbrag*. LG. *grummel-wier*, *-schuur*, *-taaren* (-cloud), Lyra 103. 117, see Sup. to 171. We say thunder *rollt*, *grollt* [if

distant, grommelt]. As lightn. is a bird's glance, thunder is the *flapping of its wings*, Klemm 2, 155. Zeus's *eagle* holds his lightnings, and an *eagle* raises the storm-wind, p. 633; conf. the bird of Dawn.

p. 179.] *Fulmen* is OHG. *donarstrála*, Graff 6, 752 and *laucmedili*, Gl. Jun. 191. Graff 2, 707. *blic-schóz* mit (or, an) dunr-slegen, Pass. 89, 49. 336, 9. des *donres schuz*, Freid. 128, 8. *donrestrál* der niht enschiuzet, Turl. Wh. 11^a. *dornstrál*, Griesh. 151. die *donerblicke*, Fundgr. 1, 73. *donresblicke*, Freid. 123, 26. des *donrisslac*, Fundgr. 2, 125. 'ob der doner z'aller frist *slüege*, swann ez *blekzend* ist,' if it struck every time it lightens, W. gast 203. swaz er der heiden ane quam, die *sluoc* er also ein *doner sân*, Rother 2734. *dô sluog* er alsô der *thoner*, for dem sich nieman mac bewarn, Diemer 218, 8. *schúrslac*, Helbl. 8, 888. *wolkenschóz*, Lanz. 1483. *weterwegen*, Pass. 336, 10. 2. OHG. *dróa*, *drewa* is both *minae*, *oraculum*, and *fulmen*, *ictus*, Graff 5, 246; because lightn. is a bodeful phenomenon? O. Fr. es *foldres* du ciel, Ogier 1, 146. *foudre qi art*, Guiteclin 2, 137. Le tonnerre a sept différentes formes pour se manifester aux Polôgnots. Il tombe en *fer*, alors il brise tout; en *feu*, il brûle; en *souffre*, il empoisonne; en *genuille*, il étouffe; en *poudre*, il étourdit; en *pierre*, il balaye ce qu'il environne; en *bois*, il s'enfonce où il tombe, Mém. Celt. 2, 211.

p. 180.] On *thunderbolts* see the 9th Bamb. Bericht p. 111. Beside *donnerstein*, we have *wetterstein*, *krottenstein*. Again: *Herre Got*, und liezt du vallen her ze tal ein *stein*, der mir derslüege, Suchenw. 78, 175. A fragment of thunderbolt *healed over in the hand* imparts to it enormous strength, Hpt Ztschr. 3, 366. A *donnerstral* of 2½ cwt. hangs in Ensheim church, Garg. 216^a. Vestgötl. *Thors-küjl* (-wedge), Swed. *Thor-viggar* (-wedges), Sjöborg's Nomencl. f. nordiska fornlemningar 100. Indra's bolt and flash are *svarus*, from svar, sky, sun, Benfey 1, 457; conf. ἡλύσια, Sup. to 174. Like *elf-shot* is the Sansk. 'vitulum veluti mater, ita *fulmen Marutes* sequitur,' Bopp Gl. 364^a; conf. mugientis instar vaccae fulmen sonat 262^a. Athena alone knows the keys to the thunderbolt chamber, Æsch. Eum. 727, like Mary in the nursery-tale of the forbidden chamber in heaven. Lith. 'Perkuno *kulka*,' P.'s ball. Serv. *strèlitsa*, arrow.

p. 181.] *Miölnir* reminds of Sl. *m'lniya*, molnia ἀστραπή, which

Miklos. 50 derives from mlëti, conterere. The hammer is the simple, world-old implement, indispensable to nearly every trade, and adopted by not a few as a symbol. At boundaries the *hamarsmark* was deeply graven, a cross with hooked limbs;  afterwards a crossed oak served for a landmark, Kl. schr. 2, 43. 55. In blessing the cup (signa full) the sign of the hammer was made: haun gerði *hamarsmark* yfir, Hák. gôða saga c. 18. Thor með *tungum hamrum* is also in Landstad 14. Thor's image has a great hammer in its hand, Ol. helga s. ed. Christ. 26. Fornm. sög. 4, 245. That the hammer was portrayed and held sacred, is shown by the passage in Saxo, ed. Müll. 630: Magnus, inter cetera traephorum suorum insignia, *inuituti ponderis malleos quos Joviales vocabant, apud insularum quandam prisca virorum religione cultos, in patriam deportandos curavit.* That was betw. 1105 and 1135. In Germany, perh. earlier, there were *hammers* and *clubs* as emblems of Donar on the church wall, or built into the town-gate; to which was linked a barbarous superstition and a legend of the cudgel, Hpt Ztschr. 5, 72. To the same cycle belong the tales of the *devil's hammer*, which is also called *donnerkuhl, hammerkuhl*, Müllenh. 268. 601; conf. p. 999. Pikno carries lightn. as an *iron rod*, see Sup. to 176.

p. 181.] Thôrr a foe to giants, p. 531. As Wôdan pursues the subterraneans, so he the giants. They will not come to the feast where *Tordenveir* appears, p. 189. 537. In Schonen, when it lightens, it is Thor *flogging the trolls*, Nilss. 4, 40. der (tiev) wider unsih vihtet mit *viuren* (viurinen, fiery) *strâlen*, Diemer 337, 9.

p. 181.] *Hamer sla bamer, sla busseman dot!* Müllenh. 603; conf. Hermen sla dermen, p. 355. bim *hammer!* Corrodi Professor 16. 58. Vikari 11. tummer und hammer, Prof. 96. 'May heaven's *forked lightn.* bury you 10,000 fathoms underground!' du widertuo ez balde, oder dir nimet der *donner in drin tagen den lip*, Wolf. 331, 3. 4 (Hpt Ztschr. 4). A Danish oath is 'ney *Thore gud!*' Warmii Mon. Dan. 13. dass dich der *Donnerstag* (Thursday = Thor), Ph. v. Sittew. 2, 680. *donnstig!* du *donnstigs* bub! Gotthelf's Erz. 2, 195-6. The Lithuanians, says Æn. Sylvius, ascribe to *Percunnos* a great *hammer*, by means of which the sun is rescued from captivity, Æn. Sylv. in den Kurländ. send. 2, 6. N. Preuss. prov. bl. 2, 99; conf. Tettau u. Temme

28. Lith. 'kad *Perkuns* pakiles deszint klafterin tave i zeme itrenktu!" may P. arise and strike thee 10 fathoms into the earth, Schleicher ber. der Wiener acad. 11, 108. 110. The Etruscans ascribed the hammer to *Mantus*, Gerh. 17.

Beside the hammer Thôrr had his *megin-gjarðar*, fortitudinis, roboris cingula, and *iurn-greipr*, chirotecas ferreas, Sn. 112-3. er hann spenuir þeim (megingiörðum) um sik, þá *vea honum ás-megn hálfu*, Sn. 26. þá spenti hann *megingiörðum* 114. This belt of might reminds us of Laurîn 906. 890. 1928: zebrechent sîn *gürtelîn*, dô *hât er von zwelf man kraft*. A girdle imparts *strength* and *wisdom*, Wigal. 332, and shews the right road, 22-3. A girdle that *stills hunger*, Fierabras 209; conf. the hunger-belt. A *victoriae zona* in Saxo ed. Müll. 124. Like Thôr's girdle is the *blue band* in Norske folkev. no. 60, p. 365. 374-6. Müllenh. Schl.-holst. mär. 11. Moe's introd. xlv.

p. 183.] In the Alps the salamander, whose appearance betokens a storm, is called *wetter-giogo*, Schott's Germans in Piedmont 300. 346. A female stag-beetle carries red hot coals into houses (Odenwald).

p. 183 n.] The *barba Jovis* is held to have healing power, Caes. Heisterb. 7, 15. *Jovis herba*, *hus-loek*, Mone's Quellen 289^a. *hús-louch*, Mone 8, 403. *donder-loek*, crassula major, Mone's Qu. 283^b. *dundar-lök*, Dybeck 1845 p. 61. *Jovis caulis*, sempervivum magn., Diosc. 4, 88. AS. *þunor-wyrt*, barba J.; *house-leek* planted on cottage-roofs, Hone's Yrbk. 1552; conf. p. 1214. The Swiss call the donnerbesen *hexenbesen*, witch's broom, Stald. 2, 42. Nennich calls glecoma hederacea *donnerrebe*, gundrebe. The *donnernessel*, urtica dioica, resists thunder. Finn. *Ukontuhnio*, fungus, fomes; *U. nauris*, rapa; *U. lummet*, caltha palustris; *Ukkon-lichti*, folium (lappa). *Jovis colus*, Διὸς ἡλακάτη, clinopodium, verbena, Diosc. 3, 99. 4, 61. *Jovis mādius*, catanance, herba filicula 4, 132. *ἱερά τοῦ θεοῦ φηγός* at Dodona Paus. 1, 17. *Jovis arbor*, Ov. Met. 1, 104. A *thunder-tree* in Tyrol, Wolf Ztschr. While redbreast and beetle attract lightning, the wannenweihe repels it, p. 674. It was a universal practice to *ring the church-bells* to drive the *thunder* away, i.e. the heathen god, for bells are Christian. With the Thracians *shoot-ing* was a safeguard against *thunder and lightning* (p. 20), as elsewhere against an eclipse, p. 707.

p. 184.] Note the Henneberg superstition about the habergeiss or *himmelsziege*, phalangium opilio, a spider (Maler Müller), in Brückner's Henneb. 11. By *horsgök* was formerly meant a real horse, Runa 3, 14-5. The heaven's-goat is in Finn. *taivaan vuohi*; she hovers between heaven and hell, bleating in the air, Schiefn. Finn. wtb. 612. Another Lith. name for it is *dangaus ožys*, Nesselm. 31, and Lett. *Pehrkon ohsols*, Possart's Kurl. 228.

The Hýmiskviða calls Thôrr *hafra dróttinn*; his goats are *tann-gniotr* and *tann-grisnir*, dente frendens, as Lat. *nefrendes* = arietes (or porci) nondum frendentes, that have no teeth yet. *Taungniotr* (tooth-gnasher) is also a man's by-name, Kormaks. 54. 134-6.

p. 186.] *Donerswe*, Ehrentraut's Fries. arch. 1, 435. Hpt Ztschr. 11, 378. de *Donrspah*, Notizeubl. 6, 306. It seems *Thuris-lô* in Trad. Corb. is not Thonares-lô, but giant's wood, p. 521; yet AS. *Thunresleá*, Kemble 3, 443. 4, 105. 5, 84. 243. Scand. *Thörseff*, Molb. dipl. 1, 173; why not Thors-? In Sweden are *Thorsby*, *Thorshälla*, *Thorslunda*, *Thorstuna*, *Thorsvi*, *Thorsåker*, *Thorsång*, *Thorsås*, *Thorsö*. On *Thorstuna*, -åker, conf. Schlyter Sv. indeln. 32. *Thorseng* in Funen, *Thorshöi* in Schleswig, Müllenh. 584. In Norway *Thörsey*, *Thôrsnes*, *Thôrshof*, Munch om Sk. 107. *Thorsnes*, Landu. 2, 12, took its name from a pillar with Thôr's image being drifted thither. *Thorsharg* = *Thorshälla*, Hildebr. tom. 3. *Thorsborg*, Gutal. 94, a limestone-mountain 317. *Thorshafn* in Färöe.

p. 187.] To the few German proper names compounded with *Donar*, add *Donarpreht*, Hpt Ztschr. 7, 529. *Albdonar* is conn. with the plant *albdona*. In Kemble no. 337, for 'Thoneulf' read *Thonerulf*. The Sax. Chron., yr. 920, has *Þurcytel*. An O. Irish name *Tordealbhach* (=Thoro similis, says O'Brien) is worth noting. *Thorhalli* in the Heidarvîgasaga. King *Toril*, whose lightning scorches the sea, burns up forests and devours the city (Hpt Ztschr. 4, 507-8), is apparently Thor himself; perhaps *Torkil*? for *Thorild* is fem.; conf. *Thorkarl*, p. 181 n.

p. 187.] Thôr's by-name of *Vingthôrr*, Sæm. 70^a; *Eindriði*, Sup. to 167, foot-note. He is *hard-lugaðr*, Sæm. 74^b, as the *iötun* is *hardraðr*, p. 528. Again, *fôstri Vingnis ok Hlôru* = *fôstri Hlôrriða*, Sup. to 167. *Iarðar burr*, earth's son, Sæm. 70^a. 68^a. 157; *Flörgynjar burr*, *Hlôðynjar burr*, *Yggs barn* 52^a. Is *Veorr*

the same as *verr*, *vir*? conf. AS. *weor*, but the ON. modification would be *viörr*.

p. 188.] *Thôrr*, imagined as a *son* (in the Edda he is either a youth or in the prime of manhood), does not accord well with the 'old *great-grandfather*.' In *Sæm*. 54^b he is a *sveinn*, but in 85^b *Asabragr*. Are we to suppose two Donars, then? That in the North he may have been feared even more than *Oðin* seems to follow from the fact that so many names of men and women contain his name, and so few that of *Odin*.

p. 189.] His sons by *Iarnsaxa* are *Magni* and *Móði*, *Sn*. 110 (conf. p. 823), he himself being endowed with *âs-megin* and *âsmóðr*. *Iarnsaxa* is elsewhere the name of a giantess. He calls himself *Magna faðir*, *Sæm*. 76^a. His daughter becomes the bride of *Alvís* 48^{a,b}; is she *Thrûðr*, *robur*, whom he had by *Sif*? *Sn*. 101-9. He is himself called *Þrúðugr âss*, *Sæm*. 72^b. *Þrúðvaldr goða* 76^a; and his hammer *Þrúðhamarr* 67^b.

p. 191.] Neither the *log-pelting* at Hildesheim (with which conf. 'sawing the old woman,' p. 781-2) nor the *wheel-rolling* near Trier (*Hocker's Mosel-ld.* 1852, p. 415) can be connected with *Jupiter*. The latter ceremony, mentioned first in 1550 and last in 1779, took place thus. On the Thursday in Shrove-week an oak was set up on the Marxberg (*Donnersb.*, *Dummersb.*), also a *wheel*. On *Invocavit* Sunday the tree was cut down, the wheel set on fire and rolled into the Moselle. A wheel, especially a flaming one, is the symbol of *thunder*, of *Donar*; hence the lords of *Donnersberg*, burg-vassals to *Cochheim*, bear it on their coat-of-arms, *Hontheim* 2, 5, tab. v., likewise those of *Roll* (*thunder*), while those of *Hammerstein* have three hammers in theirs. The signum of German legions, the 14th and 22nd, was the *rota*: there is a tile with 'Leg. xxii.' and a six-spoked wheel stamped on it. *Mainz* and *Osnabrück* have such a wheel on their scutcheon, *Mainz* as escutcheon of the legions (*Fuchs's Mainz* 2, 94. 106). *Krodo* in *Bothe's Sassenchr.* carries a wheel (p. 206 n.). Has that heraldic wheel anything to do with the term *rädelsführer*, ringleader?

p. 191.] On keeping *Thursday* holy, see especially *Nilsson* 4, 44-5. *tre Thorsdags-qvällar*, *Dyb. Runa* 4, 37. 43. *Cavallius* 1, 404. In Swedish fairy-tales spirits appear on *thorsdags-natt*, and bewitch. If you do any work on *Trinity Sunday*, the *lightning*

will strike it; hence women are unwilling to do needlework that day, Hpt Ztschr. 3, 360. Similar *deseccration of holidays* by weaving, spinning or knitting is often mentioned; Servat. 2880:

wir sâzen unde wâben,
 dô die lantlinte êrten disen tac . . .
 schiere runnen diu weppe von bluote,
 daz ez uns des werkes erwante.

A poor girl spins on our Lady's day, the thread sticks to her tongue and lips, Maerl. 2, 219. Of women spinning on Saturday, see Müllenh. 168; they that spool flax in church-time on Sunday, turn into stone, Reusch no. 30. Spinning was forbidden on Gertrude's day and Berchta's day, p. 270-3; among the Greeks on Bacchus's day, p. 911. Nevertheless the yarn spun on such holy days has peculiar virtues, p. 1099; conf. the *teig-talgen*, dough-kneading on Holy Saturday night, Superst. G, v. 194. Yet again: Si quis die Dominico boves junxerit et cum carro ambulaverit, dexterum bovem perdat, Lex Baju. vi. 2, 1.

 CHAPTER IX.

ZIO (TIW, TYR).

p. 194.] In Umbrian the nom. was still *Juv*, dat. *Juve*, voc. *Jupater*, Aufr. u. Kuhn Ztschr. 1, 128: *Juveis luvfreis*, Jupiter liber, Mommsen 139. What of Finn. *taivas*, coelum? or even *Θοῦρος*, the Assyrian Mars (Suidas)? A divergent form, 'vater Zi' in Müllenh. nr. 410.—Dyaus is not only coelum, but a Vasn-god, who for stealing the cow Nandini has to go through a human life, Holtzm. 3, 101—6. Parallel with the ideas belonging to the root *div*, are those developed out of Sansk. *sur*, splendo: *sura* dens, *súrja* sol, *svar* coelum.

p. 194.] Spiegel, Zendav. 6, connects *θεός* with *dhî*. Lith. *dievas* god, *deive* goddess, *dievaitiz* (godkin) thunderer, *dievaite* (goddesskin) rain-goddess; conf. Pott's Etym.forsch. 1st ed. 56-7. Benfey's Orient 1, 510.

p. 195.] Wackernagel in Hpt Ztschr. 6, 19 retains *Tuisco* = duplex, and explains it as *zwitter*, two-sexed, just as Lachm. makes *tuis* = *bimus*, two years old; and Müllenhoff agrees with

them 9, 261. In that case Tuisco would have nothing to do with Ziu, and Tacitus must have indicated the marvellous hermaphrodite nature. It is a question whether Zio, Tio have not perpetuated himself in the alarm and battle cries *zieter, zeter, tiodute, tianut!* and in *ziu dar náher*, Parz. 651, 11; see Gramm. 3, 303. RA. 877. Leo in Hpt Ztschr. 5, 513. Again, did *zie, tie* (assembly) originally mean *divum*, as in 'sub divo, dio'? The Prov. troubadours have *sozt dieu*=sub divo, under the open sky, Diez's Leb. d. Troub. 166-7; yet it may mean sub Deo.

p. 195.] From *div splendeo* (Lith. *zíbeti*) come *div, diva coelum*, and *divan, divasu, divana*, contr. *dina*, dies, Bopp Gl. 168. In Caes. B. Gall. 6, 18 Diespiter is called *Díspater*, abl. *Dite patre*, O. Müll. Etr. 2, 67; conf. Dissunapiter, p. 225. The Etruscan panels have sometimes *Tinia* for Tina.

p. 198.] The Germani sacrificed to their Mars for victory: *vestita spoliis donabere quercu* (Mavors), Claudian in Ruf. 1, 339. *huic praedae primordia vovebantur, huic truncis suspendebantur exuviae*, Jorn. 5. *hostiles suspendit in arbore cristas*, Cl. in Ruf. 1, 346. Kuhn finds many points of comparison between Wuotan and the Roman *Mars*, whom he takes to have been originally a god of spring. *Mârs*=*Mârtas* is a by-name of Indra, Hpt Ztschr. 5, 491-2. To *Týr Víga-guð* corresponds 'Mars des *wíge got*' in En. 5591. Troj. 8140. 8241. Ms. 2, 198^b: Mars *strítes got*. Christian writers suppose an angel of victory marching in the front of battle: *coram eo* (Ottone imperatore) *angelus penes quem victoria*. Mars is a mere abstraction in Erm. Nig. 2, 2: *straverat adversos Marsque Deusque viros*, and Pertz 8, 228: *jam per ordinatas omni parte acies Mars cruentus cepisset frendere*; conf. p. 203.

p. 198.] *Ziesburc*, Augsburg, Hpt Ztschr. 8, 587. *Diuspurch*, Lacomb. 83 (yr 904), *Tusburg* 205 (1065), *Diusburg*, all = Duisburg, Thietm. 5, 3. 9. *Düseburg*, Weisth. 4, 775. A *Doesburgh* in Gelders; *Tussberg, Tyssenbergh*, Wolf Ztschr. 1, 337. *Desberg* near Vlotho, Redecker 59. *Desenberg, Diesenbergh; Tistede*, Hamb. liber actor. 331-2. *Tiisvad, Tiiswath*, in Jutl., Molb. dipl. 1, 9. *Zivelberg* near Schwatz in Tyrol, H. Sachs i. 3, 251^a; conf. p. 298, *Zisa, Zisenburg*, GDS. 541.

p. 199.] Add *Tived, Tisved, Tivebark*, Dyb. 1845, 50-9. MHG. *zidelbast*, Gervinus 2, 233; conf. Zigelipta, p. 1193.

p. 200.] The very old symbol of the planet Mars ♂ stood apparently for the war-god's shield and spear. Here Týr reminds us of Óðinn and his Gúngnir, p. 147. With *tíre tácnian* conf. *tírfaest tácen*, Cod. Exon. 236, 13; *sigortácen* 169, 3. *sigorestácen*, *fríðotácen* circumcision, note on Elene 156. Cædm. 142, 29.

p. 202.] Judges often held their court on *Ertag*, see Kaltenb. 1, 563^{a, b}. 580^a; and judgment may mean war, decision, RA. 818-9. Was a sword set up in the court? On *Famars*, *Fanmars* see GDS. 529. 619.

p. 204.] The trinity of the Abrenunt. requires a *god*, not a mere hero; for that reason if no other, *Sahsnót* must be Mars, or at lowest the Freyr of the Upsal trinity. With *Saxneát* compare *Iarnsaxa*, 'Thor's wife, Sn. 110. In Pomerania they still swear by 'doner *seven*,' in Bavaria 'meiner *sechsen*,' Schm. 3, 193-4; conf. 'mein *sie*!'

p. 205.] On the divine *Cheru* see GDS. 612. Lucian supplies additional proofs of the Scythian worship of the sword; Toxaris 38: οὐ μὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἄνεμον καὶ τὸν Ἀκινάκην. Scytha 4: ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ἀκινάκου καὶ Ζαρόλξιδος, τῶν πατρῶων ἡμῖν θεῶν. Jupiter Trag. 42: Σκύθαι Ἀκινάκη θύοντες καὶ Θρᾶκες Ζαρόλξιδι. Conf. Clem. Alex. admon. 42. GDS. 231. Priscus, quoted in Journ. c. 5, ed. Bonn 201, 17. 224, remarks on the sword: Ἄρεος ξίφος ὅπερ ὄν ἱερὸν καὶ παρὰ τῶν Σκυθικῶν βασιλέων τιμώμενον, οἷα δὲ τῷ ἐφόρῳ τῶν πολέμων ἀνακείμενον, ἐν τοῖς πάλαι ἀφανισθῆναι χρόνοις, εἶτα διὰ βοῶς εὔρεθῆναι. The Mars of the Alans is mentioned by Lucan 8, 223: *duros aeterni Martis Alanos*. The worship of lance and sword among the Romans is attested by Justin 43, 3: *Nam et ab origine rerum pro diis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere, ob cujus religionis memoriam adhuc deorum simulacris hastae adduntur*; and Suet. Calig. 24: *tres gladios in necem suam praeparatos Marti ultori addito elogio consecravit*. Caesar's *sword*, preserved in Mars's temple at Cologne, was presented to Vitellius on his election, Mascou 1, 117. Later they knelt before the sword at a court-martial, Ambraser liederb. 370; conf. Osw. 2969:

dô viel er nider ûf sîniu knie,
daz swert er an sîn hant gevie,
und zôch ez ûz der scheidē,

der helt des niht vermeit,
daz ort (point) liez er nider.

To Svantevit, Saxo ed. Müll. 824 gives a *conspicuae granditatis ensis*. The Indian Thugs worship on their knees an axe or bill, which is mysteriously forged, Ramasiana (Calcutta 1836.)

The war-god has also a *helmet*, witness the plant named Ἄρεος κυνή, Týr-hialm, p. 199.

p. 206.] Hrêð-cyninges, Cod. Exon. 319, 4, said of the wicked Eormanric, and therefore probably from hrêð, hrêðe, crudelis (p. 290); while *Hrêðgotum* 322, 3 answers to ON. Reiðgotum. 'Red red brought raed raed,' where the Walloon has 'Mars, Mars,' Coreman's Année de l'anc. Belg. 16; conf. Ret-monat, p. 290. We are not warranted in referring Hrôðrs (or hrôðrs) andscoti, Hýmisk. 11, to Týr.

p. 206 n.] Zeuss 23 believes in *Krodo*, and thinks *Reto* in Letzner is the same. *Crodio*, Cod. Lauresh. 1634; *Crodico* 1342. *Cróda*, Kemble 1, 143; *Créda* 1, 159. 177. *Krode duvel*, p. 248. I am not sure but that Nithart's *Krotolf* (Hpt 117) has after all a mythical sound, and it is followed by a similar compliment Üetelgôz, p. 367 n. *Krathabothl* in Lüntzel's Hildesh. 51. *Kreetpfull*, *Kreetkind*, DS. 1, 415. A 'rivus *Krodenbek*,' Falke's Trad. Corb. 612. *Krottorf* in Halberstadt country, conf. *Krottenstein* for Donnerstein.

p. 207.] Simrock thinks Týr is *one-handed* because a sword has only one edge. Does a trace of the myth linger in 'swâ ich weiz des wolves zant (tooth), dâ wil ich hüeten (take care of) mîner hant,' Freid. 137, 23? or in the proverb 'brant stant as dem dode (Tio?) sîne rechte hant,' Wolf Ztschr. 1, 337? Conf. the Latin phrases: *pugnare aequo, pari, certo, ancipite, dubio, vario, proprio, suo* Marte. Widukind has *coeco* Marte 1, 6, like *coeco furore* 1, 9. When fighters see the battle going against them, they leave off, and acknowledge *ὡς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν σφίσιςιν ὁ ἀγὼν γένοιτο*, Procop. 2, 641. The fickleness of victory is known to the Od. 22, 236: *οὐπω πάγχυ δίδου ἑτεραλκεία νίκηην* (conf. 'ein Hie-und-dort,' Geo. 5748). Victory and luck are coupled together: *sig und saelden* geben, Albr. Tit. 2920-33. an *sig u. saelden* verderben 2929.

p. 208.] Companions of Mars: circumque atrae *Formidinis*

ora, *Iraeque Insidiarumque*, dei comitatus, aguntur, Aen. 12, 335. *Luctus* comitatur euntem (Tisiphonen), Et *Pavor* et *Terror*, trepidoque *Insania* vultu, Ov. Met. 4, 485. *Bellona*, *Pavor*, *Formido*, Claud. in Ruf. 1, 342; *Metus* cum fratre *Pavore*, De laud. Stil.; *Impetus* horribilisque *Metus*, In Pr. et Olybr. 78. *δείματα πανικά*, Procop. 2, 550. *panicus terror*, Forcell. sub vv. *pan*, *panicus*. A *panic foliage-rustling* fright, Garg. 256^b. So the Wend. volksl. 2, 266^a make *Triakh*, *Strakh* dwell in a dismal haunted spot; Sl. *triakh*, *trias*, tremor, is perh. the Goth. þlahs. The Finn. *kammo* = *genius horroris*, horror. There is an ON. saying: 'Óttar er fremst í floeki þá flýa skal'; is that from *ótti*, timor? conf. the Óttar in Hyndlulioð. 'Thá skaut (shot) þeim *skelk* í bríngu' . . . 'skaut *skelk* í bríngu ok *óttu*,' where *skelk* and *óttu* are accusatives of *skelkr* and *ótti*, timor. Goth. *agis* disdraus ina, awe fell upon him, Luke 1, 12; conf. AS. *Bróga* and *Eyesa*, Andr. xxxii. and *diu naht-egese*, Diemer 266, 23. OHG. *gefieng thô allê forhta*, fear took hold of, T. 49, 5. There is personification also in the Romance 'negus neu pot ir, si nos torna *espavers*, Albig. 4087. A different yet lively description is, 'so that the *cat ran up their backs*,' Garg. 256^b. 218^a. Beside *Hilda-Bellona* (p. 422) appears a male *Hildófr*, Sæm. 75^b, like Berhtolt beside Berhta.

p. 208.] *Týr*, who in the *Hymisqviða* accompanies Thor to the abode of Hymir, calls the latter his father, and Hymi's concubine his mother; he is therefore of giant extraction; conf. Uhlant's Thor 162-3. Is this Týr not the god, as Simrock supposes him to be (Edda, ed. 2, 404)?

CHAPTER X.

FRO (FREYR).

p. 210.] The Yngl. 13 calls Freyr *veraldar god*, Saxo calls Frö *deorum satrapa*. Goth. *frúja* stands not only for *κύριος*, but for *θεός*. The Monachus Sangall. says (Pertz 2, 733): tunc ille verba, quibus eo tempore superiores ab inferioribus honorari demulcerique vel adulari solebant, hoc modo labravit: '*laete vir domine, laetifice rex!*' which is surely '*frô herro!*' OS., beside frô, etc., has the form *fruofo*, Hel. 153, 1; if it had a god's name Frô, that would account for *Frôs-â*, i.e. Frô's aha, ouwa, ea.

AS. has other compounds, *freábeorht* (*freaþbeort*) *limpidus*, Lye and Hpt Ztschr. 9, 408^a; *freátorht limpidus* 9, 511^a, conf. Donarperht; *freáraede expeditus* (*freaþræde*, Lye); *freádrêman jubilare*, *freábodian nuntiare*; a fem. name *Freáware*, Beow. 4048. In Lohengr. 150, *zuo dem frôn*=to the holy place. ON. has also a *fránn* *nitidus*, *coruscus*. From Fris. *frâna* may we infer a *frá dominus*? Bopp (Gl. 229^b) conject. that *fráuja* may have been *frabuja*, and be conn. with Skr. *prabhu*, *dominus excelsus*; yet *πραΐς*, *mild*, seems to lie near [Slav. *prav* *rectus*, *aequus*, *praviti* *regere*, would conn. the meanings of *probus*, *πραΐος*, and *fráuja*].

p. 212.] *Freyr oc Freyja*, Sæm. 59. He resembles Bacchus Liber, *Διόνυσος ὁ Ἐλευθέριος*, Paus. i. 29, 2, and Jovis *lufreis*, *liber*. From his marriage with Gerðr (p. 309) sprang Fiölnir, Yngl. 12, 14. Saxo ed. M. 120 likewise mentions his temple at Upsal: *Frö* quoque, *deorum satrapa*, *sedem haud procul Upsala cepit*. *Fröi* gives food to men, Faye 10. The god travelling through the country in his car resembles *Alber*, who with larded feet visits the upland pastures (*alpe*) in spring, Wolf Ztsehr. 2, 62; conf. Carm. Burana 131^a: ‘*redit ab exilio Ver coma rutilante*,’ and the converse: ‘*Aestas in exilium jam peregrinatur*,’ *ibid.* (like Summer, p. 759); ‘*serato Ver carcere exit*,’ *ib.* 135.

p. 213 n.] On the *phallus* carried about in honour of Dionysos or Liber by the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, see Herod. 2, 48. Hartung 2, 140. *φάλλοι ἐστᾶσι ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι δύο κάρτα μεγάλοι*, Lucian *De dea Syra* 16, where more is told about phalli, conf. 28-9. An ‘*idolum priapi ex auro fabrefactum*’ in Pertz 5, 481. Phalli hung up in churches at Toulouse and Bordeaux, Westendp. 116. The O. Boh. for Priapus was *Přípekál*, Jungm. sub v., or *Pripegala*, Mone 2, 270 out of Adelgar in Martene 1, 626. Slovèn. *kurenet*, *kurent*, Serv. *kurat*.

p. 214.] *Gullinbursti*, conf. *gulli byrstum*, Sn. 104. There is a plant *gullborst*, which in German too is *eberwurcz*, *boarwort*, p. 1203. The Herv. saga c. 14 (p. 463. 531) in one passage assigns the boar to Freyr, in the other (agreeing with Sæm. 114^a) to Freyja. Perhaps the enormous boar in the OHG. song, *Hattem*. 3, 578, and the one that met Olaf, Fornm. sög. 5, 165, were the boar of Freyr. In thrashing they make a *pig of straw*, Schm. 2, 502, to represent the boar that ‘walks in the corn’ when the ears ripple in the breeze, conf. AS. *gårseæg*, ON. *lagastafr*; ‘the

wild sow in the corn,' Meier schw. 149. Rocholtz 2, 187; 'de willen swîne lâpet drupe,' Schambach 118^b.

p. 215.] On *eoforcumbul* conf. Andr. and El. 28-9. Tristan has a boar-shield, 4940. 6618. Frib. 1944; 'hevedes of wild-bare (boars) ich-on to presant brought,' Thom. Tristrem 1, 75. Wrâsn, wraesen (Andr. 97) in *Fréa-wrâsnum* is vinculum, and Freyr 'leysir or höptom (bonds) hvern,' Sæm. 65^a (conf. p. 1231). A helmet in Hrolf Kr. saga is named *Hildisvîn* and *Hildigöltr*. Does 'Helmnôt Eleuther' in Walthar. 1008-17 conceal a divine Fro and *Liber*?

p. 215.] On the *boar's head* served up at Christmas, see Hone's Tab.-bk 1, 85 and Everyday-bk 1, 1619-20. *guldsvin som lyser*, Asbjö. 386; the giant's *jul-galt*, Cavallius 26; *jul-hös*, *sinciput verrinum*, Caval. Voc. Verland. 28^b.

p. 216.] *Skíðblaðnir* is from skíð, skíði, asser, tabula; Rask, Afh. 1, 365, sees in it a light Finl. vessel. Later stories about it in Müllenh. 453. The Yngl. saga gives the ship to Óðinn, but in Sæm. 45^b and Sn. 48. 132 it is Frey's.

p. 217.] Freyr is the son of *Niörðr* and *Skadi*, who calls him 'enn fróði afi,' Sæm. 81^a. She is a giant's, Þiaz's, daughter, as Gerðr is Gymi's; so that father and son have wedded giantesses. The story is lost of Freyr and *Beli*, whom Freyr, for want of his sword, slays with a *buck's horn* or his fist, Sn. 41; hence he is called *bani Belja*, Sæm. 9^a. Freyr, at his teething, receives *Alfheim*, Sæm. 40^b.

Many places in Scand. preserve the memory of Freyr: *Frösö*, Norw. dipl.; conf. *Frósá*, Sup. to 210. *Fröjrak* (Freyraker), Dipl. norv. 1, 542. *Fröslund*, Dipl. suec. 2160; *Fröswi* 1777; *Frösberg* 2066. *Frösåker* in Vestmanl., Dyb. i. 3, 15. Schlyter Sv. indeln. 34. *Fröslöf* in Zealand, Molb. dipl. 1, 144 (yr 1402). *Fröskog* in Sweden, Runa 1844, 88. *Frösunda*, *Frösved*, *Frösön*, *Frötuna*, *Frölunda*, *Fröjeslunda*, all in Sweden. *Frotunum*, Dipl. suec. 228. *Fryeled*, in Jönköpings-län is styled in a doc. of 1313 (Dipl. suec. no. 1902) *Fröle* or *Fröale*; a *Fröel* in the I. of Gothland appears to be the same name, in which Wieselgr. 409 finds *led* = leið, way; may it not be *eled*, *eld*, fire? *Niarðarhof* ok *Freyshof*, Munch om Sk. 147. *Vróinló*, now Vronen in West Friesl., Böhmer reg. 28. Müllenh. Nordalb. stud. 138. A man's name *Freysteinn* is formed like *Thôrsteinn*.

p. 217.] Niörðr is called *meins vani*, innocuus, Sæm. 42^a. Sæm. 130^a speaks of 'Niarðar dœtur niu;' nine muses or waves? conf. Heimdall's 9 mothers. Niörðr lives at *Nóatún* on the sea, and Weinhold in Hpt Ztschr. 6, 40, derives the name from Sansk. *níra* aqua, *níradhi* oceanus; add *Nereus* and Mod. Gr. *νερόν*. Schaffarik 1, 167 on the contrary connects Niörðr and Niörunn with Slav. *nur* terra. Or we might think of Finn. *nuori* juvenis, *nuorus* juvenus, *nuortua* juvenesco, Esth. *noor* young, fresh, *noordus* youth; Lap. *nuor* young. Or of Celtic *neart* strength, Wel. *nerth*, Hpt Ztschr. 3, 226; Sabine *Nero* = fortis et strenuus, Lepsius Inscr. Umbr. 205. Coptic *netet* god and goddess, Buns. Egy. 1, 577. Basque *nartea* north, and Swed. Lap. *nuort borealis*, not Norw. nor Finn. That he was thought of in conn. with the North, appears from 'iun norðri Niörðr,' Fornm. sög. 6, 253. 12, 151, where Fagrsk. 123 has *nerðri*.—Places named after him: *Niarðey*, Landn. 2, 19. *Niarðvík* 4, 2. 4. Laxd. 364. ^s*Niarðarlögr*, Ol. Tr. c. 102. Fornm. s. 2, 252 (see 12, 324). Munch's *Biörgyn* 121; al. *Marða-lög*, *Iarðar-lög*. Is the Swed. *Närtuna* for *Närd-tuna*? and dare we bring in our *Nörten* by Göttingen? Thorlacius vii. 91 thinks *niarð-lás* in Sæm. 109^b means sera adstricta, as *niarð-giörð* is arctum cingulum [*niarð* = tight, fast, or simply intensive]. What means the proverb 'galli er á giöf Niarðar'? Niörðungr? Gl. Edd. Hafn. 1, 632^b.

p. 218.] Rask also (Saml. afh. 2, 282-3) takes the *Vanir* for Slavs, and conn. Heimdall with Bielbogh. I would rather suppose a Vanic cult among the Goths and other (subseq. High German) tribes, and an Asic in Lower Germany and Scandinavia, Kl. schr. 5, 423 seq. 436 seq. 'Over hondert milen henen, Daer wetic (wot I) enen wilden *Wenen*,' Walew. 5938; appar. an elf, a smith, conf. Jonckbloet 284.

p. 219.] Oðin's connexion with Freyr and Niörðr, pointed out on p. 348, becomes yet closer through the following circumstances. Oðinn, like Freyr, is a god of fertility. Both are said to own *Skíðblaðnir* (Sup. to 216), both *Gerðr*, p. 309. *Fíölnir*, son of Freyr and *Gerðr*, is another name of Oðinn, Sæm. 46^b (p. 348). *Skaði*, Niörð's wife and Frey's mother, is afterwards Oðin's spouse.

CHAPTER XI.

PALTAR (BALDER).

p. 220.] Acc. to Saxo, ed. M. 124, *Hotherus* is son to *Hothbrodus rex Sueciae*, and brother to *Atislus* (the *Aðils* of Yngl. s.); *Nanna* is daughter to *Gevarus* (OHG. *Këpaheri*), and no goddess, indeed she rejects on that ground the suit of the divine *Balder*. *Balder* seems almost to live in Saxony or Lower Germany; the Saxon *Gelderus* is his ally and *Hother's* enemy, and shares *Balder's* overthrow. *Balder* has come to Zealand, apparently from Saxony; he never was in Sweden. Saxo makes *Nanna* fall to the lot, not of *Balder*, but of *Hother*, who takes her with him to Sweden. *Balder*, mortally wounded by *Hother*, dies the third day. The tale of king *Bolder's* fight with king *Hother* is told in Schleswig too, but it makes *Bolder* the victor, Müllenh. 373; conf. the tale of *Balder* and *Rune* 606.

p. 221.] *Paltar* also in MB. 9, 23 (year 837). '*Baldor servus*,' Polypt. de S. Remig. 55^a. *Baaldaich*, Neugart no. 289. Lith. *baltas* = white, good (conf. *Baldr inn góði*, Sn. 64), *baltorus* a pale man; and the notions white and quick often meet, as in Gr. *ἀργός*, Passow sub v.

p. 222.] A god *Baldach* is named in the legend of St. Bartholomew (Leg. aur. c. 118), also in the Passional 290, 28; but in the Mid. Ages they said *Baldach* for *Bagdad*, and *Baldewius* for *Bedouins*. *Svipdagr*, *Menglöð's* lover, is the son of *Sólbiört* (sun-bright) and *Grôa*. To the proper names add *Ostertac*, which answers best of all to *Bældag* = dies ignis. Conf. also the Celtic *Bel*, *Belenus*, p. 613.

p. 222.] *Baldr's* beaming beauty is expr. in the saying: *fått er liott á Baldri*; but what means the Icel. saw: *logið hefir Baldr at Baldri*, Fornm. sög. 6, 257? From his white eyebrow—a feature ascr. also to *Bödvildr*, '*meyna brá-hvíto*,' Sæm. 139^b, and to *Artemis λευκοφρύνη*—the anthemis cotula is called *Ballerbro*, Fries, udf. 1, 86; conf. Dyb. 1845, p. 74. He gives name to *Balderes* lêge, Kemble, 5, 117 (863), and *Balteres* eih, oak.

On *Breiðablik*, conf. p. 795; add 'in manigen breiten blicken,' Tr. kr. 42475. Midsummer was sacred to *Balder*, and the Christians seem to have put St. John in his place. The mistletoe,

with which he was slain, has to be cut at that time, Dyb. Runa 1844, 21-2. Do the fires of John commemorate the burning of Balder's body? In Tegner's Frithiofss. xiii., Baldersbål is lighted at Midsummer.—'Hvat maelti (spake) Oðinn, aðr â bål stigi, sialfr í eyra syni (in his son's ear)?' Sæm. 38^a; otherw. 'í eyra Baldri, aðr hann var â bål borinn?' Fornald. sög. 1, 487. Conf. Plaut. Trinum. i. 2, 170: 'sciunt id quod in aurem rex reginae dixerit, sciunt quod Juno fabulata est cum Jove,' i.e. the greatest secrets.

p. 224.] *Höðr* is called *Baldurs bani*, *B. andskoti*, Sæm. 95^{a, b}; he is brought and laid on the funeral pile (â bål) by his slayer the newborn Vali, *ibid.* The Edda does not make him out a god of war, nor does the ON. *höðr* mean pugna; but, the AS. *heaðo* does (Kemb. Beow. vol. 1, and in *heaðolâf*, Beow. 914), so does the Ir. *cath.* In Saxo, Hotherus is a Swed. hero, and not blind, but skilled in the bow and harp (ed. M. 111: *citharoedus* 123); he is favoured by wood-nymphs, and gifted with wound-proof raiment and an irresistible sword. Is the Swed. tale of *Blind Hatt*, Cavall, 363, to be conn. with him? Consider Hadolåva, Hadeln, Hatheleria, Hadersleben; and Hothers-nes (now Horsens?) in Jutland is supposed to be named after him, Saxo 122. An AS. *Heaðobeard*, like Longbeard.

Hermôðr is in Sögubrot (Fornald. s. 1, 373) called 'baszt hugaðr,' and 'like Helgi,' i.e. comparable to Helgi. In Beow. 1795 he is named immed. after Sigemund; he falls into the power of the Eotens, and brings trouble on his people; again in 3417 he is blamed. Does *Hermôðr* mean *militandi fessus*? OHG. *Herimuot*, *Herimaot* (never *Herimuodi*), is against it. *Hermôdes þorn* in Kemb. Chart. 3, 387; 'terra quae Anglice *Hermodesodes* nuncupatur,' Chartol. mon. S. Trinitatis (Guérard S. Bertin 455).

p. 224.] The spell is given p. 1231-2. On *Phol*, see Kl. schr. 2, 12—17. F. Wachter in the Hall. Encycl. 1845, art. *Pferd*, pronounces *phol* the plur. of a strong neut. noun *phol*, a foal. Thus: 'foals and Wôdan fared in the wood.' But the poem itself uses for foal the weak (the only correct) form *volo*; and what poet would think of naming the god's horse or horses *beside*, and even *before*, the god himself? Again, was ever a running horse said to *fahren*?

p. 226.] *Pfalsau* is called *Pfoals-owa*, MB. 4, 519 (circ. 1126);

Phols-hou 4, 229; and *Phols-u* 4, 219. 222-3. *Phûls-ouua*, Notizenbl. 6, 141. *Phols-owe*, Bair. quellen, 1, 279. 'To the 'eas' enumer. in Hpt. Ztschr. 2, 254, add 'des Wunsches ouwe,' Gerh. 2308; 'der juncfrouwen wert,' Iw. 6326 (Guest 196^b, lille at puceles); *Gotis-werder* in Prussia, Lindenbl. 31. 150. With *Pholes-piunt* conf. other names of places also compounded with the gen. case: Ebures-piunt, Tutilis-p., Heibistes-bunta (Fin. Wirceb.).

p. 226.] *Pfahlbronn* by Lorch, Stälin 1, 85. *Pohlborn* on the Devil's Dike, Wetterau, p. 1022-3. Johannes de *Paleborne*, yr 1300 (Thür. mitth. iv. 2, 48); is this our Paderborn? and may that town, called in L. German Padelborn, Palborn, Balborn, be one of Balder's burns? *Balborn* in the Palatinate, Weisth. 1, 778-9. *Balde-burnen*, -borne, Böhmer's Reg. 231-2, yr 1302. Heinrich von *Pfols-prundt*, surgeon, brother of the Teut. Order about 1460. *Polborn*, a family name at Berlin. In H. of Fritzlar, January or February is *Volborne*, conf. the man's name *Vollborn*, *Fülleborn*, also *Faulborn*, GDS. 798. [Plenty of Ful-burns, -becks, brooks, -meres, -hams, etc. in Engl.] A *Pal-guise* (and Kirch-guise) in the Wetterau, Arnsb. urk. no. 439; de phal-guise, p. 267; palgunse, p. 298. *Pholnrade*, Thür. mitth. vi. 3, 2. *Pfulnrade*, 4, 47. 66. *Fulesbutle*, Lappenb. urk. no. 805. 812, yr 1283-4, now Fulhsbüttel. *Bahlerslee* in Schleswig is supposed to contain *hlie* refugium, and appar. answers to the place named *Balderi fuga* in Saxo, ed. M. 119.

p. 227.] That *Phol* (Kl. schr. 2, 12) is a fondling form of Balder, Paltar, seems after all extr. probable; the differ. of initial does not matter, as Liudolf becomes Dudo.—Beside the Celtic Bel, we might conn. Phol with Apollo, as an *a* is often prefixed in Grk. Or with pol in 'Pol; edepol!' by Pollux. Or with *phol*, *ful*=boar, p. 996, seeing that eburespiunt answ. to pholespiunt, Sup. to 226. In Gramm. 3, 682 I have expl. *volencel*, *fannus*, Gl. Bern., Diut. 2, 214^b, by fol, fou, stultus. A hero *Pholus* in Ov. Met. 12, 306. On the Ethiop king *Phol*, see Hpt Ztschr. 5, 69.

p. 228 n.] On *Ullr*=OHG. Wol, see Hpt Ztschr. 7, 393; better to conn. it with Goth. Vulpus 8, 201; yet see Sup. to 163 n.

p. 229 n.] The whirlwind is called *Pulhoidchen*, *Pulhaud*, Schamb. 161; conf. infra, p. 285 n. 632-6. Beside Boylsperg,

we find *Boylborn*, Mitth. Thür. Ver. v. 4, 60. *Fold*, see p. 992 n. In Reinwald's Henneb. Id. 1, 37 we find the phrase 'to have (or take) something for your *fol*' means 'to lie on the bed you have made.' Acc. to the Achen mundart 56, the weavers of Aix call cloth made of yarn that they have cabbaged *folliche*, *füllchen* [filch? Goth. filhan, to hide]. In Kammerforst, the old ban-forest near Trier, which none might tread with *gesteppten leimeln* (nailed shoes), dwells a spirit who chastises wood-spoilers and scoffers: his name is *Pulch*, still a family-name in Trier. And the hill outside the city, down which the wheel used to be rolled into the Moselle (Sup. to 191), is *Pulsberg*. Near Waldweiler is a *Pohlfels*, and in Prüm circuit a *Pohlbach*.

p. 229.] *Forseta-lund* (-grove) in Norway, Munch's Beskriv. 483.

p. 231.] Villa *Forsazi* in pago Lisgau (Fürste near Osterode?) in a charter of Otto III., yr 990, Harenberg's Gandersheim 625. Falke 483. Walterus de *Forsaten* (Fürste by Alfeld), Falke 890, yr 1197. In Saxonia, in pago qui vocatur *Firihsazi*, Einhard's Ann., yr 823 (Pertz, 1, 211) with the variants: *firihsati*, *fiuhsazi*, *frihsazi*, *strihsazi*, *firichsare*, *virsedi*; in Ann. Fuld. (Pertz 1, 358) *Firihsazi*. The deriv. conjectured at p. 232 n., from *fors*, cataract, seems the safest, GDS. 757.

p. 232.] Later stories of fishermen and sailors at *Helgoland*, and the carrying about of an image of St. Giet, are in Müllenh. no. 117. 181. 535; conf. p. 597. Similar names, often confounded with it (see Fornm. sög. 12, 298), are: *Hálogaland*, now Helgeland, in the north of Norway, and the Swedish (once Danish) province of *Halland*, called in Ælfred's Periplus *Halgoland*. Ought we to write Hålgoland? conf. Heli, p. 388.

CHAPTER XII.

OTHER GODS.

p. 234.] *Heimðallr* is expl. by Leo, vorl. 131, as heim-dolde, world-tree. If *d* instead of *ð* were correct, it might contain the AS. deal, dealles (note to Andr. 126). *Heimðall viðkunnari enn vörðr með goðum*, Sæm. 85^a, the sverd-âs in *Himinbiörg*, reminds

of the angel guarding Paradise with a sword, El. 755, &c. His blowing a horn when Surtr approaches recalls "the last trump" (put-haurn, Ulph.), 1 Cor. 15, 52.—A *Himiles-berc* in Mone's Anz. 6, 228; a *Heofen-fjell* in Northumb., Lye sub v.—Heimdallr is called *Vindler*, Sn. 105, *Vindlere* in Resen.—Of Finnish gods, Ahti or Lemminkäinen has the sharpest ears, Kalev. 17, 7 (Anshelm 3, 64 speaks of hearing the grass grow).—H. is son of Oðinn by 9 mothers, Sn. 211^a. Laxd. saga p. 392; does it mean his father had 9 wives? The Romans called their Liber *bi-mater*; conf. the name Quatremère.

p. 234.] *Rígr* is *stígandi*, *gángandi*, Sæm. 100^a. 105^a. In Yngl. p. 20 he is the first Danish king; his son *Danpr* has a daughter *Drótt*, the mother of *Dyggvi*, and a son *Dagr*. Sæm. 106^b names '*Danr ok Danpr*' together; conf. F. Magn. lex. p. 670.

p. 235.] *Bragi* is *beckskrautuðr*, scannorum decus, Sæm 61^b; brother of *Dagr* and *Sigrún* 164; pl. *bragnar* dat. brögnum, simply viri 152^a.

p. 236.] A *Burnacker* in Förstem. 2, 4; *brunnacker* in H. Meyer's Zürich. ortsn. 523. Weisth. 1, 119; hence prob. the man's name *Brünaecker* in Konr. v. Weinsb. 3, 4.

p. 237.] The *eager* on the Trent, Carlyle's Hero-worship. AS. *eagor*; in Bailey's Dict. *eager*=flood-tide. The Finnish sea-god, with beard of grass, sitting on a water-lily, is *Ahto*, *Ahti*, gen. *Ahin*, Kalev. 22, 301. 29, 13. 15; conf. my Kl. schr. 3, 122.

p. 238.] Like Oegi's helm is the *Echelmer stein* on a hill in the Kellergebirge, Hess. Ztschr. 1, 245. On *Grîmr ægir*, see p. 1017. In the helmet '*lît ein hiltegrîn*,' Dietr. drachenk. 11; galeae *minaci*, Claudian in Prob. et Olybr. 92; *terribilem galeam*, Virg. Aen. 8, 620.

p. 238.] *Oegir* is a *iötunn*, Hfm. 3; a *bergbúi* 2. The ON. *ógn*, f.,=terror and ocean; *ógnar liomi*=gold, Sæm. 152^a; *ógorliq* *Oegisdottor* 153^a; *ölsmiðr*=*Oegir*, Egills. 618. What means *Oegis-heimr*, Sæm. 124-5? *Egisleiba*, *Agistadium*, Hpt's Ztschr. 8, 588; *Agasúl* on L. Zurich 2, 536, formed like *Agadora* (Eider, p. 239?) *oegisandr*, sea-sand, Barl. 26, 20.

p. 240.] *Ills* dætrr á við blésu. her er sjor kallaðr *Illér*, því at hann hlýr allra minnz, Sn. 332; hlýr=e gelidus, tepidus,

OHG. *lào*, *lâwer*, Graff 2, 294; Ir. *lir*, Conan 33-4-9. 93. 192-3. Diarmid 87. 112-4-6; also *lear*, Learthonn, T. 7.

p. 242.] As *Logi*, the 'villi-eldr,' Sn. 60, is son to giant Forniotr, so is *Loki* a son of giant Farbauti. The eating-match betw. *Loki* and *Logi* is like that of Herakles and Lepreus, Athenæ. p. 412. Paus. 5, 5. Prometheus is chained to the rock by Hephæstus, *Loki* by *Logi*.—*Loki*, 'sâ er flestu illu raeðr,' is hateful to the gods: *er öll regin ægja*, Thorl. sp. 6, 38; *sâ inn laevisi Loki*, Sæm. 67^b; in folksongs '*Loke leve*,' Wieselgr. 384-5, in Danish '*Loke lejemand*,' conf. the name *Liuiso*, *Liuiso*, Trad. fuld. 2, 32-43; in Norweg. '*hin onde*,' Hallager, as *Oden* is in l. 828; for *Lokkens havre* we have '*den ondes hafre*, *Dybeck runa* 1847, 30-1.—There is a saying: '*leingi geingr Loki ok Thórr* (=lightning and thunder), *lêttir ei hríðum*,' the storm lasts.—*Rask* thinks the name akin to Finn. *lokki*, wolf; some may think it an abbrev. of *Lucifer*! *Uhland* takes *Loki* to be the *locker-up*, *concluder* of all things, as *Heimdall* is originator. To *Logi* conf. *Hálogi* for *Hölg*, Sn. 128. 154. F. Magn. lex. p. 981.

p. 243.] '*Ik bede di grindel an deser helle*,' *Upstandinge* 553, seems almost to mean a personal devil.

p. 243 n.] It is true, another race of rulers beside the *Ases* is imagined, one of whom, *Gylfi* king of Sweden, sets out as *gangleri* (pilgrim) to spy out the *Ases* (Sn. 1. 2. 2, &c.), but is cheated by them. But this is an imitation of Eddic lays, which make *Oðin* as *gangleri* and *gangrâðr* travel to the giants, and talk with them. Sæm. 31-2; conf. *Aegir's* journey to *Asgard*, and his dialogue with *Bragi*, Sn. 79, &c.

p. 245.] In Sæm. 37^a *Fenrir* pursues *Alf-röðull*, which must mean the moon, the 'sun of the elves'; conf. '*festr mun slitna enn Frecki renna*,' Sæm. 7-8. '*man óbundinn Fenris-úlfr fara*,' *Hakonarm.* 23. '*Loki líðr or böndum*,' Sæm. 96^a (conf. *iótunn losnar* 8^a; is this *Loki* or *Surtr*? *Loki* is lægiarnlíki áþeckr, monstro similis 7^a).—*Loki* is caught by *þiazi*, Sn. 81, and expressively chained 70 (conf. Sæm. 7^a); so is *Fenrir* 33-4-5; conf. the chained giant (Suppl. to 544), chained devil (p. 1011), chained *Kronos* (p. 832 n.).—*Loki's* daughter *Hel* esp. makes it likely that he too was common to all Teut. nations.

p. 247.] AS. *sátor-láðe*, panicum crusgalli, is a grass like the *ἀγρωστis* sown by *Kronos* (Suppl. to 1192). One is reminded of

Saturni dolium by 'Lucifer sedens in *dolio*,' Upstandinge p. 41, and 'des *tiuvels vaz*,' Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 327. What means the ON. *scáturnir*, Sn. 222^b?

p. 248-9.] Delius pp. 41. 50 cites *krodenduvel*, *kroden*-heuker, *kroden*-kind; is the first out of Botho? In a Hildesheim MS. of the 16th cent., Frosch-mens, we read: 'pravi spiritus, id est, de *kroden duvels*' in contrast with the good holdes. In Hh. VIII^a: 'misshapen as they paint the *kroden teuffel*.'—Jordanes de regn. succ. p. m. 2 has the pedigree 'Saturnus, Picus, Faunus, Latinus'; conf. p. 673 and GDS. 120.

CHAPTER XIII.

GODDESSES.

p. 250 n.] The MHG. *gotinne* is in Sæm. 115^a *gyðja*, yet in 114^b *ey trúði Ottarr â úsynjor*, and 61^a *heilir aesir*, *heilar úsynjor!* conf. πάντες τε θεοὶ πασαί τε θέαιναί, Il. 8, 5. 19, 101. Od. 8, 341. This word goddess acquired a lower sense, being used by the people for fair dames and pretty lasses, Liudpr. antap. 4, 13. 'Ermegart Himmel-*gotin*,' Rückert's Ludwig 97. What is the *götin* in Nithart MSH. 3, 288^a, who goes 'unter dem *fanen* ûz dem vorst, wol *geammet*,' and is led out on the green under *blue sky* (baldachin), apparently by peasants at an old harvest-festival? conf. fee, Suppl. to 410.

p. 251.] OHG. *ero*, earth, answers to Ssk. *irá*, Ir. *ire*, GDS. 55. *Tellus* might be for *terulus*, as *puella* for *puerula*, but the gen. is *telluris*, conf. Ssk. *tala*, fundus. *Humus* is Ssk. *xamá*. *Taia*, called *πρωτόμαντις* in Æsch. Eum. 2, corresponds to Ssk. *gaus*, *gô*, cow (p. 665), the cow being mother of the world (p. 559): *ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί*, a frequent Attic invocation. ON. *fold* is unpersonal, yet is greeted in Sæm. 194^a: *heil sú hin fioluŷta fold!* GDS. 60 (p. 254).—*Iörð*, earth, is called Ionakr's tree-green, oak-green daughter: *dottur Onars viði-groen*, Sn. 123; *eiki-groent Onars fliöð*, Fornm. sög. 1, 29. 12, 27. She is daughter of night in Sæm. 194^a: *heil nótt ok nipt!* but who is *eorðan bróðor*, Cod. Exon. 490, 23? *Iörð* is also mother of Meili, Thor's brother, Sæm. 76^a; *Iörð* = *Fiörgyn* 80^b (p. 172).—Of *Rindr* and

her relation to Oðin: 'seid Yggr til Rindr,' Y. amores Rindae incantamentis sibi conciliavit, Sn. 1848. 1, 236. Is AS. *hruse* (terra) contained in *grusebank*, turf-bench, Schm. von Wern. 114?

p. 251 n.] At Attila's grave too the servants are killed: 'et ut tot et tantis divitiis humana curiositas arceretur, *operi deputatos trucidarunt*, emersitque momentanea mors sepelientibus cum sepulto,' Jorn. cap. 49. The Dacian king Decebalus buries his treasure under the *bed* of the Sargetia, Cass. Dio 68, 14. Giesebrecht supposes the Wends had the same custom, Balt. stud. 11, 28-9.

p. 252.] *Nerthus* is the only true reading, says Müllenhoff, Hpt's Ztschr. 9, 256; *Erthus* is admissible, think Zeuss and Bessel. *Nerthus* answers to Ssk. *Nritus*, terra, Bopp 202^b; conf. C. Hofmann in Ztschr. der morgenl. ges. 1847. A thesis by Pyl, *Medea*, Berol. 1850 p. 96 derives it fr. LG. *nerder*, *nerdrig*, conf. *νέρτερος*. Her island can hardly be Rügen (p. 255-6), but perhaps Femern or Alsen, says Müllenh., Nordalb. stud. 1, 128-9. Her car stood in the grove (*templum*) under a tree, Giefers. '*Nerthus*, id est, *Terra mater*' strongly reminds of Pliny's *mater deum* 18, 4: quo anno *m. d.* advecta Romam est, *majorem ea aestate messem quam antecedentibus annis decem factam esse tradunt*.

p. 253.] Though the people now imagine *fru Gode*, *Goden*, *Gauden* as a frau, there appears now and then a *de koen* (king) instead, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 385. Legends of fru Gauden in Lisch, Meckl. jrb. 8, 203, &c. Niederhöffer 2, 91 (conf. p. 925-6-7). Harvest-home still called *vergodensdél* in Lüneburg, conf. Kuhn and Schwartz p. 394-5. The Vermlanders call Thor's wife *god-mor*, good mother. Rask, Afh. 1, 94 derives ON. *Góí* fr. Finn. *koi* (anrora). GDS. 53. 93.

p. 254] Priscus calls Attila's wife *Κρέκα* 179, 9, '*Πέκαν* 207, 17, which easily becomes Herka. Frau *Harke* a giantess, Kuhn 146. 371. *Fru Harke*, *Arke*, *Harfe*, *Harre*, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 386, 5, 377. Sommer 11. 167-8. 147 (conf. frau *Motte*, 12. 168. 147). A witch's daughter *Harka*, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 255. *Haksche*, like *Godsche* for *Gode*, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 377. *Harke* flies through the air in the shape of a *dove*, makes the fields *fruitful*, carries a stool to sit on, so as not to touch the ground, Sommer p. 12; this is like Herodias (p. 285) and the wandering woman (p. 632. 1058).

p. 254 n.] Mommsen 133 derives *Ceres*, Oscan *Kerres*, from *creare*; Hitzig Philist. 232 connects it with $\text{Çrîs} = \text{Śrî}$; I with *cera* and *cresco*. For *Demeter* the Slavs have *země matě*, mother earth; a dear mother, like (πυρὸς) φίλλης Δήμητρος , Æsop (Corais 212. de Furia 367). Babr. 131; conf. Δημήτερος ἀκτῆ , Il. 13, 323, and 'das liebe korn, getreidelein,' Gram. 3, 665. GDS. 53. The Earth's lap is like a mother's: *foldan sceát* (= *schoosz*), Cod. Exon. 428, 22. *eorðan sceáta eardian* 496, 23. *eorðan sceátas hweorfan* 309, 22. *grand-bedd* 493, 3.

p. 255.] On the goddess's progress see Suppl. to 252. With her bath conf. the purifying bath of *Rhea* (Preller 1, 409), whose name Pott would explain by $\text{εὐρεῖα} = \text{Ssk. urvî}$ fr. $\text{urú} = \text{varú}$, Kuhn's Ztschr. 5, 285. The *lavatio Berecynthiae* is described by Augustine, Civ. Dei 2, 4; conf. Vita Martini cap. 9 (W. Müller p. 48). The image of Artemis was washed in seven rivers flowing out of one spring, Pref. to Theocritus; the *alraun* and *alirumna* were bathed.

p. 256 n.] The LG. farmer's maxim, 'Mai-mând kold un nat Füllt schünen un fat, is in Swedish 'Mai kall Fyller bondens lador all,' Runa 1844, 6. A similar saw in Bretagne about St. Anne, Lausitzer mag. 8, 51; how is it worded in French?

p. 257.] On *Tanfana* see my Kl. Schr. 5, 415, etc. GDS. 231-2. 336. 622.

p. 263.] From Rodulf's account was probably taken the 16th cent. notice in Reiffenberg's Phil. Mouskes, tome 1. Brux. 1838 app. p. 721: 'Sub Alexandro, qui fuit sex annis episcopus (Leodiensis) et depositus in Conc. Pisae an. 1135, fuit quaedam *prodigiosa* seu *demoniaca navis*, quae innixa rotis et *magice agitata* malignis spiritibus attractu funium fuit Tungris inducta Loscastrum. Ad quam omnis sexus appropinquans tripudiare et saltare cogebatur *etiam nudo corpore*. Ad eam feminae de mane stratis exilientes accurrebant, dum dicta navis citharae et aliorum instrumentorum sonitu resonaret.'—Weavers, whom Rodulf makes prominent in hauling and guarding the ship, have something to do with navigation: in their trade they ply the schiff (shuttle), and that is why they were called *marnier*, Jäger's Ulm p. 636-7. About carrying ships on shoulders Pliny has another passage 5, 9: 'ibi Aethiopicae conveniunt naves; namque eas *plicatiles humeris transferunt* quoties ad catarractas ventum est.'

Also Justin 32, 3: 'Istri naves suas *humeris* per juga montium usque ad littus Adriatici maris *transtulerunt*.'

Additional traces of German ship-processions and festivals. In Antwerp and Brabant, near the scene of that old procession, there was about 1400 'eine gilde in der blauwer scuten,' Hpt's Ztschr. 1, 266-7. At Shrovetide sailors drag a ship about, Kuhn's Nordd. sagen p. 369. At the Schönbart-running in Nürnberg, men in motley used at Shrovetide to carry Hell round, including a ship and the Venus Mount; see Hist. of Schönb.-run. at N., by the Germ. Soc. of Altdorf 1761. Another ship-procession in Hone's Everyday-book 2, 851. In the 'Mauritius und Beamunt,' vv. 627—894, a ship on wheels, with knights and music on board, is drawn by concealed horses through the same Rhine and Meuse country to a tournament at Cologne; it is afterwards divided among the garzuns (pages), v. 1040. Is the idea of the *Ship of fools* travelling fr. land to land akin to this? especially as Dame Venus 'mit dem *ströwen ars*' (conf. Hulda's stroharnss, p. 269n.) rides in it, ed. Strobel p. 107; 'frau Fenus mit dem stroem loch,' Fastn.-sp. p. 263. Consider too the cloud-ship of Magonia (p. 639), and the enchanted ship with the great band of music, Müllenh. p. 220. The 'wilde gjaid' comes along in a sledge shaped like a ship, drawn by naughty maidservants, who get whipped, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 32-3. Nursery-tales tell of a ship that crosses land and water, Meier 31. Schambach 18. Pröhle's Märchen nos. 46-7. Wolf's Beitr. 1, 152, &c. Finn. märch. 2, 1^b. Berchta is often ferried over, and of Oðinn the Sólarioð 77 (Sæm. 130^a) says: Oðins qvon rær á iarðar skipi.

p. 264 n.] At Shrovetide a plough was drawn through the streets by maskers, Büsching's Wöch. nachr. 1, 124, fr. Tenzel. H. Sachs says, on Ash-Wednesday the maids who had not taken men were yoked in a plough; so Fastn.-sp. 247, 6-7; 'pulling the fools' plough' 233. 10. Kuhn conn. *pfluo*, *plógr*, Lith. *plugas* with the root plu, flu, so that plough orig. meant boat, Ssk. plava, Gr. *πλοῖον*.

p. 265 n.] Drinking-bowls in ship shape; *argentea navis*, Pertz 10, 577. A nef d'or on the king's table, Garin 2, 16-7; later examples in Schweinichen 1, 158. 187. An oracle spoke of a silver ploughshare, Thucyd. 5, 16.

p. 265 n. 2.] Annius Viterb., ed. ascensiana 1512, fol. 171^{ab}:

'ergo venit (Isis) in Italiam et docuit frumentariam, molendinariam et panificam, cum ante glande vescerentur . . . Viterbi primi panes ab *Isile* confecti sunt. item Vetuloniae celebravit Jasius nuptias, et panes obtulit primos *Isis*, ut in V. antiquitatum Berosus asserit. porro, ut probant superiores quaestiones, Vetulonia est Viterbum.' The Lith. *Krumine* wanders all over the world to find her daughter, and teaches men agriculture, Hanusch 245. The year will be *fruitful* if there is a rustling in the air during the twelves, Sommer p. 12 (Suppl. to 254).

p. 267.] Goth. *hulps* propitius is fr. *hilpan*, *halp*, *hulþun*, to bow (s. *Löbe*). *Holle*, *Holda* is a cow's name in Carinthia. In Dietr. drachenk., str. 517-8, &c. there is a giant called *Hulle*, but in str. 993: 'sprancten für *frowen Hullen* der edelen juncfrowen fin.' In Thuringia *frau Wolle*, *Rolle*, Sommer 10-1. *Holda* in Cod. Fuld. no. 523. *Frau Hollar* in Rhenish Franconia, Frommann 3, 270. 'Die *Holl* kommt' they say at Giessen, 'die *Hulla*' also beyond the Main about Würzburg, Kestler's Beschr. v. Ochsenfurt, Wrzb. 1845, p. 29. *Frau Holle* also in Silesia. In Up. Sax. she was called *frau Helle*, B. vom abergl. 2, 66-7; *frau Holt* in Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 273.—The *very earliest* mention of *Holda* is in Walafrid Strabo's eulogy of Judith, wife of Louis the Pious:

Organa dulcisono percussit pectine Judith;
O si Sappho loquax vel nos inviseret *Holda*, etc.

p. 267 n.] With Kinderm. 24 conf. the variant in KM. 3, 40 seq., Svenska äfv. 1, 123 and Pentam. 4, 7. Much the same said of the dialas, Schreiber's Taschenb. 4, 310 (Suppl. to 410).

p. 270.] When fog rests on the mountain: 'Dame H. has lit her fire in the hill.' In Alsace when it snows; 'd' engele han's bed gemacht, d' fedre fliege runder;' in Gegenbach 427: 'heaven's feathers fly'; in Nassau: 'Dame H. shakes up her bed,' Kehrein's Nassau p. 280. Nurses fetch babies out of *frau Hollen teich*. In Transylvania are fields named *Frau-holdagraben*, Progr. on Carrying out Death 1861, p. 3. She washes her veil, Pröhle 198. Like Berthe, she is queen or leader of elves and holdes (p. 456), conf. Titania and Dame Venus. 'Fraue Bercht, fraue Holt' occur in the Landskranna (?) Himmelstrasz, printed 1484, Gefken's Beil. 112. In the neigh-

bourhood of the Meisner, Dame H. carried off a rock *on her thumb*, Hess. Ztschr. 4, 108; a cave is there called *Kitz-Kammer*, perhaps because cats were sacred to her as to Freya (p. 305). On the Main, between Hassloch and Grünenwörth, may be seen 'fra Hulle' on the *Fra Hullenstein*, combing her locks. Whoever sees her loses his eyesight or his reason. Dame Holle rides in her coach, makes a whirlwind, pursues the hunter, Pröhle 156. 278. 173, like Pharaïdis, Verild (357 n.). Legends of *Hulle* in Herrlein's Spessart-sag. 179—184. A *frau Hollen-spiel* (-game) in Thuringia, Hess. Ztschr. 4, 109. The *Haule-mutter* (mother H.) in the Harz, an old crone, makes herself great or little, Harrys 2, no. 6. Pröhle 278; conf. *Haule-männerchen* (dwarfs) in KM. no. 13. She is a humpbacked little woman, Sommer p. 9; walks with a crutch about Haxthausen, Westph.—Again, queen Holle appears as *housekeeper* and *henschwoman* to Frederick Barbarossa in Kifhäuser, exactly as Dame Venus travels in Wuotan's retinue, Sommer p. 6. In Up. Hesse 'meätt der Holle färn' means, to have tumbled hair or tangled distaff, prob. also night-walking: the Holle at Wartburg looks like a witch, Woeste's Mitth. p. 289 no. 24; conf. 'verheuletes haar,' Corrodi professor 59, and a man with shaggy hair is called *holle-kopf*.—With her *stroharnss* conf. *ströwen-ars*, Suppl. to 263. Careless spinners are threatened with the *verwunschene frau*, Panzer's Beitr. 1, 84: she who does not get her spinning over by Sunday will have Holle in her distaff to tangle it; conf. the Kuga (p. 1188-9).

p. 272.] The *Huldarsaga*, tale of the sorceress Huldr, is told by Sturle; conf. the extract fr. Sturlunga in Oldn. läseb. p. 40. *Huldre-web* in Norway means a soft vegetable material like flannel; and in Faye 42 Huldra is clothed in green. The *hulder* in Asb. 1, 48. 78. 199 has a cow's tail; here it is not so much one hulder, as *many* huldren that appear *singly*. So in the M.Nethl. Rose 5679: '*huldèn*, die daer singhen'; are these mermaids? In Sweden they have a *hulle-fru* and a *Hildi-moder*, Geyer 1, 27; conf. Dybeck 1845, 56.

p. 273.] The name of *Perahta*, the bright, answers to Selēuē, Lucina, Luna, therefore Artemis, Diana. Hence she takes part in the Wild Hunt, accompanied by hounds, like Hecatē; hence also, in the LG. Valentin und Namelos, Berta has become *Clarina*

[conf. St. *Lucy*, frau *Lutz*, p. 274 n.].—The Lith. *Lauma* is very like Berhta and Holda: she is goddess of earth and of weaving. She appears in a house, helps the girls to *weave*, and gets through a piece of linen in no time; but then the girl has to guess her name. If she guesses right, she keeps the linen; if not, the laume takes it away. One girl said to the laume: ‘*Laume Sore peezin anda dūna pelnydama*,’ i. S. weaves with her arm, earning bread. Her name was Sore, so the girl kept the linen, N. Preuss. prov. bl. 2, 380. Schleicher in Wien. ber. 11, 104 seq. says, the laume is a malignant alp (nightmare) who steals children, is voracious, yet bathes on the beach, helps, and brings linen: a distinct being (11, 96-7) fr. the *laina* spoken of on p. 416 n. Nesselm. 353^b.

p. 273 n.] *Werre* is akin to *Wandel-muot*, Ls. 3, 88. 1, 205-8: frô *Wandelmuot* sendet ir *scheid-sâmen* (seeds of division) 2, 157. in dirre wîten werlde kreizen hat *irre-sâmen* (seeds of error) uns gesât ein frouwe ist *Wendelmuot* geheizen, MS. 2, 198^b; conf. the seed sown by death (p. 848) and the devil (p. 1012). from *Wendelmuot* hie liebe maet mit der vürwitz segens abe (dame Ficklemynd here mows down love with curiosity’s keen sithe), Turl. Wh. 128^a.

p. 274.] The *meal* set ready for Bertha resembles the food offered to Hecate on the 30th of the month, Athen. 3, 194; certain *fish* are *Ἐκάτης βρώματα* 3, 146-7. 323. Filling the belly with chopped straw: conf. the *hrísmagi*, Laxd. saga 226. As the *white lady* prescribes a diet for the country-folk (Morgenbl. 1847, nos. 50—52), they tell of a dame *Borggabe* (loan), who gave or lent money and corn to needy men, if they went to her cave and cried ‘Gracious dame B:’; conf. OHG. *chorn-gëpâ* Ceres, *sâmo-këpa* saticensa, Gibicho; *wîn-gebe*, MB. 13, 42. *oti-geba* (890 n.). Nycolaus von dem *crumen-ghebe*, an. 1334, Henneb. urk. ii. 13, 30.

p. 277.] Berta, like Holda, is called *mother* in the Swed. märchen p. 366, *gamla B.*, trollkäring. In one Swed. tale a fair lady walks attended by *many dwarfs*; the room she enters is filled with them, Wieselgr. 454.—Like the Thuringian Perchta, the *devil blows out eyes*, Müllenh. p. 202; care breathes upon Faust, and blinds him; conf. the curse, ‘Your eyes are mine,’ N. Preuss. prov. bl. 1, 395, and ‘spältle zustreichen,

aufstreichen (stroke them shut, stroke them open), Meier's Schwäb. sag. 136. — After the *lapse of a year* the woman gets her child back, Müllenh. no. 472; so does the man in the wild hunt get rid of his hump (Suppl. to 930); conf. Steub's Vorarlberg p. 83, Bader's Sagen no. 424, and the Cheese-mannikin in Panzer 2, 40. On Berhta's share in the Furious Hunt, see p. 932.

p. 277.] In S. Germany, beside Bertha, Berche, we find 'frau Bert, Bertel, Panzer's Beitr. 1, 247-8. The *wild* Berta wipes her — with the unspun flax. At Holzberndorf in Up. Franconia, a lad acts *Eisen-bertha*, clad in a cow's hide, bell in hand; to good children he gives nuts and apples, to bad ones the rod 2, 117.

p. 278.] To the Bavar. name *Stempo* we can add that of the Strasburger *Stampho*, an. 1277, Böhmer's Reg. Rudolphi no. 322; conf. *stempfel*, hangman, MS. 2, 2^b. 3^a. In Schm. 3, 638 *stampulanz* = bugbear, 2, 248 *stempen-har* = flax; conf. Von d. Hagen's G. Abent. 3, 13-4. — Beside *Trempe*, there seems to be a *Temper*, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 181, perhaps sprung out of Quatember in the same way as frau *Faste* (p. 782 n.), *ibid.* 1, 292. *tolle trompe* (trampel?), Rocken-phil. 2, 16-7. In favour of S having been added before T is *Schperchta* for Perchta, Mannh. Ztschr. 4. 388. As *Stempe* *treads* like the alp, she seems ident. with the alp-crushing *Muraue*.

p. 279.] In Salzburg country the Christmas-tree is called *Bechl-boschen*, Weim. jrb. 2, 133. 'in loco qui dicitur *Bertenwisun*,' Salz. urk. of 10th cent., Arch. f. östr. gesch. 22, 299. 304. Outside Remshard near Günzburg, Bav., is a wood 'zu der *dirne* (girl).' The *dirne-weibl* used to be there in a red frock with a basket of fine apples, which she gave away and changed into money. If people did not go with her, she returned weeping into the wood. 'Here comes the *dirne-weibl*' said children, to frighten each other. Seb. Brant p. m. 195 knows about *Büchten farn*, B.'s fern.

Berchtolt is a common name in Swabia, Bit. 10, 306. 770; conf. *Berchtols-gaden* (now *Berchtes-g.*), *Prechtles-boden-alpe*, Seidl's Almer 2, 73. The *white mannikin* is also described by Bader no. 417.

p. 280.] When Malesherbes was talking to Louis XVI. of the fate in store for him, the king said: 'On m'a souvent raconté

dans mon enfance, que toutes les fois qu'un roi de la maison des Bourbons devait mourir, on voyait à minuit se promener dans les galeries du château une *grande femme vêtue de blanc*,' Mém. de Bésenal; conf. 'de witte un swarte Dorte,' Müllenh. p. 343-4; and the *Klag-mutter* p. 1135. The same is told of the Ir. *bansighe*, pl. *mnasighe*, O'Brien sub. vv. sithbhrog, gruagach.

p. 281.] The image of *reine Pédauque*, Prov. Pedauca (Rayn. sub v. auca), stands under the church-doors at Dijon, Nesle, Nevers, St. Pourcin and Toulouse. The last was known to Rabelais: 'qu'elles étaient largement pattues, comme sont les oies et jadis à Toulouse la reine Pedauque.' This statue held a spindle, and spun, and men swore 'par la quenouille de la reine P.,' Paris p. 4. So queen Goose-foot was a spinner; yet her goose-foot did not come of spinning, for the spinning-wheel was not invented till the 15th cent., Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 135. Berhta *cum magno pede*, Massm. Eracl. 385. Heinricus *Gense-fuz*, MB. S, 172. cagots with *goose-foot* or *duck's-foot ears*, Fr. Michel's Races maud. 2, 126-9. 136. 144-7. 152. M. C. Vullieinin's La reine Berte et son temps makes out that Berte la fileuse was wife to Rudolf of Little Burgundy, daughter to the Alamann duke Burchard, and mother to Adelheid who married Otto I.; this Berta died at Payerne about 970. To the white damsel is given a *little white lamb*, Müllenh. p. 347.

p. 285 n.] The whirlwind is called *sau-arsch*, *mucken-arsch*, Schmidt's Westerswäld. id. 116; in Up. Bavaria *sau-wede*. When it whirls up hay or corn, the people in Passau and Straubing cry to it: '*sau-dreck!* du schwarz ferkel (pig)!' *Sew-zugel*, a term of abuse, H. Sachs v., 347^b; conf. pp. 632. 996. In an old Langobard treaty the devil is *porcorum possessor*.

p. 291.] *Ostara* is akin to Ssk. *vasta* daylight, *vasas* day, *ushas* aurora, *vastar* at early morn; conf. Zend. *ushastara* eastern, Benfey 1, 23. Lith. *auszta* it dawns, *auszrinne* aurora; *Ausca* (r. Ausra), dea occumbentis vel ascendentis solis (Lasicz). Many places in Germany were sacred to her, esp. hills: Austerkopp, Osterk. in Waldeck, Firmen. 1, 324^b, conf. Astenberg 325^a; Osterstube, a cave, Panz. Beitr. 1, 115. 280; Osterbrunne, a christian name: 'ich O., ein edelknecht von Ror,' an. 1352, Schmid's Tübingen 180.—Her feast was a time of great rejoicing, hence the metaphors: '(thou art) *mîner freuden ôster-tuc*

(-day),’ Iw. 8120. *mînes herzens ôstertac*, MS. 2, 223^a. 1, 37^b. der gernden ôstertac, Amgb. 3^a; conf. Meien-tag. It is a surname in the Zoller country: dictus *der Ostertag*, Mon. Zoll. no. 252-7. Frideriches saligen son des Ostertages, no. 306.

The antithesis of east and west seems to demand a *Westara* as goddess of evening or sundown, as Mone suggests, Anz. 5, 493; consider westergibel, westermâne, perh. westerhemde, westerbarn, the Slav. *Vesnà*, even the Lat. *Vespera*, *Vesperugo*.

p. 296.] On the goddess *Zisa*, conf. the history of the origin of Augsburg in Keller’s *Fastn. sp.* p. 1361. About as fabulous as the account of the Augsburg *Zisa*, sounds the following fr. Ladisl. Suntheim’s *Chronica*, Cod. Stuttg. hist., fol. 250: ‘Die selb zeit sasz ain haidnischer hertzog von Swaben da auf dem slos *Hillomondt*, ob *Vertica* (Kempten) der stat gelegen, mit namen *Esnerius*, der wonet noch seinen (adhered to his) haidnischen siten auf *Hillomondt*; zu dem komen die vertriben waren aus *Vertica* und in der gegent darumb, und patten in (begged him), das er sie durch (for the sake of) sein götin, *Zysa* genannt, mit veld begabet und aufnam (endow and befriend) . . . Da sprach hertzog *Esnerius*: wann ir mir swerdt pei den göttern *Edelpoll* und *Hercules* und pei meiner göttin *Zisa*, so will ich euch veldt geben, &c.’

p. 298.] With *Cisa* may be conn. *Cise*, a place in the Grisons, Bergm. Vorarlb. p. 43, and ‘swester *Zeise*,’ Bamb. ver. 10, 143-4; *Zaiszen-perig*, *Zeisl-perg*, Archiv. i. 5, 74. 48. Akin to *Cisara* seems *Cizuris* (Zitgers), a place in *Rhætia*, Pertz 6, 748^a; *Zeizurisperga*, *Zeiszaris-p.*, *Heizzeris-p.*, *Zeizaris-pergan*, *Zeizanes-perge*, Notizenbl. 6, 116. 143. 165. 138. 259. How stands it finally with *Desenberg*, which Lambert calls *Tesenb.*? Pertz 7, 178. Conf. other names in Mone’s Anz. 6, 235, and *Disibodo*, *Disibodenberg*, *Disenb.*, *Weisth.* 2, 168.

p. 299 n.] *Frouwe* heizt von tugenden ein *wîp* (called a *frau* fr. her virtues), Ulr. v. Lichenst. 3, 17:

als ein *vrou* ir werden lîp (her precious body)
tiuret (cherishes) sô daz sie ein *wîp*
geheizen mac mit reinen siten,
der (for her) mac ein man vil gerne biten (sue); Kolocz. 129.

p. 301 n.] A Swed. folksong, not old, in *Arvidss.* 3, 250 has:

'Fröja, du berömda fru, Till hopa bind oss ungetu!' Fröja often = Venus in Bellm. 3, 129. 132-5. M. Neth. vraei, pulcher. vrî = vrô, Pass. 299, 74.

p. 304.] On the etym. of Freya and Frigg, see my Kl. schr. 3, 118. 127. In a Norweg. tale, stor Frigge goes with the cattle of the elves, Asb. Huldr. 1, 201; conf. 206. *Vreke* is found in Belgium too, says Coremans 114-5. 158; a *Vrekeberg* 126. *Frekenteve*, Pertz 3, 776. *Fricconhorst*, an. 1090, Erh. p. 131. For Fruike in Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 373 Kuhn writes *Fuik*, which may mean whirlwind, ON. *fiuka*.

p. 306. *Freyu* and Freyr are both present at Oegi's banquet, but neither his Gerðr nor her Oðr, Sæm. 59; yet she is called *Oðs mey* 5^b, and Hnoss and Gersemi (p. 886) may be her children by Oðr. When Sn. 354 calls her *Oðins friðla*, he prob. confounds her with Frigg (p. 302); or is Oðinn Mars here, and Freya Venus? On the distinctness, yet orig. unity, of the two goddesses, see my Kl. schr. 5, 421-5; was Oðr the Vanic name of Oðinn? 426-7.—To her by-name *Syr* the Norw. plants *Sinrguld* (*Syr-gull*?), anthemis, and *Sirildrot* prob. owe their names, F. Magn. lex. myth. p. 361; while Saxo's *Syritha* is rather Sigríðr, conf. Sygrutha, Saxo 329. GDS. 526.—Freya's hall is *Sessrýmnr*, *Sessvarnr*, Sn. 28; as the cat was sacred to her, we may perh. count the *Kitzkammer* on the Meisner (Suppl. to 270) among her or Holda's dwellings; conf. cat-feeding (p. 1097).

p. 307 n.] *Mani*, *men* is akin to Lat. monile, Dor. *μάνος*, *μάννος*, Pers. *μανιάκης*, *μανίακον*, Ssk. mani, Pott 1, 89. As *men-glöð* expresses a woman's gladness over her jewel, a Swiss woman calls her girdle 'die freude,' Stald. 2, 515-6.

p. 309.] On *Fulla*, *Sunna*, *Sindgund*, see Kl. schr. 2, 17 seq. GDS. 86. 102. Fulla wore a gold headband, for gold is called höfuðband Fullu, Sn. 128.—*Sól* is daughter of Mundilföri (p. 703), wife of *Glenr* (al. Glornir), Sn. 12. 126, or *Dagr*, Fornald. sög. 2, 7. *Fru Sole*, *fru Soletopp* occurs in pop. games, Arvidss. 3, 389. 432.—*Skaði*, daughter of Þiazi, wife of Niörðr and mother of Freyr (gen. Skaða, Sn. 82. Kl. schr. 3, 407), aft. wife of Oðinn and mother of Sæmíngr, Yngl. e. 9.

p. 309.] In Sn. 119 *Gerðr* is *Oðin's* wife or mistress, rival to Frigg. There is a *Thórgerðr* hörgabrúðr. A *Frögertha*, come of heroic race, Saxo Gram. b. 6. Similar, if not so effective as

Gerð's radiant beauty, is the splendour of other ladies in Asb. Huldr. 1, 47: saa deilig at det *skinmede* af hende; in Garg. 76^b: her 'rosen-blüsame' cheeks lit up the ambient air more brightly than the rainbow; in Wirnt die welt:

ir schoene gap sô liechten schîn
und alsô wunneclîchen glast,
daz der selbe pallast
von ir lîbe (body) erliuhtet wart.

p. 310.] On *Syn* and *Vör*, conf. F. Magn. lex. 358-9. Then the compds. *Hervör*, *Gunnvör*; OHG. *Cundwara*, *Hasalwara*, Graff 1, 907; AS. *Fréa-waru*, Beow, 4048. I ought to have mentioned the ON. goddess *Ilmr*, fem., though *ilmr*, suavis odor, is masc.

p. 310.] *Nanna* in the Edda is '*Neps döttir*,' Sn. 31. 66, and Nepr was Óðin's son 211. Saxo makes her a daughter of Gevar (Kepaheri), see Suppl. to 220. Sæm. 116^a speaks of another *Nanna*, '*Nökkva döttir*.' Is '*nönnor Herjans*,' the epithet of the valkyrs, Sæm. 4^b, conn. with *Nanna*?

p. 311 n.] *Fuoge* and *Unfuoge* are supported by the following: er was aller tugende vol, die in diu *Vuoge* lërte (virtues that decency taught him), Pass. 165, 2. diu *Füegel*, *Füeglerin*, Ls. 1, 200-8. wann kompt *Hans Fug*, so sehe und lug (look), Garg. 236^b. daz in *Unfuoge* niht erslüege (slew him not), Walth. 82, 8. *Unfuoge* den palas vlôch, Parz. 809, 19. nu lât (leave ye) der *Unfuoge* ir strît 171, 16; conf. fügen (Suppl. to 23).—Quite unpersonal are; zuht unde fuoge, Greg. 1070. ungevuoge, Er. 9517. 6527. swelch fürsten sô von lande varn, daz zint ouch *irn fuogen* sô, daz *si sint irs heiles vró*, Ernst 1800.

p. 311.] *Gefjon* appears in Lokasenna; conf. p. 861 n. Does hör-*gefn* mean liniatrix? Sæm. 192^a; or is it akin to *Gefn*, *Gefjon*?

p. 312.] Snöriz ramliga *Rân* or hendi giálfr dýr konúngs. Sæm. 153^b. miök hefir *Rân* ryskt um mik, Egilss. p. 616. *Rân* lends Loki her *net*, to catch *Andvari* with, Sæm. 180. Fornald. sög. 1, 152. In the same way watersprites draw souls to them (p. 846). Later she is called *hafsfriun*: '*h., som råder öfver alla livilka omkomma på sjön* (perish at-sea),' Sv. folks. 1, 126. '*Blef sjö-tagen, och kom til hafsfriun*' 132.

ez ist ein geloub der alten wîp,
 swer in dem wazzer verliust den hîp (loses his life),
 daz der sî von Got vertriben. Karajan ou Teichner 41.

p. 313.] Slôu *i hel*, Vilk. s. 515. *i hel* drepa, Sæm. 78^a. bita fyl til hâliu (bite a foal dead), Östgota-lag 213. höfut þitt leysto heljo or, Sæm. 181^a. *Hel* is a person in Sæm. 188^b: 'er þik *Hel* hafi!' in Egilss. 643: 'Niörva nipt (*Hel*) á nesi stendr.'—The fara til *Heljar* was German too (conf. p. 801-2): Adam vuor zuo der helle, und sîue afterkumen alle, Ksr-chr. 9225. ze helle varn, Warn. 2447. 3220. 3310. ze helle varn die hellevert, Barl. 323, 28. faren zuo der hell = die, Seb. Brant's Narr. 57, 9. ze helle varn, Ring 55^d, 27; nu var du in die hell hinab, das ist *din* haus 30; ir muost nu reuschen in die hell 20. ich wolte mich versloffen hân zuo der helle (*Helle*), Troj. kr. 23352. von der hell wider komen (come back fr. hades), Brant's Narr. p. m. 207. in der hell ist ein frau ân liebe (without love), Fastu. 558, 13; spoken of *Hellia*? or of a dead woman? *Helle* speaks, answers the devil, Anegenge 39, 23. dô sprach diu Helle, Grieshaber 2, 147-8. Bavarian stories of *Hell* in Panzer's Beitr. 1, 60. 275. 297. Observe in *Heliand* 103, 9: 'an *thene* suarton hel'; conf. p. 804.

p. 315.] Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus, Petron. c. 34. rapacis *Orci* aula divitem manet herum, Hor. Od. ii. 18, 30. at vobis male sit, malae tenebrae orci, quae omnia bella devoratis, Cat. 3, 13. versperre uns (bar us out) vor der helle munt, Karajan 44, 1. der hellisch rachen steht offen, H. Sachs i. 3, 343^c. diu Helle gar ûf tet (opens wide) ir munt, Alb. v. Halb. 171^b. nu kan daz verfluochte loch nieman erfullen noch (that cursed hole no man can fill), der wirt ist sô gâtic (greedy), Martina 160, 17; conf. 'daz verwôrhte hol' 172, 41. Yet MsH. 3, 233^b has: davon sô ist diu helle vol.—O. v. 23, 265:

then tôd then habet funtan	Hell has found Death,
thiu hella, ioh firsluntan.	And swallowed him up.

Did Otrifrid model this on 1 Cor. 15, 54-5: 'Death is swallowed up in victory. O Death, where is thy sting? O Hades, where thy victory?' Observe the Gothic version: 'ufsaggquiþs varþ *daubus* in sigis. hvar ist gazds þeins, *daubu*? hvar ist sigis þeins, *halja*?' It is a Christian view, that death is swallowed up;

but most of the Greek MSS. have *θάνατε* both times, the Vulgate both times *mors*, whilst Ulphilas divides them into *danþu* and *halja*, and Otfrið makes hell find and swallow death. To the heathens *halja* was receiver and receptacle of the dead, she swallowed the dead, but not death. One Greek MS. however has *θάνατε* and *ἄδη* [suggested by Hosea 13, 14? 'Ero mors tua, O *Mors!* morsus tuus ero, *Inferne!*'], Massm. 63^{bb}; and *ἄδης*, *infernus*, in Matt. 11, 23. Luke 10, 15. 16, 23 is in AS. rendered *helle*. So in Irish the two words in the Epistle are *bais* (death), *uaimh* (pit); in Gael. *bais* and *uaigh* (grave). The Serv. *smrti* and *pakle*, Lith. *smertie* and *pékla*, smack of the Germ. death and hell; conf. Höfer's *Ztschr.* 1, 122.—Westerg. in *Bouterwek*, *Cædm.* 2, 160, sub v. *hel*, identifies it with Ssk. *kâla*, time, death, death-goddess, and *Kâlî*, death-goddess.

p. 315 n.] *Hellevôt* is a n. prop. in Soester's Daniel p. 173. The following statement fits *Helvoetsluis*, the Rom. *Helium*: *Huglâci ossa in Rheni fluminis insula ubi in oceanum prorumpit, reservata sunt,*' Hpt's *Ztschr.* 5, 10.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONDITION OF GODS.

p. 318.] The heathen notion of the *power* of the gods is esp. seen in their being regarded as *wonder-workers*, who did not sink into *sorcerers* till Christian times; conf. p. 1031. GDS. 770. The giants on the other hand were looked upon, even by the heathen, as *stupid*, pp. 526-8-9.—The longevity of gods (long-ævi, *lanc-lîbon*, Notk. Cap. 144) depends on simple food and a soul free from care (p. 320-4). So thinks Terence, *Andr.* 5, 5: *ego vitam deorum propterea sempiternam esse arbitror, quod voluptates eorum propriæ sunt*; and the dwarfs ascribe their long and healthy lives to their honesty and temperance (p. 458).—*Amrita* (*Somad.* 1, 127) is derived by Bopp, *Gl.* 17^a, from *a* priv. and *mrita* mortuus, hence immortal and conferring immortality; and *ἄμβροσία* (279^a) fr. *ἄ-μροσία*, *βροτός* being for *μροτός*. Various accounts of its manufacture in Rhode's *Relig. bildung d. Hindus* 1, 230. It arises from the churning of the ocean, says Holtzmann 3, 146—150, as ambrosia did from treading the wine-

press, K. F. Hermann's Gottesd. alth. p. 304. Doves carry ambrosia to Zeus, Od. 12, 63; conf. Athen. 4, 317. 321-5. Ambrosia and nectar are handed to goddess Calypso, while Odysseus partakes of earthly food beside her, Od. 5, 199. Moirai eat the sweet heavenly food of honey (p. 415 n.). Even the horses of gods have in their manger ambrosia and nectar, Plato's Phædr. 247. Yet the gods eat white *ἄλφιτον*, meal (Athen. 1, 434), which Hermes buys for them in Lesbos. Ambrosial too is the odour shed around the steps of deity (Suppl. to 327 end), of which Plautus says in Pseud. iii. 2, 52:

ibi *odos* demissis pedibus in coelum volat;
eum *odorem* coenat Juppiter cotidie.

What *nectar* is made of, we learn from Athen. 1, 147-8, conf. 166. *ζωρότερον νέκταρ*, Lucian's Sat. 7. *purpureo bibit ore nectar*, Hor. Od. iii. 3, 12. Transl. in OHG. by *stanch*, *stenche*, Graff 6, 696; in some glosses by *seim*, and if *seim* be akin to *αἷμα*, our honig-seim still shows the affinity of honey to blood (pp. 468. 902); consider the renovating virtue of honey as well as blood: der *Saelden* honig-seim, Engelh. 5138.—The *spittle* of gods is of virtue in making blood and mead (p. 902), in brewing öl (ale): hann lagði fyrí dregg *hráka* sinn, Fornald. sög. 2, 26. Kvásir is created out of spittle: so came Lakshmi out of the milk-sea, Holtzm. 1, 130, as Aphroditē from foam, Sri from milk and butter 3, 150.

p. 320.] The belief of the Greeks in the Immortality of their gods was not without exceptions. In Crete stood a tomb with the inscription: 'Zeus has long been *dead* (*τεθνεὼς πάλαι*), he thunders no more,' Lucian's Jup. tragoed. 45; conf. p. 453 n. Frigga's death is told by Saxo, ed. M. 44; dead Baldr appears no more among the gods, Sæm. 63^b; then Freyr falls in fight with Surtr, Týr with Garmr, Thórr with miðgarðsormr; Óðinn is swallowed by the wolf, Loki and Heimðall slay each other. Duke Julius 302-3. 870 (in *Nachtbüchlein*, 883), says he has heard that the Lord God was dead (the Pope?).—Óðinn and Saga *drink*, Sæm. 41^a; Heimðall drinks mead 41^b, and always 'gladly': *drecca glöð* 41^a. *drecker glaðr* 41^b (p. 324). Thórr *eats* and *drinks* enormously, Sæm. 73^b. Sn. 86, and a Norweg. tale of his being invited to a wedding.

p. 321.] Of a god it is said : ῥηϊδίως ἐθέλων, Od. 16, 198. ῥηϊδιον θεοῖσι 211 ; of Circe : ῥεῖα παρεξελθοῦσα, Od. 10, 573. Zeus can do the hardest things, οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει, Æsch. Eum. 651. In Sn. formáli 12, Thôrr attains his full strength at twelve years, and can lift *ten bear's hides at once*. Wäinämöinen, the day after his birth, walks to the smithy, and makes himself a horse.

p. 322.] *Got* ist noch liechter (brighter) denne der tac (day), der antlitzes sich bewac (assumed a visage) näch *menschen antlitze*. Parz. 119, 19.

It is a mark of the Indian gods, that they *cast no shadow, never wink, glide* without touching the ground, are without *dust or sweat* (their garments dustless), and their *garlands* never *fade*, Holtzm. 3, 13. 19 ; conf. Bopp's Nalus p. 31. Even men, going into a temple of Zeus, cast no shadow, Meiners's Gesch. d. rel. 1, 427.—Oðinn appears as a 'mikli maðr, herðimikill,' Fornm. sög. 2, 180-1. God has a *beard* : bien font a Dieu *barbe de ferre*, Méon 1, 310. faire *barbe de paille* à Dieu, Dict. comique 1, 86-7. Finn. *to see God's beard*=to be near him, Kal. 27, 200. Vishnu is *chatur-bhujā*, four-handed, Bopp's Gl. 118^a; Siva three-eyed, *ibid.* p. 160-1. Zeus too was sometimes repres. with three eyes, Paus. ii. 24, 4; Artemis with three heads, Athen. 2, 152. The Teut. mythol. has none of these deformities in its gods ; at most we hear of a Conradus *Dri-heuptl*, MB. 29^b, 85 (an. 1254). *Yama*, the Indian death, is black, and is called *kāla*, niger, Bopp's Gl. 71^b. Vishnu in one incarnation is called *Krishna*, ater, niger, violaceus, Slav. *chernyi* (Bopp 83^a), so that Cherni-bôgh would correspond to Krishna.—The beauty of the gods has already been noticed p. 26 n. ; that of the goddesses is sufficiently attested by giants and dwarfs suing for them : Þrymr wants Freyja, Þiassi Iðun, and the dwarfs demand the last favour of Freyja.

p. 323.] *Numen*, orig. a νεῦμα, nutus, means the nod of deity, and deity itself, as Festus says (ed. O. Müller 173, 17) : numen quasi nutus dei ac potestas dicitur. Athena also 'nods' with her eyebrows : ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε, Od. 16, 164. Diu (frau Minne) *winket* mir nû, daz ich mit ir gê, Walth. 47, 10 ; and Egilss. p. 305-6 has a notable passage on letting the eyebrows fall. Les

sorcils abessier, Aspr. 45^b. sa (si a) les sorcils levez, Paris expt. p. 104. Thôrr shakes his beard, Sæm. 70^a.

The *anger, hatred, vengeance* of the gods was spoken of on p. 18-9. They punish misdeeds, boasting, presumption. Their *envy, φθόνος*, is discussed by Lehrs in Königsb. abh. iv. 1, 135 seq.; conf. θέλγειν (Suppl. to 331). τῶν τινος φθοιερῶν δαιμόνων μηχανὴ γέγονε, Procop. 2, 358. τῆς τύχης ὁ φθόνος 2, 178. ἐπήρεια δαίμονος=tantalizing behaviour of a god, Lucian pro lapsu in salut. 1. Loki loves mischief when he brings about the death of Baldr. So the devil laughs to scorn: der tiuvel des lachet, Diut. 3, 52. smutz der tiuvel, welch ein rât! Helbl. 5, 89. des mac der tiuvel lachen 15, 448; conf. the laughing of ghosts (p. 945).

p. 324.] *Radii capitis* appear in pictures, Not. dign. orient. pp. 53. 116. Forcellini sub. v. radiatus. Ztschr. des Hess. ver. 3, 366-7. ἀστραπήν εἶδεν ἐκλάμφασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδός, saw lightning flash out of his son (Asklepios), Paus. ii. 26, 4. dō quam unser vrōve zu ime, und gottliche schiue gingen ûz irne antlitze (fr. Mary's face), D. myst. 1, 219.

p. 325.] The Homeric gods are *without care*, αὐτοὶ δὲ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσίν, Il. 24, 526; they are blessed, serene, and rejoice in their splendour. Zeus sits on Olympus, κύδει γαίῶν (glad of his glory), τερπι-κέραυνος (delighting in thunder), and looks down at the smoking sacrifices of those he has spared. Ares too, and Briareus are κύδει γαίοντες. A god feels no pain: εἴπερ θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν, οὐκ αἰσθήσεται, Aristoph. Frogs 634. So Grîpir is 'glistr konôngr,' Sæm. 172^b.—The gods *laugh*: γέλως δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐκινήθη, Babr. 56, 5; risus Jovis=vernantis coeli temperies, Marc. Cap. (conf. giant Svâsûdr, p. 758). *subrisit crudele pater* (Gradivus), Claudian in Entr. 2, 109. Callaëcia *risit floribus* . . . per herbam *fluere* rosae, Claud. laus Serenae 71. 89. *riserunt floribus* amnes, Claud. Fl. Mall. 273; conf. laughing or sneezing out roses, rings, etc. Athena too is said to μειδᾶν, Od. 13, 287.

p. 327.] For gods *becoming visible* Homer has a special word ἐναργής: χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς, Il. 20, 131. θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς, Od. 7, 201. 16, 161. ἐναργῆς ἦλθε 3, 420. ἐναργῆς συγγενόμενος, Lucian's Sat. 10.—Gods can appear and vanish *as they please*, without any outward means: dwarfs and

men, to become invisible, need the tarn-hat or a miraculous herb. No one can see them against their will: *τίς ἂν θεὸν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοιτ' ἢ ἐνθ' ἢ ἐνθα κίοντα*; Od. 10. 573.—As a god can *hear* far off: *κλύει δὲ καὶ πρόσωθεν ὦν θεός*, Æsch. Eum. 287. 375; as 'Got und sîn muoter *sehent* dur die steine,' MS. 2, 12^a; so gods and spirits enter locked and guarded chambers unperceived, unhindered, Holtzm. 3, 11. 48. Dame Venus comes 'dur ganze *müren*,' p. 455-6; the Minne conducts 'durch der kemenâten ganze *want*,' through the chamber's solid wall, Frib. Trist. 796. St. Thomas walks through a closed door, Pass. 248, 26-7. Athena's messenger *εἰσήλθε παρὰ κληίδος ἱμάντα*, Od. 4, 802. *παρὰ κληίδα λιύσθη* 4, 838. Loki slips through the *bora* Sn. 356; and devils and witches get in at the keyhole.

Examples of *sudden appearance*, p. 400; *disappearance*, p. 951-2. Oðinn, Höner, Loki in the Färöe poem, when invoked, immediately appear and help. Sudden appearing is expressed in ON. both by the verb *hverfa*: þá *hvarf* Fiölnir, Völsungas. c. 17; and by the noun *svípr*, Fornald. sög. 1, 402. Sæm. 157^a. der engel von himele *sleif*, Servat. 399. dô sih der *rouh* úf bouch, der engel al damit flouch, Maria 158, 2. er *fuor* in die lüfte *hin*, die wolken in bedacten, Urstende 116, 75; conf. 'rîða lopt ok lög,' and p. 1070-1. der *menschlich schîn* niht bleib lang, er *fuor dahin*, Ls. 3, 263. Homer uses *ἀναίσσειν* of Ares and Aphrodite: *ἀναΐξαντε*, Od. 8. 361; and the adv. *αἶψα* as well as *καρπαλίμως* and *κραιπνά*, Il. 7, 272. When Ovid. Met. 2, 785 says of Minerva: 'hand plura locuta fūgit, et impressā tellurem reppulit hastā,' her dinting the ground with her spear expr. the ease of her ascent. Their speed is that of wind: *ἡ δ' ἀνέμου ὡς πνοιῆ ἐπέσσυτο* (of Athena), Od. 6, 20. sic effata *rapit* coeli per inania *cursum* diva potens, *unoque* Padum translapsa *volatu*, castra sui rectoris adit, Claud. in Eutr. 1, 375. *Eros* is winged, Athen. 5, 29. Winged angels, pennati pueri (p. 505). Vishnu rides on Garuda, Bopp's Gl. 102^a. Indra and Dharma as vulture and dove, Somadeva 1, 70. Holtzm. Ind. sagen 1, 81. Though Athena appears as a youth in Od. 13, 222, as a girl 13, 288, her favourite shape is that of a *bird*: *ὄρνις δ' ὡς ἀνοπαῖα διέπτατο* 1, 320. As *vultures*, she and Apollo settle on a beech-tree, and look merrily on at men, Il. 7, 58. As a *swallow*, she sits on the roof-tree amid the fighters, and thence (*ὑψόθεν ἐξ ὀροφῆς*) uplifts

the ægis, Od. 22, 297; so Louhi sits a *lark* on the window of the smithy (Suppl. to 338), and the eagle in the dream ἔζευτ' ἐπὶ προύχοντι μελάθρῳ, Od. 19, 544; conf. the vulture, who the moment he is named looks in at the door, Meinert's Kuhl. 165. 165. Bellona flies away a *bird*, Claud. in Eutr. 2, 230; Gestr. i.e. Oðin, as a *valr* (falcon), and gets a cut in his tail, Fornald. sög. 1, 487-8. Athena στῆ δὲ κατ' ἀντίθυρον κλισίης, Od. 16, 159; si mache sich schoen, und gê herfür *als ein göttinne zuo der tür*, Renner 12227. When the unknown goddess steps inside the door, her stature reaches to the roofbeam, μελάθρου κύρε κάρη, then in a moment she is recognised, Hymn to Aphrod. 174, to Ceres 189. A woman's spirit appears to a man in a dream: síðan hvarf hun á brott; Olafur vaknaði, ok þóttist síð *svip* konunnar, Laxd. 122. síðan vaknaði Heðinn, ok sá *svipinn* af Göndul, Fornald. sög. 1, 402. *svipr* einn var þar, Sæm, 157^a.

Fragrance and *brightness* emanate from a deity, Schimmelpfeng 100-1. Hymn to Ceres 276—281 (Suppl. to 318); a *sweet smell* fills the house of Zeus, Athen. 3, 503. So with the Hebrews a *cloud*, a *mist*, or the *glory* of the Lord fills the house of the Lord, 1 Kings 8, 10-1; 2 Chron. 5, 13. comarum (of Venus) *gratus odor*, Claud. de nupt. Heaven breathes an *odor suavitatis*, that nourishes like food, Greg. Tur. 7, 1. The bodies of saints, e.g. Servatius, exhale a delicious odour (p. 823); conf. the *flowers* that spring up under the tread of feet divine (p. 330). The *hands* and *feet* of gods leave their *mark* in the hard stone, so do the *hoofs* of their horses (Suppl. to 664). Gods appear in *human form* and *disguise*, Oðinn often as a one-eyed old man, a beggar, a peasant, to Hrolf as *Hrani bôndi* (Hrani is a hero's name in Hervararsaga, Rani in Saxo).

p. 329.] The Indian gods *ride in chariots*, like the Grk: Indra, Agni, Varuna, etc., Nalus 15-6; 7 steeds draw the car of Sâryas the god of day, Kuhn's Rec. d. Rigveda 99. 100; Râtri, night, Uša, aurora, are drawn by kine. Plato in Phædr. 246-7 speaks of the gods' *horses, chariots, charioteers*, of Zeus driving a *winged car*. Selênê is appealed to: ποτ' ὤκεανόν τρέπε πάλους, Theocr. 2, 163. ἀστéρες, εὐκῆλοιο κατ' ἄντυγα Νυκτὸς ὀπαδοί 2, 166.—The German gods occasionally *drive* in star-chariots, or the stars themselves have a chariot, pp. 151. 723 n.; conf. the car-processions p. 336; the sun too drives a chariot: Sól varp hendi

inni hoegri um himinióðýr, Sæm. 1^b (who is Vagnarunni in Egilss. 610, Óðinn or Thôrr?). But *riding* is the rule, though Loki says to Frigg: ec þvî rêð, er þû ríða sêrat sîðan Baldr *at solum*, Sæm. 63^b; even beasts ride in the Beast-apologue, Renart 10277-280-460-920.

p. 330.] When Athena sits with Diomed in his war-chariot, the axle groans with the weight: δεινὴν γὰρ ἄγεν θεὸν ἄνδρα τ' ἄριστον, Il. 5, 888. When Ceres nods, the cornfields shake: annuit his, capitisque sui pulcherrima motu concussit gravidis oeratos messibus agros, Ovid Met. 8, 780.

p. 331.] The gods appear in *mist* or *cloud*: Jehovah to Moses in a pillar of fire, Deut. 31, 15. diva dimovit *nebulam*, juvenique apparuit ingens, Claud. in Eutr. 1, 390. (Tritonia) *cava circumdata nube*, Ov. Met. 5, 251. The merminne comes "mit eime *dunste*, als ein wint," Lanz. 181; in the legend of Fosete the god vanishes in a *caligo tenebrosa*, Pertz 2, 410. A cloud descends, and the angel steps out of it, Girard de Viane p. 153.—Gods and dæmons are said to *θέλγειν*, hoodwink, delude (conf. p. 463-4 of elves, and Suppl. to 322): ἀλλά με δαίμων θέλγει, Od. 16, 195; of Hermes: ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει, Il. 24, 343; of Poseidon: *θέλξας ὄσσε φαεινά*, Il. 13, 435; of Athena: τοὺς δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη θέλξει καὶ μητίετα Ζεὺς, Od. 16, 298; *θεὰ θέλγει* 1, 57; but also of Circe and the Sirens, Passow sub v. *θέλγω*. Hera holds her hand over her protégé, *ὑπερχειρῖα*, Paus. iii. 13, 6.—They take one by the hair: *στῆ δ' ὀπισθεν, ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλείωνα*, Il. 1, 197; by the ear: *Κρόνος προσελθὼν ὀπισθεν καὶ τοῦ ὠτός μου λαβόμενος*, Lucian's Sat. 11.

p. 331.] The Grecian gods *sleep*, Athen. 2, 470; yet Ssk. *deus=liber a somno*, Bopp's Gl. 26^a. A *sick* god is healed by incense, Walach. märchen p. 228. They are fond of *play*: *φιλοπαίγμονες γὰρ καὶ οἱ θεοί*, Plato Cret. ed. bip. 3, 276. The *kettledrums* of gods resound from heaven, and *flowers* rain down, Nalus p. 181. 238 (conf. OHG. heaven is hung full of fiddles); 'it would please God in heaven (to hear that music),' Melander 2, no. 449. Got mohte wol *lachen* (at the tatermenlîn), Renn. 11526. Conf. the effects of music on mankind: when Salome is ill, there come 'zwêne spilman ûz Kriechen, die konden generen (heal) die siechen mit irem senften spil, des konden sie gar vil,' Morolf 1625; 'I have my fiddle by me, to make sick people well

and rainy weather jolly,' Goethe 11, 11; the tinkle of bells a cure for care, *Trist.* 398, 24. 39. 411, 9; song-birds cheer the *tôt-riuwesære*, *Iwein* 610. Aucassin's lay drives death away, *Méon* 1, 380. With the comforting of bereaved Skaði and Demeter conf. *Wigal.* 8475: 'sehs *videlare*, die wolden im sîne swære (heaviness) mit ir videlen vertriben,' and *Creuzer's Symb.* 4, 466. *Athen*, 5, 334. It was a Lith. custom to get the bride to laugh, *Nesselin.* sub v. *prajûkinu.* *N. Preuss. prov. bl.* 4, 312. A king's daughter, who has a fishbone in her throat, is made to laugh, *Méon* 3, 1 seq. The gods love to deal out largess, are *datores*, *largitores*, esp. *Gibika* (p. 137); conf. *borg-geba* (*Suppl.* to 274), *oti-geba* (p. 890 n.); they are *úr-gefuar*, *öl-gefuar*, crop-givers, ale-givers, *Höslöng* ii. 2, 11 (*Thorl. sp.* 6, 34. 42. 50. 68).

p. 334.] *Gods' language and men's*, *Athen.* 1, 335. *Lobeck's Aglaoph.* 854. 858—867. *Heyne* on the first passage quoted, *ll.* 1, 403: *quae antiquiorem sermonem et servatas inde appellationes arguere videntur.* Like *ON.*, the Indians have many words for cloud, *Bopp's Gl.* 16^a. 209^a. 136^b. 158^b; but do not attribute a separate language to the gods. Yet *Somaveda* 1, 59. 64 names the four languages Sanskrit, Prakrit, Vernacular and *Diæmonic*. The Greek examples can be added to: *Πλαγκτὰς δ' ἦτοι τὰς γε θεοὶ μύκαρες καλέουσιν*, *Od.* 12, 61. *θηητοὶ Ἐρωτα, ἀθάνατοι δὲ Πτέρωτα*, *Plato's Phædr.* 252. *τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην κικλήσκουσι θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι*, *Hes. Theog.* 197. The different expressions attrib. to *men* and *gods* in the *Alvis-mâl*, could no doubt be taken as belonging to *different* Teut. dialects, so that *Menn* should mean the Scandinavians, *Goðar* the Goths, and *sól* for instance be actually the Norse word, *sunna* the Old Gothic, *GDS.* p. 768. *Kl. schr.* 3, 221.

p. 335.] The Norse gods are almost all *married*; of Greek goddesses the only real *wife* is *Hera*. Gods fighting with heroes are sometimes *beaten*, and *put to flight*, e.g. *Ares* in *Homer*; and he and *Aphroditē* are *wounded* besides. Now *Othin*, *Thor* and *Balder* are also beaten in the fight with *Hother* (*Saxo ed. M.* 118), nay, *Balder* is *ridiculus fugā* (119); but *wounding* is never mentioned, and of *Balder* it is expressly stated (113): *sacram corporis ejus firmitatem ne ferro quidem cedere.*

p. 335.] Apart from *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Siva*, the Indians

reckoned *thirteen minor gods*, Bopp's Gl. 160^a. The former were *younger gods*, who had displaced the more elemental powers, Kuhn's Rec. d. Rigv. p. 101. Holtzm. Ind. sag. 3, 126; conf. 'got ein junger tôr' (p. 7 n.). *Young Zeus*, old Kronos, Athen. 1, 473. *cot cróni*, deus recens, Graff 4, 299. The new year (p. 755). GDS. 765.

p. 336.] Mountain-heights are haunts of the Malay gods also, Ausld. 1857, 604^a. *πέτρα, δαιμόνων ἀναστροφή*, Æsch. Eum. 23. *Olympus* descr. in Od. 6, 42—46. To the rock-caverns [at Ithaca] gods and men have separate entrances, those by the south gate, these by the north 13, 110-1-2. The Norse gods live in *Asgard*. Hreiðmarr cries to the Ases: *haldit heim heðan*, be off home from here! Sæm. 182^b.—They have separate dwellings, but *near together*; conf. the Donar's oak near Wuotan's mount (p. 170). *þár* (î Baldurs-hage) voru *mörg goð*, Fornald. sög. 2, 63. Indian gods too have separate abodes: urbs *Kuvéri*, mons K. sedes, Bopp's Gl. 19^b. 85^b. *Διὸς ἀνλή*, Lucian's Pseud. 19. Significant is the ON.: *hefir ser um gerva sali*, Sæm. 40-1-2.—The gods sit on thrones or chairs (p. 136), from which they are entreated to *look down* in pity and protection: *Ζεὺς δὲ γεννήτωρ ἴδοι*, Æsch. Suppl. 206. *ἐπίδοι δ' Ἄρτεμις ἀγνά* 1031. *lita* vinar augom. The gods' houses are marked by *gates*, Hpt's Ztschr. 2, 535.

p. 337.] The gods often have a *golden staff*, with which they touch and transform: *χρυσεῖη ῥάβδῳ ἐπεμάσσατ' Ἀθήνη*, Od. 16, 172. 456. 13, 429; Circe strikes with her staff, Od. 10, 238; conf. Hermes' rod, the wishing-rod (p. 976) and other wishing-gear. Shiva has a miraculous bow, so has Indra acc. to the Vedas. Apollo's bow carries plague; conf. Odin's spear (p. 147). In Germ. märchen the fays, witches, sorcerers carry a transfiguring staff (p. 1084).

Gods are regarded by men as *fathers*, goddesses as *mothers* (pp. 22. 145. 254). They delight in men, *ἀνδράσι τερπόμενοι*, Il. 7, 61; their kindly presence is expr. by the Homeric *ἀμφιβαίνω*: *ὄς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας*, Il. 1, 37. *ὄς Ἴσμαρον ἀμφιβεβήκει*, Od. 9, 198. They love to come down to men; conf. Exod. 3, 8: *κατέβην*, descendi, hwearf (p. 325); they stop their chariots, and descend to earth, Holtzm. 3, 8. Nalus p. 15. *praesentes caelicolae*, Cat. 64, 383. Like the Ind. *avatâra* is a

θεοῦ ἐπιδημία (visitation), Lucian's *Conviv.* 7. Gods are not omnipresent, they are often *absent*, they *depart*, *Athen.* 2, 470. Jupiter says: *summo delabor Olympo, et deus humanā lustro sub imagine terras*, *Ov. Met.* 1, 212. In the Faröe lay, Oðinn, Hoenir and Loki appear *instantly*. (Appearing to a man can be expr. by *looking under his eyes*, *Etm. Orendel* pp. 73. 45. 83. 102.) The passage: *di liute wânden* (weened) *er waere Got von himel*, *Griesh.* 2, 48, presupposes a belief in God's appearing (p. 26 n.). so *ritestu heim als waer Got do*, *Dancrotsh. namenb.* 128, and: if God *came down from heaven* and bade him do it, he would not, *Thurneisser* 2, 48. At Whitsun the street was hung with tapestry: *als ochter God selve comen soude*, *Lanc.* 31321. God (or his image) loves a place where he is made much of: *Got möhte lieber niht gestên ûf der erden an deheiner stat*, *Helbl.* 15, 584; 'here *dwells* der liebe Gott,' p. 20 n. His return to heaven is expr. by: 'do *vuor* Got ze himel in deme gesunde licheme bild,' *Diemer* 7, 19; conf. 'ego in coelum migro,' *Plant. Amph.* v. 2, 13.—Gods send *messengers*, *angels*, those of Greece Hermes, Iris, etc., who *escort* men (p. 875), and inspect and report the goings-on of the world, says a pretty Servian song by Gavrai. It is worth noting in the prol. to *Plant. Rudens*, that Arcturus shines in heaven at night, but walks the earth by day as messenger of Jove. Gods assist at christenings (Godfather Death), weddings, betrothals, *Holtzm.* 3, 8; and Mary too lifts a child out of the font, *Wend. mârch.* 16. They hallow and bless men by laying on of hands: *vîgit ocr saman Varar hendi*, *Sæm.* 74^b. Apollon und Tervigant, ir beider got, *hât sine hant den zwein geleit ûf daz houbet, daz si helfe unberoubet und gelückes* (unrobbed of help and luck) *solden sîn, mit götlicher helfe schîn geschach daz ir*, *Turl. Wh.* 112^a; like a priest or father.—Gods deal with men *in their sleep*: a rib is taken out of sleeping Adam, to make Eve; Athena sheds sweet sleep over Penelope, while she makes her taller and fairer, *Od.* 18, 188; Luck comes near the sleeper, gods raise up the fallen hero, *Il.* 7, 272. Their *paltry-looking gifts* turn out precious (Bertha's, Holda's, Rûbezahls): the *leaves* turn into *gold*, the more fittingly as Glasir the grove of the gods bears golden leafage.

p. 338.] Metamorphosis is expr. by *den lîp verkêren*, *Barl.* 250, 22. *sich kêrte z'einem tiere* 28. Oðinn *viðbrast î vals líki*,

when Heiðrekr and Tyrfring attack him, Fornald. sög. 1, 487. Loki changes into a *mare*, and has a foal (Sleipnir) by Svaðilfari, Sn. 47. falsk Loki í lax líki, Sæm. 68^b. Sn. 69. Heimðallr ok Loki í sela líkjum, Sn. 105. Loki sits in the window as a *bird* 113; conf. Athena as a swallow on the roof-beam (p. 326). Louhi as a *lark* (leivonen) in the *window* (ikkuna), Kal. 27, 182-5-8. 205. 215 (conf. Egilss. p. 420), or as a *dove* (kyyhky) on the *threshold* (kynnys) 27, 225-8. 232. Berhta looks in, hands things in, through the *window* (p. 274); the snake looks in at window, Firmen. 2, 156. Louhi, pursuing Sampo, takes the shape of an *eagle*. denique ut (Jupiter) ad Trojæ tecta volarit avis, Prop. iii. 30, 30. Jupiter *cygnus* et candidorum procreator ovorum, Arnob. 1, 136 (pp. 666. 491). In märchens a *bear*, *eagle*, *dolphin*, carries off the princess.

p. 338.] Gods may become men as a *punishment*. Dyaus having stolen a cow, all the Vasu gods are doomed to be born men. Eight of them, as soon as born, return to the world of gods; the ninth, the real culprit, must go through a whole human life, Holtzm. Ind. sag. 3, 102-6.

p. 339.] Real names (not merely epithets) of gods often become abstract ideas in Sanskrit. Indra, at the end of a compound, is princeps, dominus, Bopp 40^a; Śrī is prefixed to other names reverentiae causa, as Śrīganēṣa, Śrīmahabhārata 357^a. In ON. one ás can stand for another, as Bragi for Óðinn in the saw, 'nioti bauga sem Bragi auga,' Egilss. 455. So Freya, Nanna, Týr, Baldr become abstract terms (p. 220-1): *baldr* brynþíngs, *b.* fetilstínga, Fornm. sög. 6, 257. 12, 151. enn norðri niörðr 6, 267. geirniörðr = heros, Sæm. 266^b. Conf. *Gotes* intensive (p. 19).

CHAPTER XV.

HEROES.

p. 341.] On demigods, great gods, dæmones, conf. Boeckh's Manetho, p. 488; semidei, heroes, Arnob. 2, 75. The *hero* has superhuman strength, ON. hann er eigi einhamr, Fornm. sög. 3, 205-7; einhamr, einhama signif. mere human strength. It is striking how the Usipetes and Tenchtheri glorify human heroes

to Caesar, B. G. 4, 7: 'we yield to none but the Suevi, for whom the immortal gods are no match.'

p. 343.] To *vir*, OHG. *wer*, are prob. akin the Scyth. *o'óp*, Fin. *uros*, Kal. 13, 64. 21, 275. 290; conf. Serv. *urosh* (p. 369 n.). GDS. 236. Aug. Civ. Dei 10, 21. K. F. Herm. Gottesd. alt. p. 69. M. Neth. *hêlt* as well as *helet*, Stoke 3, 4. Notker's *hertinga*, AS. *heardingas*, El. 25. 130, recall Boh. *hrdina*, Pol. *hardzina* (hero), conf. Boh. *hrdý*, Pol. *hardy*, Russ. *górdyi* (proud), Fr. *hardi*, G. *hart*, *herti* (hard). Arngrîm's eleventh and twelfth sons are called *Huddíngjar*, Fornald. sög. 1, 415-6-7. GDS. 448. 477. himelischer *degen* in the Kl. 1672. *degenîn*, heroine, Renn. 12291. With *wîgant* conf. the name *Weriand* freq. in Karajan. Jesus der Gotes *wîgant*, Mos. 68, 10. *Kämpe* may be used of a giant, Müllenh. 267. 277; beside *cempa*, the AS. has *oretta*, heros, pugil. Is not ON. *hetja* (bellator) strictly wrestler, fencer? conf. OHG. *hezosun*, palaestritae, Graff 4, 1073. GDS. 578. With OHG. *wrecchio*, AS. *wrecca* [whence, wretch, wretched], agrees best the description of the *insignes* in Tac. Germ. 31: *Nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura; prout ad quemque venere, aluntur prodigi alieni, contemptores sui.* Diomed is *ἀνήρ ἄριστος*, Il. 5, 839. Heroes are *róg-birtíngar*, bright in battle, Haralda-mâl 16. Serv. *yunák*, hero, *yunáshteo*, heroism; so MHG. die *mîne jungelinge*, Fundgr. 2, 91, conf. Nib. 1621, 2, and the heroic line of the *Yuglíngar* (p. 346). Ir. *trean* hero; also *faolchu* hero, strictly wild wolf, falcon, and Welsh *gwalch*, falcon, hero; conf. Serv. *urosh* (p. 369 n.).

p. 344.] Heroes derive their lineage fr. the gods: Sigurðr ormr í auga is expressly *Oðius acttar*, Fornald. sög. 1, 258; the Scythian Idanthysus counts Zeus his ancestor, Herod. 4, 126; and Zeus does honour to Menelaus as his son-in-law, *γαμβρὸς Διός*, Od. 4, 569. They are *friends* of the gods: Zeus loves both champions, Hector and Ajax, Il. 7, 280; there are 'friends of Ares' and a 'Frey's vinr.' They can multiply the kindred of the gods. Jupiter's children are reckoned up in Barl. 251, 37 seq.; Alexander too is a son of Jupiter Ammon or Nectanebus by Olympias. 'Galli se omnes ab *Dite patre* prognatos praedicant; idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt,' Caes. 6, 18. Dietrich descends fr. a spirit, Otnit fr. Elberich, Ilögni fr. an elf, and Merlin fr. the devil.

p. 345.] As Teutonic tradition made Tuisco a 'terrā editus,' the American Indians have a belief that the human race once lived *inside the earth*, Klemm 2, 159. Though Norse mythology has no Mannus son of Tuisco, yet it balances Goðheimr with a Mannheimr, GDS. 768, conf. Vestmanland, Södermanland, Rask on Ælfred's Periplus 70-1; and Snorri's Formáli 12 places a *Munon* or *Mennon* at the head of the tribes. He, with Priam's daughter Trôan, begets a son Trôr=Thôr, fr. whom descends Loritha=Hlôrriða, conf. Fornald. sög. 2, 13. GDS. 195. The American Indians have a first man and maker *Manitu*, Klemm 2, 155-7. On the mythic pedigree of Mannus and his three sons, see GDS. 824 seq.

p. 346.] *Ingo* was orig. called *Ango*, says Mannhdt's Ztschr. 3, 143-4. He is the hero of the Ingaevones, who included the Saxons and formerly the Cheruskans, consequently the Angles, Angern, Engern (GDS. 831. 629. 630), whose name is perhaps derived from his.

p. 350.] Did Dlugoss in his Hist. Polon. draw fr. Nennius? Jrb. d. Berl. spr. ges. 8, 20; conf. Pertz 10, 314.

p. 350 n.] *Ascafna-burg*, fr. the rivulet *Ascafa*=*Ascaha*, is likewise interpr. in Eckehardus' Uraug. as '*Asken-burg* ab *Ascanio conditore*,' and is a castellum antiquissimum, Pertz 8, 259. 578. On *Asc* and *Ascanius* conf. p. 572.

p. 351.] The old Lay of Patricius 19, ed. Leo. p. 32-3, has *Eirimoin* (Erimon). *Heremon* in Diefenb. Celt. 2^b, 387-9. 391.

p. 355.] A communication fr. Jülich country says, *Herme* is used as a not very harsh nickname for a strong but lubberly man. But they also say, 'he works like a *Herme*,' i.e. vigorously; and legend has much to tell of the giant strength of *Herme*; conf. Strong *Hermel*, KM. 3, 161. Herman, Hermanbock, Maaler 218^b. Firmen. 1, 363^b: 'to make believe our Lord is called *Herm*.' Lyra Osnabr. 104: 'du menst wual, use Hergott si 'n aulen *Joost Hierm*.' It is remarkable that as early as 1558, Lindner's Katziporus O, 3^b says of a proud patrician, who comes home fuller of wine than wit: 'he carries it high and mighty, who but he? and thinks our Lord is called *Herman*.' On the rhyme 'Hermen, sla dermen,' suggestive of the similar 'Hamer, sla bamer, sla busseman doet' (p. 181-2), conf. Woeste pp. 34. 43. Firmen. 1, 258. 313. 360.

p. 357 n.] Other foreign names for the *Milky Way*. American Indian: the *way of ashes*, Klemm 2, 161. In Wallach. fairy-tales, pp. 285. 381, it comes of *spilt straw* that St. Venus (Vinire) has stolen from St. Peter. In Basque: *ceruco esnebidea*, simply *via lactea*, fr. *eznea* milk. *Τὰς εἰς οὐρανὸν ψυχῶν νομιζομένης ὁδοῦς*, Lucian's Encom. Demosth. 50. Lettic: *putnu zelsch*, bird-path, Bergm. 66 (so *πόρος οἰωνῶν*, aether, Æsch. Prom. 281); also *Deeva yahsta*, God's girdle 115, or is that the rainbow? (p. 733). *Arianrod* is also interpr. *corona septentrionalis*, though liter. *silver-circle*. For the many Hungar. names see Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 162-3.

Other Teutonic names. East Fris. dat *melkpath*, and when unusually bright, *harmswîth*, Ehrentr. Fries. arch. 2, 73. With *galaxia* they seem to have conn. *Galicia*; hence to Charlemagne, at the beginning of the Turpin, appears *James Street*, leading from France to Galicia. In Switzld: *der weg uf Rom*, Stutz 1, 106. Westph.: *mülenweg* (Suppl. to 924), also *wiärstrate*, weather-street, Woeste p. 41; so in Jutland *veirveien*, Molb. Dial. lex. 646, as well as *arken* 18. To ON. *vetrarbraut*, winter-way, corresp. the Swed. *vintergatan*; conf. Gothl. *kaldgotu*, Almqv. 432, unless this be for Karl's-gate. Do *sunnáupad*, *sterróno stráza*, *wega wolkóno* in Otfrið i. 5, 5 mean the galaxy? conf. the *path of clouds*, Somadeva 2, 153-7. 58. 61. Journ. to Himavan 1, 106. *Heer-strasze* (-gasse), viz. that of the 'wütende heer,' in Meier's Schwáb. sag. 137-9; *herstrasz*, Mone 8, 495; Up. Palat. *hyrstrausz*, *heerweg*, Bergm. 115-8. 124; *helweg* (p. 801-2). Most import. for mythol. are: *frauen Hilden strasze*, *vron Hilden straet*, *Pharäildis sidus* (p. 284-5); also 'galaxa, in deutsche die *Brunelstraet*,' Naturk. von broeder Thomas (Clariss's Gheraert, p. 278).

p. 361.] As we have *Iuuáringes-weg* and *Eurings-strasz* by the side of *Iringesweg*, so in oldish records *Eurasburg* castle is called *Iringesburg*, Schm. 1, 96. *Irine* is in Nib. 1968 a young man, 1971-89 a markgraf and Hâwartes man, and in the Klage 201. 210 ze Lütringe geborn. On the meaning of the word conf. pp. 727. 1148. Kl. schr. 3, 234. F. Magnussen in his Pref. to *Rîgsmâl* connects (as I had done in my *Irmenstrasse* 1815, p. 49) the *Ericus* of Ansgar and the *Berich* of Jornandes with *Rîgr*, as also the *Eriksyata*; conf. the devil's name *gammel Erich*

(p. 989). That Erich was a deified king is plain from a sentence in the *Vita Anskarii* cited above: 'nam et templum in honore supradicti regis *dudum* defuncti statuerunt, et ipsi tanquam deo vota et sacrificia offerre coeperunt.'

p. 363 n.] Suevi a monte *Suevo*, Chr. Salern., Pertz 5, 512. a *Suevio* monte, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 493. GDS. 323.

p. 365.] On the *castra Herculis* by Noviomagus, Ammian. Marc. 18, 2. With the giant bones of Hugelich at the Rhine-mouth (Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 10) we may even conn. the Herculis columna which stood there (p. 394). On Herc. Saxanus, Mannhdt's Germ. mythen p. 230; on the inscriptions, Mythol. ed. 1, p. 203. Herculi in *Petra*, Gruter 49, 2. *πεδίου λιθῶδες* on the Rhone, Preller 2, 147. Wolfram's Wh. 357, 25. 386, 6. 437, 20.

p. 366.] Like *Castor and Pollux*, there appear in Teut. tales two youths, angels, saints, in a battle, or putting out a fire (Suppl. to Pref. xliii. end): '*duo juvenes candidis circumamicti stolis*, animam a corpore segregantes, vacuum ferentes per aërem,' Jonas Bobb. in *Vita Burgundofarae* (Mabillon 2, 421); conf. p. 836-7. *duo juvenes in albis*, putting out a fire, in *Annal. Saxo* p. 558. Chronogr. Saxo in *Leibn.* 122 fr. *Einh. Ann.*, Pertz 1, 348. Again, the angel wiping the sword in *Roth's Sermons* p. 78, and the destroying angel. Lithuanian legends have a giant *Alcis*, *Kurl. sendungen* 1, 46-7. *Jalg eða Jalkr*, Sn. 3; *jalkr*=senex eviratus, says F. Magn.

p. 367 n.] Note, in the *Pass.* 64, 41: ein *wuotegôz* unreiner = *Wuotilgôz*: conf. '*wüetgusz* oder *groz wasser*,' *Weisth.* 3, 702. and 'in *wuetgussen*, *eisgussen* und *groszen stürmen*, 3, 704. Also p. 164, and *Wuetes*, *Wüetens*, *Schm.* 4, 203. GDS. 440. 774-5.

p. 368.] *Sigi* is *Oðin's* son, Sn. 211^a. So is *Hildólfr*, *ibid.*, 'Harbarð's lord,' *Sæm.* 75^b, OHG. *Hiltwolf*. So is *Sigrjami*, *Fornald. sög.* 1, 413, and has a son *Svafrjami*. So is *Nefr* or *Nepr*, Sn. 211^a, and has a daughter *Nanna* 31. 66. So is *Sæmíngr*, Sn. 211^a, *Semíngr* in *Hervarars.*, *Fornald.* s. 1, 416; conf. *Sámr*, *Sáms-ey*, *Rask's Afh.* 1, 108. The name of *Gautr*, *Oðin's* son or grandson, is conn. with *giezen* (pp. 23. 105 n. 142. 164. 367); on *Gautr*, Sn. 195. *Oðinn* is called *Her-gautr*, *Egilss.* p. 624, *alda gautr*, *Sæm.* 95^b. 93^b; conf. *Caozes-pah*, -*prunno* (-beck, -burn), Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 530.

p. 370.] The accounts of *Secáf* in AS. chronicles are given by Thorpe, Beow. p. 4. In the same way Beaflof sails alone in a ship, a bundle of straw under his head, Mai 35-9, arrives 51-3, sails away again 152; the ship gets home 180, 39. Horn also comes in a ship, and sends it home with greetings. A Polish legend says of Piast: qui *primus appulerit* in navicula, dominus vester erit, Procosius p. 47. As the swan-children can lay aside the swan-ring, so can the *Weljs* the *wolf-girdle* or whelp-skin. Klemm 2, 157 has a remarkable story of beautiful children slipping off their *dog-skin*. 'Skilpunt' in Karajan's Salzbr. urk. must be for *Skilpunc*. Oðinn is a *Skilfingr*, Sæm. 47. Did the *f* and *b* in Scilfing, Scilbunc arise out of *v* in *skildva*? The Goth. skildus has its gen. pl. skildivê.

p. 371.] Kl. schr. 3, 197. To the *Gibichen-steine* enumer. in Hpt's Ztschr. 1, 573, and the *Gebiches-borse* in Weisth. 3, 344 (borse, Graff 3, 215), add *Geveken-horst*, Möser 8, 337. Dorow's Freckenh. 222, and AS. *Gifcancumb*, Kemble no. 641 (yr. 984). The Nibel., which does not mention the Burgundian Gibeche, has a fürste or künee *Gibeke* at Etzel's court 1283, 4. 1292, 2. The Lex Burg. 3 says: apud regiae memoriae auctores nostros, id est, Gibicam, Godomarem, Gislaharium, Gundaharium. Greg. Tur. 2, 28: Gundenchus rex Burgundionum; huic fuere quatuor filii, Gundobaldus, Godegisilus, Chilpericus, Godomarus.

p. 371.] The diffusion of the *Völsunga*-saga among the Anglo-Sax. is evidenced by '*Völsing*' and '*Völses cafera*' in Beow. 1747-87. The *Völsungs* have the snake's eye (Suppl. to 392, mid.). The tale of *Sivufritz* is told in Bader no. 435.

p. 371 n.] Mars *segumon, vincius*, Stälin 1, 112. Glück 150 says, *segomo* in nom. De Wal. no. 246 (1847). Can it be the same as ἡγεμών, dux?

p. 373.] Oðinn himself is called *helblindi*, and *Helblindi* is the name of a *wolf* (p. 246). Beaflof is said to have give birth to a wolf, Mai 132, 9; conf. the story of the 12 babies named Wolf, Müllenh. p. 523, and that of the blind dogs, Pliny 8, 40.

p. 374.] *Pillung*, MB. 9, 10 (yr. 769). Hermann *Billing*, Helmolde 1, 10. *Billing* in the Sassen-chron., conf. Förstemann 1, 258, 2, 225. Oda, grandmother of Henry the Fowler, was the daughter of a Frankish noble *Billing* and Aeda, Pertz 6, 306. tome *Billingis-hûge*, Gl. to the Ssp. 3, 29; conf. regulus Obo-

tritorum nomine *Billug*, Helm. 1, 13. What means 'pillungs ein wênic verrenket' in the *Hätzlerin* 180, 37?

p. 376.] In *Eigls-perge*, MB. 28, 2, 173 (Passau urbar.). Juxta portam quae de *Eigeles* (at Cologne), Lacomblet 318, yr. 1134.

p. 378.] The Heldensage p. 288 has two sons of Wieland, [full] brothers: *Wittich* and *Wittich von der aue*; conf. Lat. *Silvanus*, a forest-god of secondary rank: *Silvani lucus extra murum est avius crebro salicto oppletus*, Plant. Aul. iv. 6, 8. Ought we to read *Viltinus* for *Vilkinus*? Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 446. Schott conn. *Wate* with *Wuotan*, Introd. to *Gudr.* lvi. To things named after Wieland add the *Wielandstein*, Schwab's Alp. p. 136 seq.; after Galans a *pratum Galandi*, now *Préjelan* in Bourgogne, Garnier's Pagi Burg. p. 83. Dan. *Velants-urt*, also *velamsrot*, *vendelsrot*, Dyb. 1845, 49. 50. On *Wielets-kinder* conf. Schm. sub v. *Valföður vél framtelja*, patris artem (mysterium?) enarrare, Sæm. 1^a. Another point of likeness betw. *Wieland* and *Hephæstos* is, that both are masters of forging dwarfs (p. 471-2). Their handiwork was famous: ἔργον Ἡφαίστοιο, Od. 4, 617. 15, 116. οὗς Ἡφαιστος ἔτευξε 7, 92.

p. 380.] 'Mime the oid' in Bit. 138 seems to have a short *i*, and can hardly belong here. Karajan in *Verbrüd. von S. Peter* has *Mimilo*, *Mimistein*. To *Mímigerneford* (conf. Ledebur's *Bructeri* p. 328), perhaps from an adj. *mími-gern*, and *Mímidun* (*Mimidomensis* = *Mindensis*, Lappbg no. 25; *Mimende* on *Weser*, Schrader's *Dyn.* 104), add a third Westph. locality *Mimegersen*, now *Memsen* in *Hoya* country, Lappbg no. 48. Again, *Mimmelage* near *Osnabrück*. *Mimirberh*, perhaps *Mimisberh*, Pertz 8, 776. The names *Memeln-brun*, -born, *Memel-born*, *Memilsdorf*, *Henneb. urk.* 2, nos. 153-6. 169. 1, 166. 125, and *Memelen-born* (*Melborn* by *Eisenach*), *Thür. Ztschr.* 4, 210 suggest the *Mímis brunnr* of the *Edda*. With *Mimingus*, *silvarum satyrus*, agrees the sword's name in *En.* 5694; conf. *Mummine*, *Upstdge* 137, (*Muma* in *Thidrekss.* 65). There are yet to be considered *Söckmimir*, Sæm. 46^b; *Hoddmimir* who dwells í holti 37; *Mímisvinr*, *Mímisvinr*, *Egilss.* 641. Like *Mími's head* is *Virgil's head* which prophesies, *MSH.* 4, 246. A head of brass prophesies in *Val. et Ourson* c. 25; enn *spinnen-hoofd* in the Dutch transl. arose perhaps from taking *tête d'airain* for *t. d'araigne*. Heads often speak in churches, *F. Magn. Edda-laere* 2, 264.

p. 383.] On *Tell* conf. Böhmer's Reg. p. 197 and Sinner in the Solothurner Wtb. 1845, p. 198. Th. Platter 87 (abt 1532) names him Wilhelm *Täll*, and Garg. 180^b Wilh. *Dell*, while Rabelais 1, 23 does not mention him. A picture of *Tell* in Schwzbg's Memorial 116^a. Some stories make the son shoot the apple off the father's head. *Schützeichel* is at this day a family-name at Bonn, Sinrock's Edda p. 396.

Many single heroes remain to be considered, such as *Poppo* the strong, Hpt's Ztschr. 3, 239, conf. 8, 347; *Hugleich* 5, 10. Also lines of heroes: stirps *Immidingorum* (Saxon) et *Erbonum* (Bavar.), Pertz 8, 226.

p. 383.] The god must stand at the head of the line, because he passes for the *father* and *grandfather* of the men. Still there remains an enormous difference between gods and men; hence in Saxo, ed. M. 117, the (earthly) Nanna rejects the suit of Balder: *nuptiis deum mortali sociari non posse, quod ingens naturae discrimen copulae commercium tollat supernis terrestria non jugari.*

p. 385 n.] Saxo calls Othin, Thor, etc. merely *opinative*, not *naturaliter* deos (ed. M. 118), and Balder a *semideus* (conf. p. 340); whereupon P. E. Müller om Saxo p. 54 remarks: Odin lived neither before nor after Christ. Old Conrad in his Troj. Kr. 858—911 is not quite of that opinion: 'si wâren liute als ir nu sît, wan daz (they were men like you, only) ir *krefteclîch gewalt* was michel unde manicvalt von *krintern* und von *steinen* ouch lepton gnuoge (lived plenty) bî der zât, die zouberaere wâren, und *wunder* in den jâren mit *gougelwise* worhten (with jugglery wrought).' How the old gods were degraded into *conjurors*, is shown p. 1031.—Of the *deification* of men there are plenty of examples: 'daz kint waere *mit den goten ein got,*' Pass. 298, 27. The heathen adore *Sigelôt* as a god, Rol. 198, 21. *Ipomidon* will be a god himself, Tit. 3057. 4147-60. er wolde got hien erde sîn, Diemer 139, 24. als er iz waere got 131, 22. mîn wirde gelîch den goten steic, Turl. Wh. 66^a. Of *Caligula*: 'wart hi so sot, dat hi *wilde wesen god*, ende hi seide openbare dat hi Jupiters broeder ware,' Maerl. 2, 236, conf. 333. 'Gram-baut, roi de Baviere, se nommoit *dieu en terre,*' and called his castle *Paradis*, Belle Helène p.m. 23. The Mongols practiso the *worship of ancestors, dejfic. of rulers*, Klemm 3, 194-5; also veneration of saints and relics.

p. 392.] The Greeks required *beauty of form* in heroes as well as gods, Lucian's Charid. 6. 7. Of Charlem. it is said: *anges resemble du ciel ius devolé*, Aspr. 21^a. Heroes share the *lofty stature* of gods. Of *Huglâcus* the legend says: quem equus a duodecimo anno portare non potuit; *cujus ossa in Rheni fluminis insula, ubi in oceanum prorumpit, reservata sunt, et de longinquo venientibus pro miraculo ostenduntur* (Suppl. to 365).—*Many-handedness* is often mentioned. Ancient men with *four hands, four feet, and two faces*, Plato symp. 189, *four ears* 190. ἐξ γὰρ χεῖρες ἐκάστω ἀπ' ὤμων ἀσσοντο, Orph. arg. 519. Men with 8 toes, 6 hands, Megenb. 490, 2. 30; conf. gods and giants (p. 527). From the three-handed and three or four-elbowed *Heime* (Germ. 4, 17) perh. the *Heimenstein* takes its name, about which there is a folk-tale, G. Schwab's Alb pp. 161—165. A story about '*so Heyne, so,*' who helps to raise a treasure, in H. v. Herford, Potth. p. 93; conf. Brîsinga-men (p. 306). A three-headed figure on the Gallehus horn discov. 1734 (Henneb., plate 2).—Most akin to the gods seem those heroes who are favoured with a *second birth* (p. 385). The fact of many heroes' names being repeated in their descendants may have to do with this belief, GDS. 441. But Helgi and Svava are genuine *endrbornir*, Sæm. 148. 169. 159^b. As late as in MS. 1, 97^b we read: '*sturbe ich nâch ir minne, und wurde ich danne lebende, sô wurde ich aber umbe daz wîp (I would woo her again).*' Contrariwise MS. 1, 69^b: '*sô bin ich doch ûf anders niht geboren.*' Solinus says Scipio was another of the *Unborn*, and was therefore called Cæsar, Maerl. 1, 401; conf. the Lay of Mimmering tand, Danske Vis. 1, 100.—Karna, son of the Sun, was *born with earrings and a coat of mail*, Holtzm. 2, 123-9. 136. wart ie man mit wâfen geboren, Krone 10534; conf. '*born with a fiddle.*' To phenomena occurring at the birth of a hero, add the storm that attended Alexander's, Pseudocallisth. p.m. 12. Alcmena tests Hercules with snakes, which he kills lying *in his cradle*, as Sigmund does Sinfjötli by kneading the dough that had snakes in it, Völs. saga c. 7. Kullervo, when 3 *nights old*, tears up his swathings, Castrén 2, 45. In the Sv. folks. 1, 139. 140, the child walks and talks as soon as born. Of the grown-up hero's strength the examples are countless. Tied to an oak, he pulls it up, Sv. forns. 1, 44. Danske V. 1, 13; Beowulf has in his hand

the strength of *thirty*, Beow. 756. They *eat and drink enormously*, like Thôrr (Suppl. to 320); so Hammer grâ, Sv. forns. 1, 61-2, conf. the giant bride 1, 71-2. Syv. 49.—Heroes have beaming *godlike eyes, snake's eyes, ormr í auga*; so have kings, Saxo, ed. M. p. 70. Aslög's son (Sigurð's and Brynhild's grandson) is called Sigurðr *ormr-î-auga*, gen. Sigurðar orms-î-auga, Fornald. s. 1, 267. 273. 2, 10-4. Fornm. 1, 115. His step-brothers say: *eigi er oss í augum ormr ne fránuir snákar*, Fornald. 1, 268 (conf. *orm fránu*, Heimskr. 7, 238. Sæm. Hafn. 2, 13). Sigurðr Oðins aettar, þeim er *ormr í augu*, Fornald. 1, 258. Aslög prophesies of her unborn son: 'enn á þeim sveini mun vera þat mark, at svâ mun þikkja, sem *ormr liggir um auga sveininum*'—a false interpretation, for not the eyebrows coiling round, but the inner look (*î auga*) was meant, Fornald. 1, 257. In Sæm. 187^a he is called 'inn *frân-eygi sveinn*.' branu Brynhildi *eldr or augom* (fire flashed from B.'s eyes) 215^b. ámun (minaces) eru *augu ormi þeim enum fránu* (Völundr) 156^a. *hvöss eru augu í Hagals þýju* (Helgi in disguise) 158^b. We still say: something great shines out of his eyes. GDS. 126-7.—Other heroes show other marks: on Hagen's breast is a *golden cross*, Guðr. 143-7. 153; betw. Wolfdietrich's shoulders a *red cross*, Hugd. 139. 189. Valentin and Namelos have also a cross *betw. the shoulders*, like the mark of the lime-leaf on Siegfried's back, where alone he is vulnerable (as Achilles was in one heel), Nib. 845, 3. 4. Swan-children have a *gold chain* about the *neck*, the reali di Franza a *niello* on the *right* shoulder, Reali 6, 17. p.m. 344; conf. the *wolfs-zagelchen* betw. the shoulder-blades (Suppl. to 1097). Of the Frankish hero Sigurd, the Vilk. saga c. 319 says: 'hans horund var svâ hart sem *sigg villigaltar*; *sigg* may mean a bristly skin, and seems conn. with the legend of the bristled Merowings.¹ In cap. 146 we are told that Sigurd's skin grew hard as *horn*; and in Guðr. 101, that wild Hagen's skin *hardened* through drinking the monster's blood. No doubt the original meaning was, merely that he gained strength by it. The great, though not superhuman *age* of 110 years is attained by Hermanaricus, Jorn. c. 24. We read in Plaut. mil. glor. iv. 2, 86: *meri bellatores gignuntur, quas hic praegnates fecit, et pueri*

¹ Thorpe (ad Cod. Exon. p. 511) sees the Merowings in the North-Elbe Maurungani and AS. Myrgingas. Might not these Myrgingas be those of Mercia?

annos octingentos vivunt. The gods bestow *blessings*, the heroes *evils*, Babr. 63.

p. 392.] Strong Franz also holds converse with his *knowing steed*, Müllenh. p. 422. The hero talks with his *sword* as well as his horse, Sv. forns. 1, 65. Klage 847 seq. Wigal. 6514. Drachenk. 161^a. Vilkinas. pp. 54. 160-1. The dying hero would fain *annihilate his sword*, e.g. the Servian Marko and Roland, Conr. Rol. 237, 3.

p. 394.] Where a god, devil or hero *sits*, there is left a *mark in the stone*. Their hands and feet, nay, their horses' hoofs, leave marks behind (Suppl. to 664). ons heren spronc, Maerl. 2, 116. Stone remains wet with a hero's tears: hiute (to this day) ist der *stein naz*, dâ Karl uffê sâz, Ksrchr. 14937.

CHAPTER XVI.

WISE WOMEN.

p. 396.] Helen, as daughter of Zeus and Leda, as half-sister of the Dioscuri, is already half divine; but she is also deified for her *beauty*, as her brothers are for bravery, Lucian 9, 274. Flore says of Blancheflur, whom he supposes dead, 2272:

ich het Got ze einer *gotinne*
gemacht in himelrîche
harte wünnelîche.

Women have the further advantage over the harder sex, of being kind and merciful, even giantesses and she-devils (Suppl. to 530).

p. 397.] Soothsaying and magic are pre-eminently gifts of women (p. 95). Hence there are more witches than wizards: 'where we burn *one man*, we burn maybe *ten women*,' Keisersb. omeis 46^b. A woman at Geppingen had foretold the great fire, Joh. Nider (d. 1440) in Formic. 2, 1.

p. 398.] *Woman-worship* is expr. in the following turns of speech [Examples like those in Text are omitted]. ich waen, Got niht sô guotes hât als ein guot wîp, Frauend. 1, 6. êrt altôs vrouwen ende joncfrouwen, Rose 2051. van vrowen comt ons alle ere, Walew. 3813; for one reason: wir wurden von frowen geboren, und manger bet gewert, Otn., cod. Dresd. 167. daz wir

von den lieben frolîn fîn alsamen [zer werlte] komen sîn, M. Beheim 275, 19. Renn. 12268.

p. 400.] The hero devotes himself to a lady's service, *she will have him* for her knight: *ich wil in z' eime ritter hân*, Parz. 352, 24. 'den ritter dienstes biten,' ask for his service 368, 17. *dîns ritters* 353, 29. *mîn ritter* und der *dîn* 358, 2. Schionatulander has to serve Sigune 'unter schiltlichem dache,' under shield-roof, Tit. 71, 4, he was 'in ir helfe erborn' 72, 4; and this relationship is called her fellowship 73, 1.

do versuoht ich 'n, ob er kunde sîn

ein *friunt*, daz wart vil balde schîn.

er gap durch mich (for me) sîn harnas *enwee* . . .

mange âventiure suobt' er *blôz* (bare, unarmed), Parz. 27, 13.

The knights wore scutcheon or jewel, esp. a sleeve, or mouwe, stouche (parts of a sleeve), 'durch (in honour of) die frauen.' The lady is screen, shield and escort to the knight whose sword is in her hand, Parz. 370-1. 'ich wil in *strîte bî in sîn*' says Obilôte to Gawan 371, 14. Captives must surrender to the conqueror's lady-love 394, 16. 395, 30. 396, 3; she is thus a warrior like Freya, a shield-maiden (p. 423-4). The *sleeve* he wears as favour on his shield has touched the maiden's *naked arm*, Parz. 375, 16. 390, 20. Er. 2292 seq. En. 12035 seq.; a shirt that has touched the fair one's form is the knightly hauberk's roof, Parz. 101, 10; conf. 'es gibt dir gleich, naizwan, ain kraft, wen du im an den rock rüerest (touchest his coat),' Keisersb.'s Spinnerin f. 3^d. Schionatulander nerves him for the fight, and wins it, by thinking how Sigune showed herself to him *unrobed*; which she had done on purpose to safeguard him in danger, Tit. 1247—50. 1497. 2502. 4104. 4717.

Sed in cordibus milites

depingunt nostras facies,

cum serico in *palliis*

colore et in *clipeis*; Carm. Bur. 148^b.

Sifrit *gedâht an daz küssen* daz ver Krîmhilt im hâte getân, dâ-von der degen küene (champion bold) ein niuwe kraft gewan, Roseng. 1866. Man sol vor êrste an Got gedenken in der nôt, Dar-nâch gedenke an die sÛezen mündel rôt, Und an ir edeln

minne, diu verjagt den tôt, Kolm. MS. 73, 37. 42, 46. For 'thinking of,' see my Dict. sub. v. *andacht* (devotion).—The ladies too call out to their champion, or they wish: 'The little *strength* that I have, I would it were *with you!*' As you like it, i. 2.—Woman's beauty can split rocks: von ir schoene müese ein fels erkrachen, MsH. 3, 173^a. It heals the sick: der *sieche* muose bî in genesen, Dietr. Drach. 350^b. sol daz ein *siecher* ane sehn, vor fröide wurde er schier gesunt 310^b. ir smieren und ir lachen, und solde ein *sieche* das ansehen, dem müeste sorge swachen 70^a. A flight to the ladies saves a man: hie sal die zuht vore gân, nu he under den vrowin ist komin, 4626; conf. 4589. A lady's tread does not hurt flowers: ich waen swelhe trat diu künegân, daz si niht verlôs ir liechten schîn, Turl. Wh. 97^b. 152^a.

p. 400.] Sîn pflâgen (him tended) *wîse frouwen*, Gudr. 23, 3; they are called *blessed maids* in Steub's Tirol p. 319.

p. 401.] The OHG. *itis* (Kl. Schr. 2, 4 seq.) is still found in MHG. In the Wigamur 1564 seq. a maiden is called *îdîs* (misprinted eydes, for it rhymes wîs, prîs 1654-90. 1972); she has a limetree with a fountain of youth. Again, *Itisburg*, Dronke 4, 22; *Idislind*, Trad. Wizenb. (printed Dislith), Pertz 2, 389. *Dis* in Förstem. 1, 335; is Gifaidis 1, 451 for Gîafdîs? Curtius in Kuhn's Ztschr. connects itis with ἀθήνη, but where is the *s*? I prefer to see in it the shining one, fr. indh=lucēre, *édha*, *édhas*=lignum (Kl. schr. 5, 435). AS. *ides*=freolicu meowle, Cod. Exon. 479, 2. Both *meowle* and *mawi* have likewise their place here; conf. *Meuenloch*, Panzer's Beitr. 1, no. 85. Kl. schr. 3, 108.

p. 403.] ON. *dîsir* appear as parcae: 'vildu svâ dîsir,' so willed the fates, Höstl. (Thorl. 6, 6); *tálar dîsir* standa þer á *tvær hliður*, ok vilja þik sáran síá, Sæm. 185^a. Sacrif. off. to them: *dîsablót*, *blétuð dîsir*, Egilss. 205-7. var at *dîsa blóti*, reið hesti um *dîsar salinn*, Yngl. 33. Of the suicide: heingdi sik í *dîsarsal*, Hervarars. p. 454; fôr ser í *dîsar sal* 527. *iodðis*, Sn. 202. Grendel's mother is an *ides*, Beow. 2518. 2701. On Vanadîs and her identity with the Thracian moon-goddess Bendis, see Kl. schr. 5, 424. 430 seq.

p. 403.] Brynhild's *hall*, whither men go to have their *dreams interpreted*, stands on a *hill*, Völs. c. 25; conf. hyfjaberg (p. 1149). *völu leiði*, divinatricis tumulus, Laxd. 328. An *old fay* has not been out of her *tower* for fifty years, Perrault p. m. 3.—Of

Veleda and the Goth. Waladamarca in *Jorn.* c. 48 we are reminded by the wise horse Falada in the fairy-tale (p. 659), and by Velen-tin: *valantinne, volantinne* alternate in Hpt's *Ztschr.* 4, 437. The *völur* roam about: *ek fôr í skôg völvu líki*, *Fornald.* s. 1, 135; *þú var völvan* 1, 139. *Sæm.* 154^b. Other prophetesses in *Nialss.* p. 194-9: *Sæunn kerling*, *hon var fróð at mörgu ok framsýn*, *en þá var hon gömul miök*; she wanted the weed removed, else it would cause a fire, which came true. In *Fornm.* s. 4, 46: *vísindakona*, *sú er sagði fyrir örlög manna ok líf*; *conf.* p. 408.

p. 405.] Wackernagel in Hpt's *Ztschr.* 2, 539 thinks *aliorunas* = *haliorunas* = *hellirúna*. A cave of the *Alraun* in *Panz. Beitr.* 1, 78—80. *mandragora alruna*, *Mone's Anz.* 8, 397.

p. 406.] My resolution of ON. *norn* into Goth. *navairns*, death-goddess (*Kl. schr.* 3, 113) is opposed by Müllenhof in Hpt's *Ztschr.* 9, 255. The 'Nahanarvali' may have been *norn*-worshippers, *Navarna-hali*, Goth. *Navarnê-haleis*, ON. *Norna-halir*, *GDS.* 715. 806. Perhaps we ought to look to the Swed. verb *nyrna*, warn, inform, *Sv. folkv.* 1, 182-3. In *Faröe* they say *nodn*, *nodnar*, for *norn*, *nornir*, as they do *kodn*, *hodn*, *badn*, for *korn*, *horn*, *barn*, *Lyngbye* 132; so *Nodna-gjest* 474. That *Nürnberg* contains *norn* is the less likely, as we find it spelt *Nüern-berc*, *MSH.* 3, 296^b, *Nüeren-berc*, *Walth.* 84, 17. *Nornborn* seems a corrup. of *Nordenborn*, like *Norndorf*, *Nornberg*, also in *Up. Germany*. *Conf.* the *Fris. Non*, *Ehrentz. Fries. arch.* 2, 82; *Nurnhari*, *Karajan* 83, 6.

p. 408.] Two Germ. truds, *Muss* and *Kann*, take their names, like the three Norns, from simple verbs, *Panz. Beitr.* 1, 88. *OHG.* *wurt*, *fortuna*, *Gl. hrab.* 964^a; *conf.* *giwurt*, *ungiwurt*, *Graff* 1, 993-4, and perhaps Goth. *gavairpi*, *n.* *AS.* *seo wyrd gewearð*, *Cædm.* 168, 3. *hie Wyrð forswcop*, *Beow.* 949. With 'me þæt Wyrð gewæf (wove)' *conf.* 'wígspêda gewiofn (webs),' *Beow.* 1347 (p. 415). In *Kormakss.* p. 267 comes *Urðr at brunni*; *conf.* *Urðar lokur*, *Sæm.* 98^a. *Urðr öðlînga* 214^a is like 'dís *Skiöldunga*.'—The Norns *shape* our destiny, *skapar*: *ömlig norn skóp oss í árdaga* 181^a; in *Faröe*: *tea heava mear nodnar skapt*, *Lyngbye* 132. In *Graff* 6, 662, 'steffara = *parca*' is for *sceffara*; *scepparun* = *parcae*, *Gl. Schlettst.* 6, 457; they '*sceppen*'s *mensch*en *leven*,' *Limb.* 3, 1275. *Vintler v.* 146 (see *App. Superst.* G) speaks of *gach-schepfen*, *Pfeiffer's Germ.* 1, 238; *conf.* *Finn.*

luonnotar, virgo creatrix, esp. ferri, fr. luon to make: 'kolme neittä luonnotarta,' *tres sunt virgines naturae creatrices*.—Norns are of various lineage, Sæm. 188^a:

sundr-bornar miök hugg ek at nornir sê,
eigoð þær aett saman,
sumar ero *ás-kungar*, sumar *álf-kungar*,
sumar doetr Dvalins (some, daughters of D., a dwarf).

p. 409.] On *nornir*, *völvur*, *spákonur*, *blákápur* conf. Maurer 284. *tha thriu wüfer*, Ehrent. Fries. arch. 2, 82. *die drei heil-räthinnen*, Panz. Beitr. 1, 56-7-9. 283. Slav. *tri rojenice* or *sujenice*, Valjavec 76—91. Boh. *sudice*, judges, fem. (p. 436). *Nornir ná-gönglar*, nauð-gönglar, Sæm. 187^b, conf. ed. Hafn. 173; note the *töfra-norn* (p. 1033).—The Norns *travel*: *konur þær fóru yfir land*, er *völvur* voru kallaðr, ok sögðu mönnum *forlög* sîn, árferð ok aðra hluti, þá er menn vildu vísir verða. þessi sveit kom til Virvils bônda, var *völvunni* þar vel fagnat, Fornm. s. 3, 212. *völvan arma* 3, 214. Norns, *parcae*, fays come to the *infant's cradle*, and bestow gifts; so does *frau Saelde* in Erec 9900. A *gammal gumma* prophesies at the birth of the prince, Sv. folks. 1, 195; three *mör* (maids) get bathed by the girl, and then give gifts 1, 130 (in our Germ. tale it is 3 *haulemännchen*).

p. 410.]

Sæva Necessitas

clavos trabales et cuneos manu
gestans ahenea. Hor. Od. i. 35, 18.

Si figit adamantinos
summis vorticibus dira Necessitas
clavos. Hor. Od. iii. 24, 5.

diu grimme Nót, Er. 837. merkja á nagli *Nauð*, Sæm. 194^b. *Rûnar ristnar*: á *Nornar nagli* 196^a (*cluvo*, not fingernail); conf. *Simplic.* 1, 475 (Keller): when Needs-be rideth in at door and windows.

p. 411.] Of Greek mythical beings *Calypso* comes nearest the fays, being goddess and nymph; and in MHG. the goddess *Venus* is '*diu feine diu ist entslâfen*,' MS. 2, 198^a, while a fay is often called *goddess*. '*götinne = fee*,' Hpt's Ztschr. 2, 183. *der götinne land*, *der g. hende*, Frib. Trist. 4458. 4503.—In *Petronius* we already find a personal (though masc.) *fatus*: *malus f.* (illum

perdidit) c. 42. hoc mihi dicit f. meus, c. 77. On the house of the *tria fata* in the Forum, conf. Gregorovius's City of Rome 1, 371-2-3. In the Engadin they are called *fedas*, *feas*, also *nymphas* and *dialas*: they help in loading corn, bring food and drink in silver vessels; *three dialas* come to the spinners, Schreiber's Taschenb. 4, 306-7.

p. 412.] On the *tria fata* see Horkel's Abh. p. 298 seq., conf. the *three maidens* in F. v. Schwaben: *twelve* white maidens in Müllenh. p. 348. Fays, like elfins, are of unsurpassed beauty: schoener danne ein *veine*, Trist. 17481. plus *blanche* que *fée*, Orange 5, 3059. plus *bele* que *fée* ne lerine 5, 4725. pus *bela* que *fada*, Ferabr. 2767. de *biauté* resanbloit *fée*, Marie 1, 100. They hold feasts, like the witches (p. 1045-6). In an old poem (?) p. 104-5, *three fays* prophesy at the birth of Auberon, son of Jul. Cæsar and Morgue, when a *fourth* comes in, p. 106 (p. 32 of the prose). The *fates* are gifting a newborn child, when the last one hurries up, but unfortunately sprains her foot (sbotatose lo pede), and lets fall a curse, Pentam. 2, 8.

p. 413 n.] *Fata Morgana* is '*Fémurgán* din rîche' in Lanc. 7185, *Fámorgán* in Er. 5155. 5229, *Feimurgán* in Iwein 3422. The '*Marquel*, ein feine' in Er. 1932 is the same, for she answers to the Fr. '*Morgain la fée*.' She is called '*Morguein de elwinne*,' Lantz. 13654. 19472. 23264; '*Femurga* die kluoge,' Tit. 4376; while Wolfram treats the word as the name of a country (p. 820 n.). On the other hand, Trist. 397, 14: *gotinne* ûz *Avelûn* der feinen lant (fay's land); Er. 1930: der wert *Avalôn*, Fr. Pile d'Avalon. Does this go back to an old Celtic belief? Michelet 2, 15 mentions *holy maids* who dispensed fair weather or shipwreck to the Celts.

p. 414 n.] *Aïsa* seem akin to ἴσος, εἴσος and εἶδεναι: ἴσος equally distributed, *κατὰ ἴσα* ex æquo, *κατ' αἴσαν* convenienter, æque.

p. 415.] Instead of *Κατακλώθεις* in Od. 7, 197 Bekker reads:

ἄσσα οἱ αἴσα κατὰ κλώθές τε βαρεῖαι
γεινομένῳ νήσαντο λίνφ—

joining *κατὰ τὴν νήσαντο*. Lucian's Dial. mort. 19: ἡ Μοῖρα καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτως ἐπικεκλώσθαι. Conf. ἐπικλώθω used of gods and daemons (Suppl. to 858). Atrōpos was supposed to be in

the sun, Clotho in the moon, Lachësis on earth, Plut. 4, 1157. For a beautiful description of the *three Parcae* (parca, she who spares? Pott in Kuhn 5, 250) see Catullus 62, 302—321 with ever and anon the refrain: *Currite, ducentes subtemina, currite, fusi!* also vv. 381—385.

Nubila nascenti seu mihi parca fuit. Ov. Trist. v. 3, 14.

Scilicet hanc legem nentes fatalia parcae

stamina bis genito bis cecinere tibi. v. 3, 25.

O duram *Lachesin!* quae tam grave sidus habenti

fila dedit vitae non breviora meae. v. 10, 45.

Atque utinam *primis* animam me ponere *cunis*

jussisset quaevis de tribus una soror! Propert. iii. 4, 28.

Tres parcae aurea pensa torquentes. Petron. c. 29.

Daz het in *vrôwe Chlôtô* sô erteilet;

ouch was vil gefuoc *vrô Lachesis* daran. Turl. Krone 7.

Servian songs tell of a *golden thread* (zlatna shitza), that unwinds from heaven and twines about a man, Vuk 1, 54 (Wesely p. 68). 57-8.

p. 416.] German legend is full of *spinning* and *weaving women*: *kleit daz ein wildiu feine span*, Troj. kr. 2895. *ein feine worhte den mantel*, Altd. bl. 2, 231; and *fays weave mantles* in Charlem. p. 105-6. *paile que fist fere une fée*, Anberi 37. in the cave sits an *old spinster*, Kuhn's Westph. 1, 72. Asbiörn. 1, 194; conf. the old *webster*, Rhessa dainos 198. *Gelücke span im kleider an*, Frauenl. 115, 15. There are usually *three together*: *tres nymphae*, Saxo p. 43 (ed. M. 123). *drei puppen*, Firm. 2, 34. *die drei docken*, H. Sachs i. 4, 457^d. *die drei Marien*, Kindh. Jesu, Hahn 68. Uhland's Volksl. 756. lb. 1582, 332. *three Marys* protect from fire, Panz. Beitr. 1, 67. *three spinning Marys*, Uhl. Vksl. 744. *three old wives* on a three-legged horse, Müllenh. p. 342. the *tras feyes*, Alsatia 1853, p. 172-3. Many stories of *three women* in *white* or *black*, esp. in Panzer's Beitr. 1, 2. 11-4-6-8. 25-8. 35-6-8. 46-8; they *stretch a line* to dry the wash on 1, 1. 9. 11-7. 25. 59. 129 n. 271-8; *sing* at the birth of a *child* 1, 11; become visible at *Sun-wend-tag* (solstice), 1, 38-9. 75. 84. Near Lohndorf in Up. Franconia a lad saw *three castle-maidens* walking, two had *kreuz-rocken* (-distaffs) with nine spindles spun full, the third a *stühles-rocken* with nine empty

ones; and the others said to her, 'Had you but covered your spindles once, tho' not spun them full, you would not be lost.' Panz. Beitr. 2, 136. A beautiful Moravian story tells of *three maidens* who marched, scythe in hand, mowing the people down; one, being lame, cannot keep up, and is laughed at by the other two. She in her anger lets men into the mystery of healing herbs. Kulda (d'Elv) 110.

p. 418.] Jupiter sends out Victoria, as Oðinn does *valkyrs*, Aug. Civ. D. 4, 17 (p. 435-6). Their name has not been found yet in OHG., though Schannat, vind. 1, 72 (yr. 1119) has *Wul-karie*, femina serva. With the *skiald-meyar* conf. schild-knecht, who keeps his lord's shield and hands it to him, as they to Oðinn. *Maidens* guarding *shield and helmet* occur in the M. Neth. Lanc. 16913. conf. 16678. 17038. Their other name, *hialm-meyar* is made clearer by *hild und hialmi*, Sæm. 228^a, *hialm geta ok óskmey verða* 242^a. The valkyr is named *folkevitr* 192^a. So, *megetlichiu wîp* help Charles to conquer, Ksrchr. 14950 seq.; *diu megede suln dir dîne êre widergewinnen* 14954; *der megede sigenunft* 15029. Aurelian led in triumph ten captive *Gothic amazons*, Vopisc. in Aurel. 34. Lampr. Alex. 6320 calls the Amazons *urlouges wîp*. Paul Diaconus mentions a fight betw. Lamissio and the Amazons for the passage of a river. Adam of Bremen 4, 19 speaks of 'amazons and *cynos-cephali*;' conf. P. Diac. 1, 15. *hunt-houbito* in Graff. The Krone 17469 tells of 'der *meide lant*,' land of maids.

p. 418 n.] Hun var vitr kona ok vinsael ok *skörúngr* mikill, Fornm. 3, 90; hon var *skorúngr* mikill, virago insignis, Nialss. c. 96; and Glauuvör is *skörúngr*, Völs. c. 33 (Kl. schr. 3, 407), *skarúngr*, Vilh. c. 212; but in c. 129 *skarúngr*=hero. Conf. *skör*, f.=barba, scabellum, commissura; *skar*, m.=fungus, insolentia. OHG. scara=acies, agmen; scaraman, scario.

p. 419.] Where is the *garment* mentioned, in which Oðinn hid the thorn for Brunhild? Sæm. 194^a only says 'stack hana svefn-þorni;' Völs. c. 20 'stack mik svefn-þorni'; Sæm. 228^b 'lank hann mik skiöldom ok hvítom.' On *spindle-stones*, see Michelet 1, 461.

p. 420.] Brynhildr or Sigdrífa *fills a goblet* (fyldi eitt ker), and brings it to Sigurd, Sæm. 194^b. Völs. c. 20. A white lady with *silver goblet* in M. Koch's Reise d. Oestr. p. 262. A maiden

hands the *horn*, and is cut down, Wieselgren 455. Subterraneans offer similar *drink*, Müllenh. p. 576; and a *jätte* hands a *horn*, whose drops falling on the horse strip him of hair and hide, Runa 1844, 88.

p. 421.] *Nine*, as the fav. number of the valkyrs, is confirmed by Sæm. 228^a, where one of them speaks of *átta systra*. To our surprise, a hero Granmar turns *valkyrja* in Asgard, and bears nine wolves to Sinfjötli, Sæm. 154^b. Fornald. 1, 139; conf. AS. wylpen, wulpin = bellona.

p. 423.] The valkyrs *ride through the air* (p. 641), like Venus (p. 892): a thing aft. imputed to witches (p. 1088, &c.). *Twelve women* in the wood, on *red horses*, Fornm. 3, 135. By the expression *Hlucr för*, Hlöck seems to have the task of conducting those fallen in battle to Óðinn or Freyja, Egilss. p. 226. Is *Göndull* akin to *gand*? Gl. Edd. tom. 1: '*göndull* = nodulus'; so that Óðin's by-name *Göndler*, Sæm. 46^b, would mean 'tricas nectens.' The *Rota* in prose Sn. 39 is *Rotho* in Saxo M. 316. An OHG. name *Hilticomâ*, ad pugnam veniens, Cod. Fuld. no. 153 (yr. 798), describes a valkyr; conf. *Hruodicoma*, no. 172; ON. *Hildir und hialmi*, Sæm. 228^a; AS. *hilde wóman*, Cod. Exon. 250, 32. 282, 15. *Thrúðr* is likewise a daughter of Thórr. Heilah-trúð, Trad. Fuld. 2, 46. *trute*, Pass. K. 395, 77. *frau Trutte*, Præt. weltb. 1, 23. the *drut* (p. 464).

p. 423.] May we trace back to the walkúrie what is said to Brunhild in Biter. 12617? 'ir wâret in iur alten site komen, des ir pfâget ê, daz ir sô gerne sehet strît,' you love so to see strife. Brynhildr is 'mestr *skörúngr*' (p. 418 n.). In Vilk. p. 30 she is called 'hin rîka, hin fagra, hin mikillâta,' and her castle *Séguard*. In the Nibel. she dwells at castle *Isenstein* on the sea; is called des tiufels wîp (or brût), and ungehiurez wîp, 417, 4. 426, 4; wears armour and shield, 407, 4, throws the stone running, and hurls the spear; is passing strong 425, 1. 509, 3. 517, 3, and ties up king Gunther on their wedding-night.

p. 424.] Like the *shield-maidens* are Fenja and Menja, of whom the Grottasöngr str. 13 says: î folk stigum, brutum skiöldu . . . veittum góðum Gothormi lið. Clarine dubs her Valentin knight, Staphorst 241. They strike up brotherhood with their protégés; so does stolta *Signild*, Arvidss. 2, 128—130; conf. the *blessed* (dead?) *maiden*, who marries a peasant, Steub's

Tirol 319. The valkyrs too have swan-shifts, Sæm. 228^a: lét *hami vâra hugfullr konûngr átta systra und eik borit* (born under oak); conf. Cod. Exon. 443, 10. 26: wunian under *âc-treo*; and Grottas. str. 11: vârum leikur, *vetr niu alnar fyrir iörð neðan*. The wish-wife's clothes are kept in the *oaktree*, Lisch 5, 84-5.

p. 425.] Brynhildr first unites herself by oath to young *Agnar*, and helps him to conquer old Hialmgunnar, Sæm. 194; conf. 174^b. 228^a (Völs. c. 20), where it says 'eiða seldak' and 'gaf ec ungom sigr.' After that she chose Sigurd: svâ er ek *kaus* mer til manns, Völs. c. 25. Such a union commonly proved unlucky, the condition being often attached that the husband should never *ask* the celestial bride *her name*, else they must part; so with the elfin, with Melusina, with the swan-knight. Also with the goddess Ganga, who had married Santanu, but immediately threw the children she had by him into the rivér, Holtzm. Ind. sag. 3, 95-9. On the union of a hero with the ghostly *víla*, see GDS. 130-1.

p. 429.] Valkyrs are to a certain extent *gods stranded* on the world in Indian fashion. They stay 7 years, then fly away to the battle: *at vitja víga*, visere proelia, Sæm. 133; so in the prose, but in the poem *örlög drýggja* (p. 425). The *wisiu wíp* in the Nibel. are also called *merwíp*, *diu wilden merwíp* 1514-20-28, and Hagen *bows* to them when they have prophesied.

p. 431.] The hut of the *forest-women* in Saxo p. 39 vanishes with them, and Hother suddenly finds himself *under the open sky*, as in witch-tales (p. 1072). Gangleri heyrði dyni mikla hvern veg frá sèr, oc leit ñt â hlið sèr: oc þâ er hann sèz meirr um, þâ *stendr hann úti á sléttum velli*, sèr þâ önga holt oc önga borg, Sn. 77. Such vanishings are called *siou-hverfingar*, Sn. 2.

p. 433.] *Holz-wíp*, Otn. Cod. Dresd. 277; conf. dryad, hama-dryad (p. 653). To *cry* like a wood-wife, Uhl. Volksl. 1, 149: schrê als ein wildez wíp *owé!* Lanz. 7892. The wild woman's *born*, *gestühl* (spring, stool), Wetterau. sag. 282; *wilde fräulein*, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 59; *daz wilde vrowelîn*, Ecke 172. In Schlüch-tern wood stand the *wild houses*, *wild table*, often visited by the wild folk, Buchonia iv. 2, 94-5; a *willemännches haus* and *tisch* (table) near Brückenau, Panz. Beitr. 1, 186; conf. *daz wilde gewere* (p. 447). Wood-wives are also called *dîrn-weibel* (Suppl. to 279), and carry apples in their basket, like the matronae and Nehalenniae. At flax-picking in Franconia a bunch plaited into

a pigtail is left for the *holz-fräule* (as part of a sacrifice was laid aside for nymphs, Suppl. to 433 n.), and a rhyme is spoken over it, Panz. Beitr. 2, 160-1. *witte wiwer* in the forest-cave, Kuhn's Westf. sag. 1, 123. The *rauhe* (shaggy) woman appears in the wood at *midnight*, Wolfdietr. 307-8 (Hpt's Ztschr. 4); the mother of Fasolt and Ecke was a *rauhes weib* (p. 483). Zander's Tanh. pp. 7. 17 speaks of *wald-schälklein* Cupido. Does *Widukind*, a very uncommon name, mean wood-child? conf. *Widukindes speckia*, Lünzel 22. 25.

p. 433 n.] *Weaving naiads* in Od. 13, 107. Fountain-nymphs, daughters of Zeus, are worshipped by Odysseus and in Ithaca 13, 356. 17, 240; a part of the sacrifice is laid by for them 14, 435. *βωμὸς νυμφάων* 17, 210.

p. 434 n.] The reluctance of *Proteus* is also in Virg. Georg. 4, 388—452; the same of *Vertumnus*, Ov. Met. 14, 642 seq. Propert. iv. 2.

p. 435.] *Ez ne sint merminne niet*, En. 240, 4. ein *wise merminne*, Lanz. 193. 5767. 3585. 6195. als *êne merminne* singhen, Rose 7896. A captive merwoman *prophesies ruin* to the country as far inland as she is dragged, Firmen. 1, 23. Müllenh. p. 338. Queen Dagmar hears the *prophecy* of a *hav-fru*, D.V. 2, 83—85 (in which occurs the adage: *vedst du det, saa vedst du mer*). The *mermaid* of Padstow, exasperated by a shot, curses the harbour, and it is choked up with sand. For *Melusine* the common people say *mère Lusine*. Danish songs have *maremind* and *marequinde*. 'waltminne = lamia,' Gl. florian. Fundgr. 1, 396. *waltminna* = echo (p. 452), lamia,' Graff 2, 774. *widuminna*, Cassel ortsn. p. 22.

p. 436.] The *vila* builds her castle in the clouds, her daughter *Munya* (lightning) plays with her brothers the two *Thunders*, Vuk nov. ed. 1, 151-2. She sits in ash-trees and on rocks, singing songs; talks with the stag in the forest; bestows gifts, and is a physician (p. 1148), Vuk 151. 149 n., no. 114. 158. She resembles the *devil* too; holds night-dance on the hill (Vuk sub v. *vrzino kolo*), teaches pupils to lead clouds and make storms, detains the last man. The *vilas* are likest the white ladies (Suppl. to 968). With *kliktati* conf. Lith. 'ulbauya volungė,' the woodpecker whines, and MS. 2, 94^b: 'ir *kloKent* als umbe ein fûlen boum ein speht,' as woodpecker about a plumbtree.

CHAPTER XVII.

WIGHTS AND ELVES.

p. 439.] Augustine C. D. 8, 14 divides animate beings into three classes: 'tripertita divisio animalium in deos, homines, *daemones*. Dii excelsissimum locum tenent, homines infimum, *daemones* medium; nam deorum sedes in coelo, hominum in terra, in aëre daemonum.' The *vettar* have more power over nature than we, but have no immortal soul, a thing they grieve at (p. 517). Fries. bot. udf. 1, 109.—The Goth. *aggilus*, OHG. *engil*, is not a convenient general term for these middle beings, for it conveys a definite Christian sense. Iw. 1391 uses *geist* for daemon: ein unsihtiger geist. *Genius* means having generative power, Gerh. Etr. gods pp. 15. 52. Another general term is *ungethüm*, Schweinichen 1, 261-2. Spirits are also *ungeheuer* (p. 914): die *übelen ungehiuren*, Ges. Abent. 3, 61. 70-6; *elbische ungehiure* 3, 75. The Swed. *rå* too seems to have a general sense: *sjö-rå, tomt-rå, skog-rå, råand*, Runa 1844, 70; conf. *ås* (Suppl. to 24 and 498). Mod. Gr. *σπιχέιον*, Fauriel's Disc. pré. 82, must be *σπιχέιον* element, conf. τὸ *σπιχέιον τοῦ ποταμοῦ* 2, 77.

p. 442.] The *Victovali, Victohali* are Goth. *Vaihtê-haleis*, ON. *Vaetta-halir*, fr. *vict, wiht, wight*, and the same people as the *Nahanarvali* (Suppl. to 406). GDS. 715. Can *vaihts* be fr. *vaian* to blow, and mean empty breath? In Hpt's Ztschr. 8, 178 '*iht* (ie-wiht) übles' is half abstract, like Goth. *vaihteis nбилôs*; whilst '*eines boesen wichtes art*' in Lanz. 3693 (conf. 1633) is altogether concrete; so are, '*diz ungehiure wiht*,' Ges. Abent. 2, 129; dat *vule wicht*, Rein. 3660; dat *dein* proper *suverlec wechtken* (girl), Verwijs p. 33; O. Engl. *wight* = being, wife, Nares's Gl. sub v.; illar *vaettir*, Fornm. 4, 27; ill *vaettr* ok *örm*, Fornald. 1, 487; *rög vaettr*, Sæm. 67-8; *ô-vaettr*, *malus daemon*, our *un-wesen*. *lund-vaettir* are Saxo's '*dii loci praesides*' 161. *dii vettrarne*. Dybeck 1845, p. 98. *uppâ vegnur vaettir*, ex improviso, *Biörn* sub v. *vegin* (slain). The Norweg. *go-vejter*, good wights, whence the *gu-vitter* of the neighbouring Lapps, answer to our *gute wichte*, *gute holden* (pp. 266. 456. 487); de *guden holden*, Gefken's Beil. 99. 124-9. A 15th cent. description of the Riesengebirge has '*umb des weckirchen oder bergmönlins willen*,' Mone's Anz. 7, 425; is

this word akin to wicht, as well as ar-weggers (p. 454 n.) which might mean 'arge wichte,' malicious wights? ¹ Weckerlein is a dog's name, fr. wacker (brisk, wide-awake). *Wihtelîn*, p. 441 n., may mean simply a puppet, like *tocke*, *docke*: *bleierne* (leaden) holder-*zweraglîn*, Garg. 253^a. A *wichtel-stube* in Sommer p. 24, a *wichtelen-loch* in Panz. Beitr. 1, 42. Like *wiht*, *das ding* stands for nightmare, Prætor. Weltb. 1, 27, as *bones coses* does for *boni genii*, Alex. 289, 24, and M. Lat. *creatura* for something, wight, Ducange sub v.

ON. *kynd*, f., pl. *kyndir*, is genus, ens, Sæm. 1^a. 6^a. 118^a; *kynsl*, *kynstr*, res insolita; Swed. *kyner*, creaturæ, Runa 1844, 74.² Akin to this word seems MHG. *kunder*, creature, being, thing, also quaint thing, prodigy: was *chunders*? Wackern. lb. 506, 30; conf. 675, 39. 676, 28. 907, 7. 909, 17. *solhez kunder ich vernam*, MSH. 3, 195^b. *tiuvels kunter*, Rol. 223, 22. *der tiuvel und allez sîn kunder*, Tit. 2668. *du verteiltez k.*, Ges. Abent. 3, 25. *bestia de funde sô sprichet man dem k.*, Tit. 2737. *verswinden sam ein k.*, *daz der boese geist fuort in dem rôre* 2408. *ein vremdez k.*, MSH. 3, 171^a. *ein seltsæne k.*, Walth. 29, 5. *ein trügelîchez k.* 38, 9. *diu oeden k.*, MSH. 3, 213^a. *das scheusslich kunter!* Oberlin 846^b; but also 'hêrlichiu kunder,' Gudr. 112, 4. *einer slahte k.*, *daz was ein merwunder*, Wigam. 119. *maneger slahte k.*, Wh. 400, 28. *aller slahte kunterlich*, Servat. 1954. *k. daz ûf dem velde vrizzet gras* (sheep), Helmbr. 145. *der krebez izzet gern diu kunterlîn im wazzer*, Renn. 19669. OHG. *Chunteres* frumere, Cod. Lauresh. 211. M. Neth. *conder*, Brandaen 33. 1667. *dem boesem unkunder*, Dietr. 9859, formed like ON. *ôvaettr*; conf. AS. *tudor*, progenies, *untýdras*, monstra, Beow. 221. p. 443.] OHG. 'faunos = alp,' Hpt's Ztschr. 10, 369. MHG., beside alp (*dô kom si rehte als ein alp ûf mich geslichen*, Maurit. 1414), has an exceptional *alf*: *sô tum ein alf . . . was nie sô alf* (both rhym. half), Pass. 277, 69 and 376, 6. *der unwîse alf* 302, 90. *ein helfelôser alf* 387, 19. *der tumme âlf* 482. 12. *der tôrehte alf* 684, 40; conf. the name *Olfalf*, Karajan 110, 40.—Perh. a nom. 'diu elbe' is not to be inferred fr. the dat. 'der elbe' in

¹ Ar-weggers is a name for earth-wights: *ar-beren* = *erd-beeren*, p. 467, l. 3; and *weg-lîn* = *wiht-lîn* p. 449, last l.—TRANS.

² *Skrymsl*, monstrum, Vilh. s. 35, *skrimsl*, Fornm. 4, 56-7, used like *kynsl*. Ihre says, *skrymsl* = *latebra*, Dan. *skrâmsel* *terriculamentum*; Neth. *schrôm* *terror*, ON. *skraumr* *blatero*; *Skrymir* (p. 541).

MS. 1, 50^b, as Pfeiffer p. 75 says the Heidelb. MS. reads 'von den *elben*.' The dwarf in Orendel is *Alban*; a name *Elblin* in Diut. 2, 107; a mountain-sprite *Alber* in Schm. 1, 47.—With the above *Olfalf* conf. 'ein rechter *olf*,' Roseng. xiii., which comes near MHG. *ulf*, pl. *ülve*, but disagrees in its consonant with *alp*, *elbe*. On the other hand, 'du *ölp*, du *dölp*' in H. Sachs i. 5, 525^b agrees with the latter; so does *Olben*-berg, Hess. Ztschr. 1, 245.—The quite reg. M. Neth. *alf* (p. 463, last 2 ll.) has two plurals: (1) *alven* in Br. Gheraert v. 719. met *alven* ende *elvinnen*, Hor. Belg. 6, 44; and (2) *elven* in Maerl.: den *elven* bevelen, Clarisse's Gher. p. 219. There is also a neut. *alf* with pl. *elver*; conf. the names of places *Elver*-sele, *Elvinnen*-berg. A large ship, *elf*-schuute, Ch. yr. 1253 (Böhmer's Reg. p. 26, no. 190) is perh. fr. the river *Elbe*.—AS. *ælfinni* means nymphæ, dūn-*ælfinni* oreades, wudu-*ælfinne* dryades, wæter-*ælfinne* hamadryades, sac-*ælfinne* naiades, feld-*ælfinne* maides, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 199. The Dan. assimil. of *ellen* for *elven* occurs indep. of composition: '*ellen* leger med hannom,' mente captus est, Wormius Mon. Dan. p. 19. *ellevild* = Norw. *huldrin*, *Asbiörns*. 1, 46-8. 105. indtagen af *huldren* 1, 99. To *ölpetrüttsch*, &c. add *elpendrötsch*, Gräter's Id. und Herm. 1814, p. 102; Up. Hess. 'die *ilmedredsehe*'; Fastn. 350 *älpetrüll*; conf. *trötsch* Mone's Anz. 6, 229.—The adj. from *alp* is *elbisch*: in *elbischer* anschowe, Pass. 97, 15. ein *elbische* ungehiure, Ges. Ab. 3, 75. ein *elbisch*êz âs 3, 60. *elbischer* gebaere 3, 68. ich sihe wol daz dû *elbisch* bist 3, 75.

p. 444 n.] For the Alps there occur in the Mid. Ages '*elbon* = *alpibus*,' Diut. 2, 350^b. uber *elve*, trans *alpes*, Rother 470. über *albe* kêren, Servat. 1075. zer wilden *albe* klûsen, Parz. 190, 22. gên den wilden *alben*, Barl. 194, 40.

p. 444 n.] Welsh *gwion* = elf, fairy. On *banshi*, *benshi* see Hone's Every Day b. 2, 1019, O'Brien sub v. *sithbhrog* (Suppl. to 280). *beansighe*, Leo's Malb. gl. 37, *sighe* 35. Hence the name of an elvish being in the West of Engl., *pixy*, *pexy*, *pixhy*, Scotch *paikie*, Jamieson 2, 182, and *pixie*, Suppl. 219. For the *colepixy*, at fruit-gathering time, a few apples are left on the tree, called in Somerset the *pixhy*-*hording* (fairies' hoard), Barnes sub v. *colepexy*. *Piesy*-ridden, i.e. by night-mare; *pixy*-led, led astray.

p. 445.] The distinction betw. *álfar* and *dvergar* appears also in Sæm. 28^a: for *álfom* *Dvalinn*, *Dáinn* *dvergom*. By *Alfheimr*

Rask understands the southernmost part of Norway, Afh. 1, 86-8; by *dvergar* the Lapps 1, 87. Loki, who is also called *álfr*, is sent by Oðinn to *Andvari* or *Andþvari* in *Svartálfaheim*, Sn. 136; so Plutarch 4, 1156 derives daemons from the servants of Kronos, the Idæan Dactyls, Corybantes and Trophoniads. Curiously *Olaf* is called *digri Geirstaða-álfr*, because he sits in the grave-mound at Geirstöð, Fornm. 4, 27. 10, 212.—Both *albs*, *alps* and the Lat. *albus* come (says Kuhn in Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 490) fr. Ssk. *ribhus*; conf. thie *wîzun* man=angels, O. v. 20, 9. die *weissen männel*, Weise's Com. probe 322. Vishnu on the contrary appears as a *black dwarf*, Meghaduta 58, and again as a *brown shepherd-boy* 15. Dwarfs are created out of black bones, 'or *blám leggjom*,' Sæm. 2^b. Migrating dwarfs are either *white* or *black* in Panz. Beitr. 1, 14. Still I think it speaks for my threefold division, that the elves made by witches' magic are also *black*, *white* and *red*, where red may stand for brown, though hardly for *döckr*. In charms too, the 'worms' equivalent to elves are always of those three colours; an Engl. spell names 'fairies *white*, *red* and *black*,' Hone's Yearb. 1534. And horses black, brown and white turn up in the fay-procession, Minstrelsy 199.

p. 446.] The dwarf *Andvari* dwells in *Svartálfaheim*, Sn. 136; Sn. 16 makes some dwarfs live in the *ground* (*î moldu*), others in *stones* (*î steinum*).

447.] For *dvergr*, Sæm. 49^a has *durgr*. LS. *twarg*, Westph. *twiark*, L. Rhen. *querge*, Firmen. 1, 511; Up. Lausitz *queræ* 2, 264. '*gituerg*=nanus vel pomilio,' Gl. Slettst. 29, 43. ein *wildez getwerc*, Er. 7395; *getwergelîn* 1096. *daz tzuwerk*, Keller's Erz. 632, 3. *wildiu getwerc*, Goldem. 5, 1. Sigen. 21, 9. Ecke 81, 5. A deed of 1137 is signed last of all by '*Mirabilis nanus de Arizberg, nepos imperatoris Heinrici*,' MB. 4, 405; was his name *Wuntertwerc*? (a *Mirabilis* near Minden, yrs. 1245-82, Wigand's Wetzl. beitr. 1, 148. 152. *Henr. Mirabilis*, D. of Brunswick, d. 1322.—Earth-mannikins do spin, Sup. 993; but their favourite line is *smith-work*; they are '*hagir dvergar*,' Sæm. 114^a. *Knockers* are little black hill-folk, who help to knock, and are good at finding ore, Hone's Yearb. 1533. The thunderbolt was also *elf-shot*, conf. *Alp-donar* (p. 186-7). As smiths with *cap* and *hammer*, the dwarfs resemble Vulcan, who is repres. with *hat* and *hammer*, Arnob. 6, 12; conf. Lateranus

(Suppl. to 511). Dwarfs were worked on ladies' dresses, *dvergar á öxlum*, Sæm. 102^b.

p. 447 n.] The *korrr*, dwarf, dim. *korrik*, is black and ugly, with deep-set eyes and a voice muffled by age, Schreieb. Abh. v. streitkeil. p. 80. Welsh *gwarchell*, a puny dwarf, *gwion*, elf, fairy, *gwyll*, fairy, hag. Lith. *karlà*, *karlèle*. Serv. *malienitza*, *manyò*, little-one, *star-mali*, old little-one, *kepetz*.

p. 448.] The worship of elves is further attested by the *álfa-blót* performed in one's own house, Fornm. 4, 187. 12, 84; a *black lamb*, a *black cat* is offered to the huldren, Asb. Huldr. 1, 159. In Dartmoor they lay a bunch of grass or a few needles in the pixies' hole, Athenæum no. 991. The *alp-ranke* is in AS. *elf-bone*, OHG. *alb-dono*, like a kerchief spread out by the elves? (p. 1216); *elf-rank*, amara dulcis, Mone's Anz. 6, 448. Other plants named after them are *elf-blüster*, *elf-näfver*, Dyb. Runa 1847, 31.

p. 451 n.] The adage in the Swiss dwarf-story, '*sälben tho, sälben gha*' (conf. *issi teggi*, p. 1027), is found elsewhere: Norw. '*sjöl gjort, sjöl ha*,' Asb. Huldr. 1, 11; Vorarlb. '*selb to, selb ho*,' Vonbun p. 10; '*salthon, saltglitten*,' Wolf's Ztschr. The *goat's feet* suggest the *cloven hoofs* of satyrs, for dwarfs too. '*dart through the wood on pointed hoof*,' Dietr. drach. 140^a.—The ill effect of *curiosity* on men's dealings with dwarfs comes out in the following:—A shepherd near Wonsgehäu saw his dog being fed by two dwarfs in a cave. These gave him a *tablecloth*, which he had only to spread, and he could have whatever food he wished. But when his inquisitive wife had drawn the secret from him, the cloth lost its virtue, and the *zwergles-brunn* by Wonsgehäu ran *blood* for nine days, while the dwarfs were killing each other, Panz. Beitr. 2, 101.

p. 451.] *Angels* are small and beautiful, like elves and dwarfs; are called *geonge men*, Cædm. 146, 28; woman's beauty is comp. to theirs, Walth. 57, 8. Frauend. 2, 22. Hartm. bk. 1, 1469. Percival '*bore angel's beauty without wings*,' Parzif. 308, 2.¹ And dwarfs are called the *jaïr folk* (p. 452); *sgön-aunken*, Kuhn's Westph. sag. 1, 63. Alberich rides '*als ein Gotes engel vor dem her*,' Ortnit 358. *die kleinen briute* (she-dwarfs), *vrouwen also diu bilde getân* (done like pictures), Alex. and Antiloie (Hpt's

¹ *Pennati pueri* already attend Venus in Claudian's Epith. Palladii; angels flit round the tower, Pertz 6, 451^a.

Ztschr. 5, 425-6); conf. 'Divitior forma, quales audire solemus *Naiides et Dryades* mediis incedere silvis,' Ov. Met. 6, 452.—On the other hand, Högni, whose father was an alb, is *pale* and *dun* as bast and ashes, Vilk. c. 150; changelings too are ugly (p. 468). We read of *dernea wihti* (p. 441); and the red-capped dwarf is *black*, Runa 3, 25. Dwarfs have *broad brows* and *long hands*, Dybeck 1845, p. 94; *gróze arme, kurziu bein* het er nâch der getwerge site, Wigal. 6590; and the *blatevüeze* in Rother seem to belong to dwarfs, by their bringing the giants *costly raiment*.—Dwarfs come up to a man's knee, as men do to a giant's: 'die kniewes hôhen . . . die dô sint eins kniewes hôch,' Dietr. drach. 299^a. 175^{ab}. 343^b. Dietr. u. ges. 568. 570. Often the size of a *thumb* only: pollex, Pol. paluch, Boh. palec, ON. þámlângr (Swed. pyssling: 'alla min fru mors *pysslingar*,' Sv. folks. 1, 217-8; ON. pysslingr, fasciculus), Lith. nyksztélis, thumbkin, wren, Kl. schr. 2, 432-3. In Indian stories the soul of the dying leaves the body in the shape of a *man as big as a thumb*, Holtzm. Ind. sag. 1, 65. Ruhig says the O.Pr. *barz-luckai* is not fr. pirsztas, finger, but fr. barzda, beard, the subterraneans being often repres. with long beards.—MHG. names for a dwarf: der *kleine mann*, Ernst 4067. der *wénige man*, Er. 7422. Eilh. Trist. 2874. der *wénige gast*, Er. 2102. *wéniges mennel*, Frib. Trist. 5294. ein gar *wéniger man* mit einer güldîn krône, Ecke 202. ein *wénic twirgelîn*, Alex. 2955. der *kurze kleine*, der *kleine recke*, Dietr. drach. 43^b. 68^a. der *wunderkleine*, Altsw. 91. Serv. *star-mali*, old little-one. An unusual epithet, applied also to slaves and foreigners, is 'le *puant nain*,' Ren. 4857. The Elf-king sits under a great toadstool, Ir. mârch. 2, 4; and whoever carries a toadstool about him grows small and light as an elf 2, 75. The little man afloat on a leaf in Brandaen is on a par with the girl sailing over the waves on the leaves of a *waterlily*, Müllenh. p. 340; conf. *nökkeblomster* (p. 489).

p. 453.] Hills and woods give an echo: OHG. *galm*, Diut. 2, 327^a; MHG. *gal* and *hal*, Deut. myst. 2, 286; *widergalm*, Tit. 391; die *stimme gap hinwidere mit gelichem galme* der walt, Iw. 618. They answer: *conscia ter sonuit rupes*, Claud. in Pr. et Olybr. 125; *responsat Athos, Haemusque remugit*, Claud. in Eutr. 2, 162; daz in dâvon *antworte* der berc unde ouch der tan, Nib. 883, 3; ein *gellendiu fluo*, Lanz. 7127; si schrei, daz ir der

walt *entsprach*, Bon. 49, 71; daz im der bere *entgegenhal*, Er. 7423.—ON. *dvergmáli* qvað í hverjum hamri, Fornald. 3, 629; *dvergmálenn*, Alex. saga 35. 67. AS. *wudu-mær*, both echo and nympha silvestris. The woodman calls fr. the wood, Megenb. 16, 20. Böcler's Superst. of the Esths p. 146 gives their names for the echo: squint-eye, *wood's reply*, *elf-son's cry*; Possart p. 163-4 says, the mocking wood-elf *mets halias* makes the echo (Suppl. to 480). Echo is the silvan voice of Faunus, Picus (conf. woodpecker and Vila), Klausen pp. 844. 1141; the Mongols take a similar view of it, Petersb. bull. 1858, col. 70. In the Ir. märchen 1, 292 echo is not 'muc alla,' but *macalla* or *alla bair*, Gael. *mactalla*, son of the rock, Ahlw. Oisian 3, 336.

As the ON. saga makes Huldra *queen of dwarfs*, Swedish legends have a fair lady to rule the dwarfs; even a *king* is not unknown, as the *bergkong* (p. 466). The English have a *queen of fairies*, see Minstr. 2, 193 and the famous descr. of *queen Mab* (child, doll?) in Rom. and Jul. i. 4; conf. Merry W. of W. v. 4. Add *Morguein de elvienne*, Lanc. 19472. 23264-396-515. 32457.—In German opinion *kings* preponderate. The Sörlapâttr makes *Alfrigg* a brother or companion of Dvalinn, while Sn. 16 associates *Albiofr* with him, Fornald. 1, 391; conf. 'in dem *Elperichisloke*,' Baur no. 633, yr. 1332. 'der getwerge künec Bîlêt' has a brother *Brîans*, Er. 2086; Grigoras and Glecidolân, lords of der twerge laut 2109. Another is Antiloïs (rhym. gewis), Basel MSS. p. 29^b. On the name of the dwarf-king *Luarîn*, *Luuran*, see Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 531; *Laurin*, Baur no. 655; a *Laurins* in the Roman des sept sages (Keller's Dyocletian, introd. p. 23—29). With Gibich conf. *Gebhart*, Müllenh. p. 307; king *Piper*, or *Pippe kong* 287. 291-2. Again, the Scherfenberger dwarf, DS. no. 29; *Worblestrüksken* king of earthmannikins, Firmen. 1, 408—410. Albr. v. Halb. fragm. 25 speaks of a *got der twerge*.

p. 453 n.] The lament 'Urban is dead!' sounds like the Vorarlberg cry 'Urhans (old Jack) ist todt' (conf. Urian, urteufel, p. 989, and 'the devil's dead,' p. 1011-2), Vonbun p. 4; ed. 2, pp. 2. 7. Fromm. Mundart. 2, 565. *Kilian* is dead, Winkler's Edelm. 377: *Salome* is dead, Panz. Beitr. 2, 40. 'Eisch, Pingel, Pippe kong, Pilatje, Vatte, Kînd ist dôt,' Müllenh. nos. 398—401. *Habel* is dead, Preusker 1, 57. nu är *Plagg* död, Runa 1844 p. 44. nû er *Ulli* dauðr, Fornm. 1, 211. Ol. Tryggv.

c. 53. In a Cornish legend a beautiful she-dwarf is buried by the little folk in Leland church near St. Ives amid cries of *Our queen is dead*; conf. Zeus is dead, buried in Crete, thunders no more, Lucian's *Jup. trag.* 45.

p. 454.] The dwarf's names *Dáinn*, *Náinn* (mortuus) raise the question whether elves are not *souls*, the *spirits of the dead*, as in Ssk. Indras is pitâ Marutâm, father of the winds = of the dead, Kuhn in *Hpt's Ztschr.* 5, 488-9. Of the dwarf *Alvîs* it is asked: *hvî ertu fölr um nasar, vartu î nôtt með ná?* *Sæm.* 48^a. *Dvalinn* âlfr, *Dáinn* dvergr; *Dvalinn* sopiens, *Durinn* somnifer 28^a. *Andvari*, son of *Oinn* 181^a means perh. *cautus* (*Suppl.* to 461). *Finnr* reminds of *Fin* in the *Norrland* story (p. 1025), and of father *Finn* in *Müllenh.* p. 300. *Bivor* may be conn. with dwarf *Bibunc* in *Dietr. drach.*—Germ. names of dwarfs: *Meizelin*, *Dietr. dr.* 196^a. *Aeschenzelt*, *Ring* 233-9. *Hans Donnerstag*, *Müllenh.* p. 578. *Rohrinda*, *Muggastutz*, *Vonbun* pp. 2. 7; conf. *Stutzamutza*, *Grossrinda*, *Wolf's Ztschr.* 2, 60. 183.

p. 455.] On the *arweggers* see *KM*³. 3, 195. Dwarfs live in holes of the rock: *stynja* (ingemiscunt) *dvergar fyrir steins durum*, *Sæm.* 8^b. *Dvalinn stôð î steins dyrum*, *Hervar.* p. 414. They like to stand in the doorway, so as to slip in when danger threatens. A dwarf's hole is in *ON. gauri*, *Vilkin.* c. 16 (the *pixies' house* or *hole* in *Devon*, *Athen.* nos. 988. 991). They were called *veggbergs vísir*, *Sæm.* 9^a. In Sweden, *berg-rå*, *bergrået*, *Runa* 3, 50, *iord-byggar* 1845, 95, *di små undar jårdi* 60, *höjbiergs-gubbe*, conf. *tomte-gubbe* (p. 500), *god-gubbe*. In Norway, *hou-boer*, dweller on a height. In Germany too, *wildiu getwerc* live in the *mountain* beside giants, *Hpt's Ztschr.* 6, 521; 'der hort *Niblunges* der was gar getragen ûz eime *holn berge*,' *Nib.* 90, 1; a *wildez getwerc* is surprised 'vor eime *holen berge*,' *Er.* 7396; 'si kument vor den berc, und sehent *spiln diu getwerc*,' see the dwarfs play, *Dietr. dr.* 252^b, conf. 213^a; *twerge* dwell in the *Höberg*, *Ring* 211. 'Daemon subterraneus truculentus, *berg-teufel*; *mitis, bergmenlein, kobel, guttel*;' again, 'dæmon metallicus, *bergmenlein*,' for whom a 'fundige zech' was deposited, *Georg Agricola de re metall. libri XII.* *Basil.* 1657, p. 704^b.

Gân ûf manegen rûhen *berc*,

dâ weder katze noch *getwerc*

möhte über sîn geklommen. *Troj. kr.* 6185.

The term *böhlers-männchen* im böhlers-loch, Bechst. 3, 129, must come fr. *bühel*, collis; conf. O.H.G. *puhiles perc*, Graff 3, 42 and the name Böhler. Wend. *ludkowa gorà*, little folk's hill, Volksl. 2, 268^a. in *montanis* (Prasiorum) *pygmæi* traduntur, Pliny 6, 19. People show the *twarges-löcker*, *wüllekes-löcker*, *wulweckers-löcker*, *wünerkes-gätter*, Kuhn's Westph. sag. 1, 63.—They also live in *grave-mounds*, Lisch 11, 366, in *cairns* (*sten-rös*), and under men's *houses* and *barns*, Fries's Udf. 109. These are likewise the resort in summer of the *courriquets* of Bretagne, who sleep on the hearth all the winter. But they cannot endure men's *building stables* over their habitations, which the muck, sinking through, would defile, Müllenh. p. 575. 297. Kuhn, nos. 329. 363 and p. 323. Asb. 1, 150-1. Dybeck 1845, p. 99.¹—The name of Subterranean is widely spread: dat *unner-ersch*, das *ünner-eersche*, in Sylt-öe *önners-erske*, Müllenh. 433. 393. 337. de *unner-ärschen* near Usedom. In digging a well, men came upon their *chimney*, and found quite a houseful, Kuhn in Jrb. der Berl. ges. 5, 247. *erdmännel*, *erdweibel*, Panz. Beitr. 1, 71. Lith. *kaukas*, earth-man, *kaukaras*, mountain-god; conf. *semmes deewini*, earth-gods, Bergm. 145. In Föhr and Amrum *önners-bänkissen*, in Dan. Schleswig *unner-væs-töi*, *unner-bors-töi*, *unners-boes-töi* (*töi*=zeug, stuff, trash), Müllenh. 279. 281. 337. Elves inhabit a Rosegarden inside the earth, like Laurin, where flower-picking is punished, Minstr. 2, 188. 192.

p. 456.] Venus is called a *feine* (Suppl. to 411), een broosche *elwinne*, Matth. de Castelein's Const van rhetoriken, Ghendt 1555, p. 205; conf. the Venus-Minne hovering in the air, and travelling viewless as a *sprite* (p. 892).

p. 458.] *De guden holden* are contrasted with the *kroden duvels* (Suppl. to 248-9). *Mín vâro holdo*, verus *genius*, Notk. Cap. 81. Is *holderchen* the original of *ülleken*, *ülken*, Balt. stud. 12^b, 184, and *üllerkens*, Temme's Pom. sag. 256?² *liuglîngr*=*huldumaðr*, Aefintÿri 105.—The Norw. *huldrefolk*, Asb. 1, 77 and Faröe *huldefolk*, Athen. no. 991, are of both sexes, though

¹ Two maidens came to a peasant when ploughing, and begged him to leave off, they were going to bake, and the sand kept falling into their dough. He bargained for a piece of their cake, and aft. found it laid on his plough, Landau's Wüste örter, p. 138. So fairies in Worcestersh. repay compliant labourers with food and drink, Athen.

² *Arweggers* is perh. to be explained by *arwegget*=*arbeit*, Firmen. 1, 363, and means workers; conf. *weckerchen*, *wulwecker*.

the females are more spoken of: a female is called *hulder*, Asb. 1, 70, a male *huldre-kall* (-karl) 1, 151. Dybeck 1845, 56 derives *hyll-fru*, *hyl-moer* fr. *hyld*, elder-tree.—The good nature of dwarfs is expr. by other names: Norw. *grande*, neighbour, and Asb. 1, 150-1 tells a pretty story of the *underground neighbour*. Might not the 'goede kinder' in Br. Geraert 718 come in here? A *quoter* and a *pilwiz* are named together, Hagen's Ges. Abent. 3, 70; 'der *quotaeri*' is the name of a MHG. poet. Lith. *balti žmones*, the honest folk, Nesselm. 319^b.—As dwarfs impart to men of their bread or cake, help in weaving, washing and baking, and serve in the mill (Panz. Beitr. 1, 155), they in return make use of men's dwellings, vessels, apparatus. So the pixies in Devon, Athen. no. 991. In winter they move into men's *summer-huts* (sheelings), Asb. 1, 77, 88. They can thrash their corn in an oven, hence their name of *backofen-trescherlein*, Gar. 41^a; once the strazeln were seen *thrashing in an oven six together*, another time *fourteen*, Schönwth 2, 300. 299. They fetch men of understanding to *divide* a treasure, to settle a dispute, Pref. xxxiii.-iv. Contes Ind. 2, 8. Somad. 1, 19. Berl. jrb. 2, 265. Erfurt kindm. 26. Asb. p. 52-3. Cavallius no. 8. Wal. märch. p. 202. KM. nos. 92. 133. 193-7; conf. pt. 3, ed. 3, pp. 167-8. 216. 400 (conf. *dividing the carcass* among beasts, Schönwth 2, 220. Nicolov. 34. *societas leonina*, Reinh. 262). They let a kind servant-girl have a present and a peep at their wedding, Müllenh. 326-7 (see, on dwarf's weddings, Altd. bl. 1, 255-6. Naubert 1, 92-3. Goethe 1, 196). Hafbur goes into the mountain and has his dream interpr. by the eldest 'elvens datter,' Danske v. 3, 4. They dread the cunning tricks of men; thus, if you take a *knife off their table*, it can no longer vanish, Lisch 9, 371. The man of the woods, or *schratt*, like the dwarf in Rudlieb, cannot endure a guest who blows hot and cold, Boner 91. Stricker 18 (Altd. w. 3, 225).—If on the one hand dwarfs appear weak, like the one that *cannot carry* Hildebrand's heavy *shield*, Dietr. u. Ges. 354, 491. 593, or the *wihel* who finds an *ear of corn heavy*, Panz. Beitr. 1, 181; on the other hand the *huldre* breaks a horse-shoe, Asb. 1, 81, fells a pine and carries it home on her shoulder 1, 91. And in Fairyland there is *no sickness*, Minstr. 2, 193; which accords with the longevity boasted of by dwarf Rudleib xvii. 18, conf. Ammian. 27, 4 on the long-lived *agrestes* in Thrace.

p. 459.] The dwarfs retiring before the advance of man produce, like the Thurses, Jötnus and Hunes, the impression of a conquered race. In Devon and Cornwall the pixies are regarded as the old inhabitants. In Germany they are like Wends (the elves like Celts?), in Scandinavia like Lapps. Dwarfs are *heathen*: 'ob *getouften* noch *getwergen* der bêder künec wart ich nie,' of either dipt or dwarf, Biter. 4156. The undergrounders fear not Wode, if he have *not washed*; conf. Müllenh. no. 500 (p. 458n.). They can't abide *bell-ringing*, Firmen. 2, 264^b, they move away. In *moving* they leave a cow as a present, Dybeck 1845, 98. The subterraneans *ferry over*, Müllenh. p. 575; *wichtels* cross the Werra, Sommer p. 24; three *wichtels* get ferried over, Panz. Beitr. 1, 116; conf. the passage of souls (p. 832). As the peasant of the Aller country saw the meadow swarming with the dwarfs he had ferried over, as soon as one of them put his own hat on the man's head; so in the Altd. bl. 1, 256: when the hel-clothes were taken off, 'dô gesach he der *getwerge mē wēn tūsunt*.' When the peasant woman once in washing forgot to put lard in, and a *wichtel* scalded his hand, they stayed away. The *ülleken* fetch water, and leave the jug standing, Balt. stud. 12^b. 184.

p. 461.] Ostgötl. *skot*, *troll-skot*, elf-shot, a cattle-disease, also *elf-blüster*, Dyb. 1845, 51; conf. *âb-gust*, *alv-eld*, *alv-skot*, Aasen. Their mere touch is hurtful too: the half-witted *elben-trötsche* (p. 443) resemble the '*cerriti*,' *larvati*, male *sani*, aut *Cereris ira* aut *larvarum incursatione animo vexati*, Nonius 1, 213. Lobeck's *Aglaoph.* 241. *Creuz. Symbol.* 1, 169 (ed. 3). The sick in Ireland are *fairly-struck*.—The name *Andvari*, like the neut. *andvar*, can be interpr. *ventus lenis*, *aura tenuis*, though Biörn translates it *pervigil* (Suppl. to 454). With *Vestri*, *Vindálfr* is to be conn. '*Vestralpus Alamannorum rex*,' *Amm. Marcell.* 16, 12. 18, 2; it is surely *westar-alp* rather than *westar-halp*, in spite of AS. *west-healf*, ON. *vestrálfa*, *occidens*. *Erasm. Atberus' Diet.* of 1540 remarks: '*mephitis*, stench and foul vapour rising out of swamps or sulphurous waters, in *nemoribus* *gravior est ex densitate silvarum*.' In the Dreyeich they say '*der alp feist* also.'—The *looks* of elves bewitch, as well as their breath: *eft ik sî entsén*, Val. and Nam. 238^a. *byn yk nu untzén?* *Hpt's Ztschr.* 5, 390.

p. 462.] Elves can get into any place. The *álfr* enters the

house 'at *luktum dyrum öllum*,' Fornald. 1, 313. They steal up softly, unperceived: 'se geit *op elben-tehnen*,' she walks on elf-toes, they say about Magdeburg.

p. 463.] They can make themselves *invisible*: daz analutte des *sih pergenten* (self-hiding) truge-tievels, N. Boëth. 42. ein *unsihtiger geist*, Iw. 1391. The invisibility is usually effected by their head-covering, the *nebel-kappe*, Etnn. Maulaffe 534. 542. Altswert 18, 30. in *mîner nebelkappen*, Frauenl. 447, 18; or *hele-küppel*, Winsb. 26, 5. Winsbekin 17, 5; and the secret notches in it are called *küppel-snite* 17. 18. '*nacht-raben und nebel-käpel*,' Katzmair p. 23-8 (yr. 1397). It seems they also wear a *fire-red tschöple*, Vonbun p. 1; and a subterranean has the name of *Redbeard*, Müllenh. p. 438. The *huldre-hat* makes invisible, Asb. 1, 70. 158-9, like the *thief's helmet*; the hat is also called *hvarfs-hatt*, and the boys who wear it *varfvar*, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 510-1; conf. '*hverfr þessi âlfr svâ sem skuggi*,' Vilks. c. 150. The courriquets of Bretagne wear *huge round hats*. Men cry to the dwarfs, '*zieht abe iuwer helin-kleit!*' Altd. bl. 1, 256. Like our dwarfs, the little *corybantes* in antiques wear *hats*, Paus. 3. 24, 4. Not only Orcus's *helmet*, but his *coat* was known, for the Romans called the anemone *Orci tunica*, Dioscor. 2, 207.—Conversely, dwarfs become *visible* to those who *anoint their eyes* with dwarf-salve, as in the story of the nurse who put the ointment to one of her eyes, and could see the subterraneans, till they tore out the eye, Asb. 1, 24-5. Müllenh. p. 298. Dyb. 1845, 94.—Poems of the Round Table give dwarfs a *scourge*, wherewith to *lay about them*, Lanz. 428. 436. Er. 53. 96. Iw. 4925. Parz. 401, 16. Even Albrich bore

eine *geisel* swaere von *golde* an sîner hant,
siben knöpfe swaere hiengen vor daran,
 dâmit er umb die hende den schilt dem küenen man
 sluoc sô bitterlîchen. Nibel. 463-4.

In Possart's Estl. p. 176 the giants carry whips with millstones tied to the tails.

p. 465.] Old poetry is full of the trickery of dwarfs, who are *kündic* as foxes, *endelîch*, Dietr. drach. 17, '*endelîch und kec*,' 'brisk and bold,' 346^b. *bedrogan* habbind sie *dernea wihti*, Hel. 92, 2. du *trügefahtez wiht*, Barl. 378, 35. uns *triege* der alp,

Hagen's Ges. Ab. 3, 60. *elfs-ghedroch*, Beatrijs 736. *elfs-ghe-drochte*, Maerl. (Clarisse's Gheraert p. 219). Walewein 5012. *enhôrde ghi noit segghen* (heard ye ne'er tell) van *alfs-gedrochte*, Hor. Belg. 6, 44-5. Deception by ghosts is also *getrucnisse*, Herb. 12833. *ungihiure drugi-dinc*, Diemer 118, 25. 121, 3. May we conn. with *abegetroc* the M. Neth. *avondtronke*? Belg. mus. 2, 116. In App., spell xlii., an alb has eyes like a *teig-trog* (lit. dough-trough). *Getwâs*, fantasma, is better expl. by AS. *dwaes*, stultus (Suppl. to 916) than by Sl. *dushá*, soul (p. 826).—Oppression during sleep is caused by the *alp* or *mar* (p. 1246): *mich drucket heint* (to-night) der *alp*, Hpt's Ztschr. 8, 514. *kom rehte als ein alp úf mich geslichen*, Maurit. 1414. The *trud* presses, Dietr. Russ. mûrch. no. 16, conf. *frau Trude* (p. 423). Other names for incubus: *stendel*, Stald. 2, 397; *rätzel* or *schrützel*, Prætor. Weltb. 1, 14. 23 (p. 479); Fris. *woelrüder*, Elbentr. 1, 386. 2, 16; LG. *waalrüter*, Krüger 71^b. Kuhn's Nordd. sag. nos. 338. 358. p. 419 (conf. Walschraud in the M. Neth. Braundaen); Engl. *hag-rode*, -ridden, W. Barnes; *pixsy*-ridden (Suppl. to 444; the pixies also, like the courriquets of Bretagne, tangle the manes of horses, and the knots are called *pixy-seats*, Athen. no. 991); Pol. *éma*, Boh. *tma*, Fin. *painayainen*, squeezer, Gander 65. Schröter 50.—Other names for plica: Upp. Hess. *Hollekopp*, at Giessen *morlocke*, *mahrklatte*, *Judenzopf*. A child in Diut. 1, 453:

hatte ein siechez houbet (sore head),
des hatten *sich verloubet*
di *hârlocke* alle garewe.

And Sibilla (antfahs) has hair *tangled as a horse's mane*, En. 2701. Scandinavian stories do not mention Holle's tuft or tail, but they give the huldres a *tail*. This matted hair is treated of by Cas. Cichocki de hist. et nat. plicae polonicae, Berol. 1845, who adds the term *gwoździec*, liter. nail-pricking, cramping.

p. 465.] Dwarfs *ride*: *diu phert diu si riten wâren gelêche grôz den schâfen*, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 426; conf. Altd. bl. 1, 256. Dwarfs mount a *roe*, Ring p. 211. 231. Fairies *ride*, Minstr. 2, 199. Pixies *ride* the cattle at night, Athenæum nos. 991. 989. Poike in a *red cap* rides a *white goose*, Runa 1844, 60, as the *pygmæi* rode on *partridges*, Athen. 3, 440. The ancients kept

dwarfs and *dogs*, Athen. 4, 427, as men in the Mid. Ages kept dwarfs and fools. Giants, kings and heroes have dwarfs in their retinue, as Siegfried has Elberich, and in Er. 10. 53. 95. 995. 1030 a knight has a getwerc riding beside him and laying on with his scourge; he is called Maledicur, and is aft. chastised with blows 1066. Elegast goes a thieving with Charlemagne. In Wigalois a maiden comes riding, behind whom stands a dwarf with *his hands on her shoulders*, singing songs 1721—36; another getwerc has charge of the parrot and horse 2574. 3191. 3258-87. 4033. *On the train* of a richly bedizened dame *ride little black spirits*, giggling, clapping hands and dancing, Cæs. Heitsterb. 5, 7 (Suppl. to 946).

p. 467.] While the Devonsh. pixies make away with turnips (Athenæum no. 991), our German dwarfs go in for peas, *erbsen*; hence the name of thievish Elbegast is twisted into *Erbagast*: 'I adjure thee by thy master Erbagast, the prince of thieves,' Ztschr. f. Thüring. gesch. 1, 188. These thievish dwarfs may be comp. to Hermes, who steals oxen as soon as he is born, Hymn to Merc.—Dwarf Elberich overpowers a queen, and begets the hero *Otnit*. An alb begets *Högni*, Vilk. c. 150. The story of 'den *bergtagna*' is also told by Dyb. 1845, p. 94. Dwarfs are much given to carrying off *human brides* and falling in love with *goddesses*, e.g. Freya. The märchen of *Fitchers-vogel* is also in Pröhle's M. f. d. jugend no. 7, where he is called *fleder-vogel*; conf. Schambach pp. 303. 369.—Little Snowdrop's coming to the *dwarfs' cottage*, and finding it deserted, but the table spread and the beds made, and then the return of the dwarfs (KM. no. 53) agrees remarkably with Duke Ernest's visit to the empty castle of the *beak-mouthed* people. When these come home, the master sees by the food that guests have been, just as the dwarfs ask 'who's been eating with my fork?' Ernst 2091—3145. And these *crane-men* appear in other dwarf stories: are they out of Pliny and Solinus? '*Gerania*, ubi pygmæorum gens fuisse proditur, *Cattuzos* (al. Cattucos) barbari vocant, creduntque a *gruibus fugatos*,' Pliny 4, 11, conf. 7, 2. Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 294-5. Even the Iliad 3, 6 speaks of cranes as *ἀνδράσι πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι*. On *dwarfs and cranes* see Hecataeus fragm. hist. Gr. 1, 18. The Finns imagined that birds of passage spent the winter in Dwarfland; hence *lintukotolainen*, dweller among

birds, means a dwarf, Renvall sub v. lintu : conf. the dwarf's name lindukodonmies, birdcage man. Duke Ernest's flight to that country reminds of Babr. 26, 10 : *φείγωμεν εἰς τὰ Πυγμαίων*. As the dwarf in Norse legend *vanishes at sunrise*, so do the pixies in Devonsh., Athenum. no. 991. In Swedish tales this dread of daylight is given to *giants*, Runa 3, 24. Sv. folks. 1, 187. 191.

p. 469.] The creature that dwarfs put in the place of a child is in ON. *skiptúngr*, Vilk. 167. 187 ; in Icel. *umskiptúngr*, kominn af álfum, Finn. Joh. hist. eccl. Islandiae 2, 369 ; in Helsing. *byting* (Ostgöt. möling), skepnad af mördade barn, Almqv. 394^b ; in Småland *illhere*, barn bortbytt af trollen, litet, vanskapligt, elakt barn 351. In MHG. *wechselbale*, Germ. 4, 29 ; *wechselkalp*, Keller 468, 32 ; *wechselkind*, Bergreien p. 64. In Devon and Cornw. *a fairy changeling*, Athenum. no. 989. *Kielkropf* is in OHG. *chel-chropf* in the sense of struma, Graff 4, 598. To this day, in some parts, they say kielkropf for what is elsewhere called *grobs*, *grübs*, wen, either on the apple or at the throat, and likewise used of babies, Reinwald's Id. 1, 54. 78. 2, 69 ; also *butzigel*, *Adamsbutz* 1, 18 (p. 506-7), conf. *kribs*, *gribs* (p. 450 n.). Luther's Table-t. 1568, p. 216-7 : 'weil er *im kropf kielt*.' Schm. 2, 290 : *kielkopf*. The Scotch *sithich* steals children, and leaves a changeling behind, Armstr. sub v. (Leo's Malb. gl. 1, 37). In Lithuania the *Laume* changes children, hence *Laumės apmai-nytas* = changeling. Boh. *poduržnec*. Wend. *přemeúk* : flog him with boughs of drooping-birch, and he'll be fetched away, Volksl. 2, 267-8. Similar flogging with a hunting-whip, Sommer p. 43 ; conf. Prætor. Weltb. 1, 365. It is a prettier story, that the dwarfs would fain see a human mother put their babe to her breast, and will richly reward her for it, Firmen. 1, 274^b. The joke of the 'müllers sun' (p. 468 n.) recurs in the MHG. poem of 'des muniches nôt,' Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 434. Other stories of changelings in Müllenh. p. 312-3-5. DS. 81-2. Ehrent. Fries. arch. 2, 7. 8.

The singular method of making the changeling blurt out his age and real character is vouched for by numberless accounts. A dwarf sees people brew in a hühner-dopp (hen's egg pot, see eier-dopp, p. 927), and drain off the beer into a goose-egg dopp, then he cries : 'ik bün so oelt as de *Behmer woelt*, unn heff in myn läebn so 'u bro nich seen,' Müllenh. no. 425, 1 and 2

(Behmer *golt* in Lisch's Jrb. 9, 371). A Swed. version in Dybeck '45, p. 78. '47, p. 38. Tiroler sag. in Steub p. 318-9. Thaler in Wlf's Ztschr. 1, 290. Pröhle p. 48. A Lith. story in Schleicher, Wiener ber. 11, 105. 'As many years as the fir has needles,' Vonbun 6. 'I've seen the oak in *Brezal* wood' seems old, for the Roman de Rou itself says of Brecehande forest: 'vis la forest, è vis la terre,' Note to Iw. p. 263. That elves attained a great age, comes out in other ways; thus Elberich is upwards of 500, Ortn. 241.

p. 470.] Elves avoid the sun (p. 444 n.), they sink into the ground, they look like *flowers*, they turn into *alder*, *aspen* or *willow-boughs*. Plants that grow in clusters or circles, e.g. the Swed. *hvit-sippan*, are dedic. to them, Fries bot. udf. 1, 109; so the fairy queen speaks out of a clump of thorns or of standing corn, Minstr. 2, 193. Their season of joy is the *night*, hence in Vorarlberg they are called the *night-folk*, Steub p. 82; esp. Midsummer Night, Minstr. 2, 195, when they get up a merry dance, the *elf-dans*, Dybk '45, 51, taking care not to touch the herb Tarald 60. The elfins dance and sing, Müllenh. p. 341. Whoever sees them dance, must not address them: 'They are fairies; he that *speaks* to them shall *die*. I'll wink and cough; no man their works must eye,' Merry W. of W. 5, 5. When the subterraneans have danced on a hill, they leave circles in the grass, Reusch's Add. to no. 72; so the hoie-männlein, who take their name fr. *hoien*, *huien* to holla, dance rings into the grass, Leopr. 32-4. 107. 113-8. 129. Schönw. 2. 342. These circles are called *fairy rings*, and regarded as dwellings of pixies, Athenm. no. 991. The *Sesleria coerulea* is called *elf-gräs*, Fries bot. udf. 1, 109; the pearl-muscle, Dan. *elve-skiül*, Nemn. 2, 682. Elves love to live beside *springs*, like Holda and the fays (p. 412): der *elvinnen fonteine*, Lanc. 345. 899. 1346-94; der *elvinnen born* 870. 1254.

p. 472.] Dwarfs grant *wishes* :

ein mann quam an einen berch (came to a hill),
 dar gref hie (caught he) einen cleinen dwerch;
 uf dat hie leisse lofen balde (might soon let go)
 den dwerch, hie gaf em *wunsche walde* (power of wishing)
drier hande (3 things). Cod. Guelferb. fab. 109.

They are *wise counsellors*, as Antiloüs to Alexander; and very skil-

ful. Dwarf *Pacolet* in Cleomades and Valentin makes a wooden horse, that one can ride through the air (like Wieland and Dædalus). Not akin to *Pakulls*, is he? ‘Manec *spæchez werc* Ez worht ein *wildez twere*, Der listig Pranzopil,’ Wigam. 2585. *Dáinsleifr* is the name of a sword made by a dwarf, Sn. 164; and Elberich forged the *rings*, Ortn. 176. In Wigal. 6077 it is said of a *harnasch*:

er wart von einem wibe	It was by a woman
verstoln einem <i>getwerge</i>	Stolen from a dwarf
alrêrst ûz einem berge,	Out of a mountain erst,
dâ ez in <i>mit listen gar</i>	Where he it with cunning quite
het geworht wol <i>drîzec jâr</i> .	Had wrought full 30 year.

The Westph. schön-aunken forge ploughshares and gridirons of trivet shape, Kuhn’s Westph. sag. 1, 66; conf. the story in Firmen. 1, 274^a. The hero of the Wieland myth (HS. p. 323) acts as Hephæstus or a smith-dwarf (p. 444).

p. 476.] *Bilwiz*: called *pilwiz*, Mone’s Anz. 7, 423; *billwiz*, unholden, Schleiertuch p. 244; Cuonrad de *pilwisa*, Chr. of 1112. MB. 29^a, 232; *bilweisz*, Gefken’s Beil. 112; ‘Etliche glaben (some believe) daz kleine kind zu *pilweissen* verwandelt sind,’ have been changed, Mich. Beham in Mone’s Anz. 4, 451; conf. unchristened babes (Suppl. to 918). In Lower Hesse: ‘he sits behind the stove, minding the *biwitzerchen*,’ Hess. jrb. ’54, p. 252 (al. *kiwitzerchen*). *berlewitz* (p. 1064). an Walpurgs abende, wan de *pülewesen* ausfahren, Gryphius Dornr. p. 93; sprechen, ich wer gar eine *bülewesse* 90; sie han dich verbrant, als wenn du ein *pülewesser* werst 52; conf. *palause* (p. 1074 n.). In Gelders they say: *Billewits* wiens goed is dat? also *Pillewits*, *Prillewits*. The Lekenspiegel of Jan Deckers (of Antwerp, comp. 1330) says, speaking of 15 signs of the Judgment Day (iv. 9, 19. de Vries 2, 265; see Gl. p. 374):

opten derden dach twaren
 selen hem die vische baren
 op dat water van der zee,
 of si hadden herden wec,
 ende *merminnen* ende *beclwiten*
 ende so briesschen ende eriten,

dat dat anxtelic gescal
toten hemel climmen sal.

With beelwiten conf. the *witten belden*, Gefk. Beil. 157.—Bilwitzes have their ‘hâr verfilzet,’ matted, Barl. 384, 361 (such hair and a shaggy skin Wolfram imputes to Cundrîe and her brother Malcreâtiure, Parz. 313, 17. 25). They conjure: ‘conjurers, waydelers, *pilwitten*, black-artists’ are named together in a decree of grandmaster Conr. v. Jungingen, Jacobson’s Quellen des cath. kirchenr. urk. p. 285. The *bilmerschnitt*, otherw. *biberschnitt*, performed on Easter or Whitsunday, Panz. Beitr. 1. 240; called *durchschnitt* in Leopr. p. 19, conf. Sommer’s sag. p. 171. Clementis recogn. 2, 9 (ed. Gersd. p. 44).

p. 478.] *Roggen-muhne*: called *corn-angel*, steals children, Somm. pp. 26. 170. *Robigo frumenti* is called *aurugo* in Pertz 3. 368, *wintbrant* in Hpt’s Ztschr. 5, 201. Did the Romans call the god of corn *Robigo* or *Robigus*? the Greeks had an Apollo *ἑρυσίβιος*, mildew-averting, fr. *ἑρυσίβη*, *robigo*. A W.Fland. corn-spell denounces the corn-boar as a *duivels zwyntje*, Hpt’s Ztschr. 7, 532. The Slavs have a similar field-sprite, a *corn-wife*, who walks at noon: *připolnica*, *přepolnica*, fr. *polnyo*, midday, or *džiwica*, as in Polish, Wend. volksl. 2, 268; she carries a sickle (conf. p. 1162). Hanusch p. 360-2.

p. 480.] OHG. *scratin*=faunos, Hpt’s Ztschr. 5, 330. Gl. Slettst. 6, 222. Graff 6, 577. *scraten*=larvas, Diut. 2, 351^a. The tale of the *schretel* and the water-bear is also in Hpt 6, 174, and reappears in the Schleswig story of the water-man and bear, Müllenh. p. 257. In Up. Franconia the *schretel* is replaced by the *holzfräulein*, who, staying the night at the miller’s in Bern-eck, asks: ‘Have you still got your great *Katzaus*?’ meaning the *bear*. The man dissembles; the wood-maiden walks into the mill, and is torn in pieces by the bear. Beside *schretel* we have the form *srete*, Mone’s Anz. 7, 423; conf. *srezze* vel *srate*. *der schrüttlig*, Vonbun p. 26-7. *d’ schrüttli händ a’g’soga*, the s. have sucked it dry, when a baby’s nipples are inflamed or indurated, Tobler 259^a. *Schrätels* weigh upon the sleeper like the alp, Gefken’s Cat. p. 55. *schrata*, *schrutel*, butterfly, Schm. Cimbr. wtb. 167. Fromm. 4, 63. *Pereinschrat*, Rauch 2, 72; *Schratental* and *Schrazental* side by side 2, 22; so, with the

Scratman already cited, we find a 'servus nomine *Scrazman*,' Dronke's Trad. Fuld. p. 19; conf. *schratele-mannul*, Anobinn pertinax, deathwatch in Carinthia, Fromm. 4, 53. *schrätzen-löcher*, -holes, Panz. Beitr. 1, 111. in *Schrazeswank*, MB. 35^a, 109.—Graff 6, 575 has *walt-screchel* = fauni, silvestres homines; and Schm. 3, 509 distinguishes fr. *schratt*, *schrüttel* an Up. Palat. *schrachel*, *schrüchel*, which he refers to *schrach*, *schroch*, scraggy, puny. A *scherzen*, *schrezen* to bleat, Schm. 3, 405, is also worth considering. The *schrüchel* is charged with tangling horses' manes. *Schrawaz* is appar. of different origin: Rudbertus *schrawaz*, MB. 28^b, 138 (yr 1210); Rubertus *shorawaz* 29^b, 273 (yr 1218). The Swed. *skratt* is both fatuus and cachinnus; Finn. *kratti* genius thesauri; ON. *skrati* = iötunn, Sn. 209^b. *skrattavardi*, Laxd. 152. The Dan. lay of Guncelin has: 'og hjælp nu moder Skrat!' Nyerup's Udvalg 2, 180. Sv. forns. 1, 73. On *altril*, which corresp. to the Engl. *scrat*, hermaphrodite, see Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 400 and Suppl. to 498.—The Esths call the wood-sprite *mets halias*, forest-elf, who is fond of teasing and who shapes the echo, Possart's s. 163-4; conf. the Finn. *Hiisi*, *Kullervo* (p. 552). Ir. *geilt*, wild or wood-man, conf. Wel. gwyllt, wild. But the Pol. Boh. wood-sprite *boruta* is orig. feminine, inhabiting the fir, like the Greek dryad, hamadryad. Homer speaks of *spring* and *mountain-nymphs*, Od. 6, 123-4, and *nymphs*, daughters of Zeus, who stir up the wild goats 9, 154. *Hamadryads* are personified trees, Athen. 1, 307. So Catull. 59, 21: 'Asian myrtle with emblossomed sprays, quos *Hamadryades* deae ludicrum sibi *roscido nutriunt humore*.' Pretty stories of the tree-nymph in Charon, Fragm. hist. Gr. 1, 35; others in Ov. Met. 8, 771; the forest-women in line 746 seq. are descr. more fully by Albr. v. Halberstadt 280-1.

p. 480.] The *schrats* appear *singly*; more finely conceived, these wood-sprites become *heroes* and *demigods* (pp. 376. 432). The *Katzenzeit* of the Fichtelgebirge suggests *Katzaus* of the preced. note. *Rubezagel*, *Rübezahl*, a man's name as early as 1230, Zeuss's *Herk. der Baiern* p. 35, conf. Mone's Anz. 6, 231; a Hermannus *Rubezagil* in Dronke's Trad. Fuld. p. 63; *Riebenzahl* in a 15th cent. MS., Mone's Arch. '38, 425; *Riebenzagel*, Praetor. Alectr. 178-9; *Rübezal*, Opitz 2, 280-1; '20 acres in the *Rübenzagil*,' Widder's Pfalz 1, 379; conf. *sau-zagil*, *Hasin-zal*,

Arnsbg urk. 410. 426. Strit-zagel, n. pr., Lang reg. 5, 107 (yr 1166).

p. 483.] Garg. 119^b names together were-wolves, *pilosi, goat-men, dusen*, trutten, garausz, bitebawen. On *dusii* conf. Hattemer 1, 230-1. Add the *jüdel*, for whom toys are deposited, conf. Sommer's Sag. 170. 25; 'he makes a show, as if he were the *güttele*.' H. Sachs 1, 444^b; ein *güttel* (götze, idol?), Wolfdietr. in Hagen's Heldb. p. 236; *bergmendlein, cobele, güttlein*, Mathesius 1562, 296^b.—They are the Lat. *faunus*, whose loud voice the Romans often heard: *saepe faunorum voces exaudita*, Cic. de N.D. 2. 2; *fauni vocem nunquam audivi* 3, 7; *faunos quorum noctivago strepitu ludoque jocanti . . . chordarumque sonos, dulcisque querelas tibia quas fundit*, Lucret. 4, 582; *visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis lupo*, Livy 1, 31; *silentio proximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem, Silvani vocem eam creditam* 2, 7. On Faunus and Silvanus see Klausen pp. 844 seq. 1141. Hroswitha (Pertz 6, 310) calls the forest nook where Gandersheim nunnery gets built '*silvestrem locum faunis monstribus-que repletum*.' Lye has *wudewâsan* (-wasan?) = satyri, fauni, sicurii, Wright 60^a *wudewâsan* = ficarii (correctly) vel invii, O.E. 'a woodwose = satyrus' (*wâsa* elsewh. coenum, lutum, ooze, ON. veisa), conf. '*wudewiht* = lamia' in a Lünebg glossary of 15th cent. In M.Neth. faunus is rendered *volencel*, Diut. 2, 214, fr. vole, foal; because a horse's foot or shape is attrib. to him? conf. *nahtvole* (Suppl. to 1054). Again, *fauni* are night-butterflies acc. to Du Méril's art. on KM. p. 40. The faun is also called *fantasma*: 'to exorcize the *fantasma*,' Decam. 7, 1. *fantoen*, Maerl. 2, 365.—Other names: *walt-man*, Iw. 598. 622; also in Bon. 91, where Striker has *waltschrat*; *walt-tôre* 440; *walt-geselle, -genôz, -gast*, Krone 9266-76, *wilder man* 9255; *wilde leute*, Bader no. 9261. 346. With them are often assoc. wild women, *wildez wîp*, Krone 9340; *wald-minchen*, Colshorn p. 92; conf. *wildeweibs-bild, -zehute*, a rocky height near Birstein, Landau's Kurhessen p. 615. Pfister p. 271; *holzweibel-steine* in Silesia, Mosch p. 4. The wild man's wife is called *fangga*, Zingerle 2, 111 (conf. 2, 51. Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 58); *fanggen-löcher, -holes* 2, 53; in Vorarlbg *feng, fenggi, fengga-mäntschi*, Vonbun 1—6. Wolf's Z. 2, 50; conf. *Finz* (Suppl. to 484). The ON. *íviðr* may be malus, perversus,

dolosus, conf. Goth. invinds, OS. inwid, OHG. inwittêr dolosus, ïviðgiarn, Sæm. 138^a. In Syryän. *vörsa* = silvæ genius, fr. vör, silva.

p. 484.] Of ïviðjur and iaruviðjur little is known, but the *skógs-rå* akin to them was supposed to live in trees, and any wrong done to him brought on sickness, Fries's Udfl. 1, 109; he dies with the tree, conf. walt-minne (p. 434), hamadryas. The skogråt has a long tail, Dyb. Runa 4, 88; *skogeroa* and *sjögeroa* boast of their deeds and wealth 4, 29. 40.—The *wood-wives* in Germany wail and cry (pp. 433. 1135): 'you cry like a wood-wife,' Uhl. Volksl. 149. The *holz-frau* is shaggy and wild, overgrown with moss, H. Sachs 1, 273. The *Finz-weibl* on the Finz (Bav.) is spotted, and wears a broad-brimmed hat, Panz. Beitr. 1, 22 (Fenggi in preced. note). Fasolt's and Ecke's mother is a *rauhes weib*, Ecke 231. The *holz-weibl* spin till 'lichel' comes out, Mosch. p. 4. They dread the Wild Hunter, as the subterraneans flee from Wode, Müllenh. p. 372-3. The wild man rides on a stag, Ring 32^b, 34. The Hunter chases the *moos-weibla* or *loh-jungfer* (p. 929), and wild men the blessed maids, Steub's Tirol p. 319; in the Etzels hofh. the wonder-worker pursues Frau Sælde (p. 943), as Fasolt in Ecke 161—179 (ed. Hagen 213—238. 333) does the wild maiden.—Men on the contrary are often on good terms with them: at haymaking or harvest they rake a little heap together, and leave it lying, for 'that's the *wood-maiden's* due.' In pouring out of a dish, when drops hang on the edge, don't brush them off, they belong to the *moss-maiden*. When a wood-maiden was caught, her little man came running up, and cried: 'A wood-maiden may tell anything, barring the use you can make of *drip-water*,' Panz. Beitr. 2, 161. A thankful little woodwife exclaims: 'bauernblut, du bist gut,' Börner p. 231. To the *bush-grandmother* on the Saale corresp. the Esthonian *forest-father*, *tree-host*, Böcler 146.

p. 485.] Dwarfs and woodwives will not have *cummin-bread*, Firmen. 2, 264^b. A wood-maiden near Wonsgehei said to a woman: 'Never a fruitful tree pull up, Tell no dream till you've tasted a cup (lit., no fasting dream), *Bake no Friday's bread*, And God, etc.' Panz. Beitr. 2, 161.—That wood-mannjkins and dwarfs, after being *paid*, esp. in gold or clothes, give up the

service of man, comes out in many stories. The wichtels by Zürgesheim in Bavarian Swabia used to wash the people's linen and bake them bread; when money was left out for them because they went naked, they said weeping: 'now we're *paid off*, we must *jog*'; conf. N.Preuss. prov. bl. 8, 229. Bader no. 99. Vonbun p. 9 (new ed. 11—15). Panz. B. 1, 40-2-8. 156. 2, 160. The same of *hill-mannikins*, Steub's Tirol p. 82; *fenggamäntschi*, Vonbun p. 3; *nork*, Steub p. 318; *futtermännchen*, Börner p. 243-6: *Hob*, Hone's Tablebk. 2, 658 and Yearbk. 1533. A *pixy*, who helped a woman to wash, disappears when presented with a coat and cap. Pixies, who were helping to thrash, dance merrily in a barn when a peasant gives them new clothes, and only when shot at by other peasants do they vanish, singing 'Now the pixies' work is done, We take our clothes and off we run,' Athenm. no. 991.

p. 487.] The *huorco* sits on a *tree-stump*, Pentam. 1, 1. Aristosto's descr. of the *orco* and his wife in Orl. fur. xvii. 29—65 is pretty long-winded: he is blind (does not get blinded), has a flock like Polyphemus, eats men, but not women. *Ogres* keep their crowns on in bed, Petit poucet p. m. 162-3. Aulnoy p. m. 358. 539. Akin to *orco* is the Tyrolese wood-sprite *nork*, *nörkele*, *lorck*, Steub's Tirol pp. 318-9. 472 and Rhæt. 131; conf. *norg* = *pumilio* in B. Fromm. 3, 439, *norggen*, *lorrggen*, *nörggin*, *nörklein*, Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 289. 290. 2, 183-4. To Laurin people call: 'her *Nörggel* unterm tach!' Ring 52^b, 2. The Finn. *Hiisi* is both *Orcus* (hell), giant and wood-man. The Swed. *skogsnerte*, *skogsnuftva* in Fries's Udf. 110 is a beautiful maiden in front, but hollow (*ihålig*) behind; and the *skogssnua* is described in the same way, Runa, '44, 44-5. Wieselgren 460.

p. 488.] Ein *merminne*, Tit. 5268. *mareminne*, Clarisse on Br. Gher. p. 222. Nennius says the potamogēton natans is called *seeholde*; conf. *custos fontium* (Suppl. to 584) and the *hollen* in Kubn's Westph. s. 1, 200. τὸ στοιχείον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, Fauriel 2, 77. Other names: wilder *wazzerman*, Krone 9237; *daz merwip*, who hurls a cutting spear at the hero, Roseng. xxii.; *sjö-rå*, Dyb. 4, 29. 41. On the *hafsfriiu* see Suppl. to 312.

p. 489.] *Nikhus*, neut., Diut. 3, 25. Karajan 80, 4. *nykus* even in a Wend. folksong 2, 267^a. *nichessa* = *lymphæ*, N. Cap. 52. *nickers*, Br. Gher. 719. Van d. Bergh p. 180 thinks *nikker*

is for niger: 'zoo *zwart* als een nikker'; but the idea of blackness may have been borrowed from the later devil. *neckers*, Gefken's Beil. 151. 168. *nickel-mann*, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 378; conf. too the ON. Nüekvi, Sæm. 116^a. The supposed connexion of the R. *Neckar* with *nicor*, *nechar* is supported by the story on p. 493-4.—Esth. *vessi hallias*, Finn. *weden haldia*, aquae dominus, Possart p. 163; conf. Ahto (Suppl. to 237). The siren, whom Conrad calls *wasser-nice*, is also called *cajoler*, Boh. *lichoples* (p. 436 n.), and *ochechule*, Jungm. 2, 903, *wochechule* fr. *lichotiti*, *ochechulati*, to flatter. Spring-nixen (f.) are the Swed. *källråden*, Sv. folks. 1, 123. A pretty Silesian story of the *wasser-lisse* in Firmen. 2, 334; does this represent *wasser-dieze*? The Lusch in Gryphius's Dornrose is Liese, Elisabeth.

p. 490.] The nymphæa is in Gael. *baditis*, AS. *éa-doce*, Engl. *water-dock*, Bav. *doeke*, *wasser-dockelein* (toeke, doll, girl), conf. seeblatt (p. 654), Swed. *näck-ros-blad*. On *näckrosor*, Dybeck '45, 64-6; *necken* har sin boning bland *neckroserne*, och uppstigande på dess blad ännu stundom i mån-skens-natten med sitt strängspel tjuser åhöraren, Fries bot. udf. 1, 108. The water-maiden sits on leaves of the waterlily, Müllenh. p. 340; a *nix-bitten* (-büttten) meadow near Betziesdorf, Hess. Ztschr. 1, 245. The Syryän. *kulī*=genius aquae, *kulī-ciurī*=digitus ejusdem.—Merwomen prophesy, sometimes deceitfully, like Hadbure in the Nibel. When a *hav-fru* is saying sooth to queen Dagmar, the phrase is used: 'vedst du det, saa vedst du mer,' D. V. 2, 83-4-5. In Mecklenbg. the *water-möm* sends her prophetic voice out of the water, Lisch 5, 78. A spectre foretelling death shows itself on the Danube whirlpool, Ann. Altahenses, yr 1045 (Giesebrecht p. 75); conf. the soothsaying merwomen (p. 434).

p. 491.] The Scotch kelpie takes the shape of a horse, whose presence is known by his *nicker* (neigh); he draws men in, and shatters ships. Or he rises as a bull, the *waterbull*; the same is told of the *water-shelly*, and the Danes have a water-sprite *Damhest*, Athenm. no. 997. The nix appears as a richly caparisoned foal, and tempts children to mount her, Possart's Estl. p. 163. This *horse* or *bull*, rising out of the sea and running away with people, is very like Zeus visiting Europa as a bull, and carrying her into the water; conf. Lucian, ed. Bip. 2, 125. The water-möm tries to drag you in, she wraps rushes and sedge about your

feet when bathing, Lisch 5, 78. The *merminne* steals Lauzelet from his mother, Lanz. 181; conf. Sommer p. 173.

p. 493.] The merman is *long-bearded*; so has 'daz merwunder einen *bart lanc, grünenfar und ungeschaffen*,' Wigam. 177; its body is 'in *mies gewunden*,' Gudr. 113, 3. The mermaid *combs* her hair, Müllenh. p. 338; this combing is also Finnish, Kalev. 22, 307 seq. The nixe has but one *nostril*, Sommer, p. 41. The water-nix (m.) wears a *red cape*, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 393, *blue breeches, red stockings*, Hoffm. Schles. lied. p. 8. The *beauty* of the nixen (f.) is dwelt upon in the account of the *wasserlüss*, Gryph. 743, and the *wasserlisse*, Firmen. 2, 334. They have *wet aprons*, Somm. p. 40-5. Wend. volksl. 2, 267^a. The nixe dances in a *patched gown*, Somm. p. 44. The sea-maiden shows a *tail* in dancing, Runa 4, 73. Their coming in to dance is often spoken of, Panzer 2, nos. 192-6-8. 204-8. Like the sacrifice to the fossegrim clothed in grey and wearing a red cap, Runa '44, 76, is the custom of throwing a *black cock* into the Bode once a year for the *nickelmann*, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 378; and like his playing by the waterfall is Ahto's seizing Wäinämöinen's harp when it falls into the water, Kal. 23, 183.

p. 494.] On river sacrifices conf. p. 596. Nixes (m.) demand their victim on Midsum. day, Somm. p. 39: 'de Leine fret alle jar teine;,' 'de Rume un de Leine slucket alle jar teine,' Schamb. spr. p. 87. 'The Lahn must have some one every year' they say at Giessen. 'La rivière de Drome a tous les ans cheval ou homme,' Pluquet's Contes pop., p. 116. In the Palatinate they say of the *Neckar*: when it is flooded, a hand rises out of it, and carries off its victim. On Midsum. night the *Neckar-geist* requires a living soul; for three days the drowned man can nowhere be found, on the fourth night he floats up from the bottom with a blue ring round his neck, Nadler p. 126. At Cologne they say: Sanct Johann wel hann 14 *dude mann*, siben de klemme, siben de *schwemme* (the seven that climb are workmen on scaffoldings); conf. 'putei qui rapere dicuntur per vim spiritus nocentis,' Tertull. de Baptismo (Rudorff 15, 215).

p. 496.] The injunction *not to beat down* the price (p. 495n.) occurs also in a story in Reusch's Preuss. prov. bl. 23, 124. In buying an animal for sacrifice you must *not haggle*, Athen. 3, 102; the fish aper must be bought *at any price*, 3, 117-8. 'emi lienem

vituli, quanti indicatus sit, jubent magi, *nulla pretii cunctatione,*' Pliny 28, 13.—Lashing the water reminds us of a nix who opens the way to his house by *smiting the water with a rod*, Somn. pp. 41. 92; *blood* appears on the water, 46. 174; an *apple* as a favourable sign, Hoffm. Schles. lied. p. 4. Grendel comes *walking by night*, as the råkshasi is called 'noctu iens,' Bopp's Gloss. 188^a. 198^b.

p. 498.] Rå is neut., def. *rået*; also *råand*, *rådrottning*, Sv. folks. 1, 233. 74 (Suppl. to 439). Souls kept under inverted pots by the water man occur again in KM. no. 100 and Müllenh. p. 577. *Neptunius*, *Neptenius* is also transl. *altvil*, Homeyer's Rechtsb. 14. Watersprites *wail*, or in other ways reveal their presence: the sjö-mor *moans*, Dyb. '45, 98; conf. 'gigantes gemunt sub aquis,' Job 26, 5; ἡνίκ' ἔμελλον τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν, τὸ δαιμόνιον τε καὶ τὸ εἰωθὸς σημαῖόν μοι γίγνεσθαι ἐγένετο, Plato's Phædr. 242. A tradition similar to Gregory's anecdote is given by Schönwerth 2, 187.

p. 500.] *Penates* were gods of the household store, *penus*. *Lares* were in Etruscan *lases*, Gerh. Etr. götter p. 15-6; *Lasa* = *Fortuna*. A legend of the lar familiaris in Pliny 36, 70. Was there a Goth. lôs = *domus*, and did *Luarin* mean homesprite? *Lares*, *penates*, OHG. *hûsgota* or *herdgota*, Graff 4, 151. Homesprites are called *hus-knechtken*, Müllenh. p. 318, *haus-puken*; Russ. *domovoy*; *tomtar*, Dyb. 4, 26; Finn. *tonttu*, Castrén 167. On Span. *duende*, *duendecillo* conf. Diez's Wtb. 485; couroit comme un *lutin pur toute sa demeure*, Lafont. 5, 6. A genius loci is also *Agathodaemon*, Gerh. in Acad. ber. '47, p. 203-4; conf. the *bona socia*, the good holden, the *bona dea*, *bona fortuna* and *bonus eventus* worshipped by the country folk, Ammian. Marc. 582-3. The *puk* lives in cellars, Mone's Schausp. 2, 80-6; 'niss *puk*, niss *pug*, Müllenh. pp. 318. 325; nisebuk, niskepuks 321-4. MLG. *pûk* (rh. strûk, bûk), Upstand. 1305. 1-45. Lett. *puhkis*, dragon, kobold, Bergm. 152; conf. *pixy*.

p. 502 n.] So, 'laughing *like pixies.*' [Other expressions omitted.]

p. 503.] To the earliest examples of *kobold*, p. 500 n., add *Lodovicus caboldus*, yr. 1221, Lisch, Meckl. urk. 3, 71 [later ones, including *Cabolt*, *Kaboldisdhorpe*, &c., omitted].—To speak 'in *koboldes sprâche*' means very softly, Hagen's Ges. Abent. 3, 78.

A concealed person in Enenkel (Rauch 1, 316) says: *ich rede in chowolez wîse*. Lessing 1, 292: the *kobold* must have whispered it in my ear. Luther has *kobold* in Isa. 34, 14. *cobel*, der schwarze teufel, die teufels-hure, Mathesius 1562, 154^b. *Gobelinus*, a man's name, Mone's Heldens. 13. 15. *Hob*, a homesprite, Hone's Tablebk 3, 657 (conf. p. 503, n. 1).—May we bring in here the *klabauter*-man, *klüter*-man, Müllenh. p. 320, a ship-sprite, sometimes called *kalfater*, *klabater*-man, Temme's Pom. sag. no. 253, Belg. *kaboter*-man? Nethl. *coubouton*, Br. Gher. 719. The *taterman*, like the *kobold*, is painted: "mâlet eiuem *taterman*," Jungeling, 545.

p. 505.] At Cologne they call homesprites *heizemänncher*, Firmen. 1, 467. Knecht *Heinz* in Fischart's Spiel. 367, and knecht *Heinrich*. A tom-cat is not only called *Hinze*, but *Heinz*, *Heenz*, and a stiefel-knecht (bootjack, lit. boot-servant) *stiefelhenz* (boot-puss), coming very near the resourceful Puss-in-boots. The *tabby-cat* brings you mice, corn and money overnight; after the third service you can't get rid of her, Müllenh. p. 207. A serviceable *tom-cat* is not to be shaken off, Temme's Pom. sag. p. 318. House-goblins, like the moss-folk, have in them something of the nature of *apes*, which also are trained to perform household tasks, conf. Felsenburg 1, 240. The Lettons too have a miraculous cat *Runzis* or *Runkis*, who carries grain to his master, Bergm. p. 152; conf. the homesprites *Hans*, Pluquet's Contes pop. 12, *Hänschen*, Somm. pp. 33-4, 171, and *Good Johann*, Müllenh. p. 323.—On the *Wolterkens* conf. Müllenh. p. 318. In Holstein they call knecht Ruprecht *Roppert* 319, with whom and with Wôden Kuhn compares *Robin Hood*, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 482-3. For the *nisken*, and the *nis*, *nispuk*, *nesskuk* consult Müllenh. 318-9. The home-sprite, like the devil, is occas. called *Stephen*, Somm. 33. 171; and lastly, *Billy blind*, Minstr. 2, 399.

p. 506.] The spirits *thump* and *racket*, Goethe 15, 131. *Klopperle* (knockerling) rackets before the death of one of the family with which he lives, G. Schwab's Alb. p. 227. 'Was für ein *polter-geist* handtiert (bustles) durch die lichten zimmer?' Günth. 969; *plagegeist*, Musæus 4, 53; *rumpel-geist*, S. Frank's Chron. 212^b; 'ez *rumpelt* staete für sich dar,' Wasserbär 112; *bozen* or *mumantz* in the millet-field, Reimdich 145; *alpa-butz*,

alp dæmon, Vonbum p. 46-7-8. 'Quoth the mother: Nit gang hinusz, der *mummel* (or, der *man*) ist dusz; for the child feareth the *mummel* (man),' Keisersberg's Bilgr. 166^c. To *vermummen* and *verbutzen* oneself, H. Sachs i. 5, 534^c. Not only *Rumpelstilz*, but *Knirfiker*, *Gebhart*, *Tepentiren* (Müllenh. p. 306-7-8), *Titteli Ture* (Sv. folkv. 1, 171) must have their names guessed. Other names: *Kugerl*, *Zingerle* 2, 278, *Stutzlawutzla*, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 183.

p. 507.] The *butzen-hänsel* is said to go in and out through the open gutter, as other spectres pass through the city moat, Müllenh. p. 191. *Buzemannes*, a place in Franconia, MB. 25, 110-1; *Putzmaus*, ib. 218. 387. Lutbertus qui *buhle* dicitur, Gerhardus dictus *budde*, Sudendf. pp. 69. 70. 89 (yr. 1268), *butzen-anlitz*, mask, Anshelm 1, 408. Garg. 122^b; *butzenkleider*, Ansh. 3, 411; does *butzen*, *putzen* strictly mean to mask oneself? The Swiss *böög*, *bögk*, *bröög*=mask, bugbear, Stald. 1, 202. 230; *bögggen-weise*, a Shrovetide play, Schreib. Taschenb. '40, 230; *böggelman*, Eazarillo Augsb. 1617, p. 5 (?). *Bröög* seems akin to *bruogo*, AS. *brôga*=terror, terri culamentum.

p. 508.] On the Fr. *follet*, conf. Diefenb. Celt. 1, 182. The *folet* allows the peasant who has caught him three wishes, if he will not show him to the people, Marie de Fr., Fables, p. 140. The *farfulelet* de Poissy comes out of the fireplace to the women who are inspecting each other's thighs, and shows his backside, Réveille-matin, p. m. 342. 'Malabron *le luiton*,' Gaufrey, p. 169. O.Fr. *rabat*=lutin. M.Neth. *rebas*, Gl. to Lekensp. p. 569. In Bretagne, *Poulpikan* is a roguish sprite, repres. as husband of the fay, and found in Druidic monuments. Lett. *kehms*, *kehmis*, goblin, spectre; also *lulkis*, Bergm. 145. Is *götze*, Uhl. Volksl. 754 a goblin?

p. 511.] '*Hödeke* howls'=it is stormy, Hildesh. stiftsfehde pp. 48. 91. Falke thinks the whole story of Hödeke is *trumped up*, Trad. corb. 135. *Hülchen* is a little red mannikin with sparkling eyes, wears a long green garment, Somm. pp. 26-9. 30. 171. In Voigtland they tell of the goblin *Pump-hut*, who once haunted the neighbourhood of Pausa, always worked hard as a *miller's man*, and played many a roguish trick, Bechst. in Nieritz volks-kal. '46, pp. 78—80. The same *Pump-hut* in Westphalia, Kuhn's Westf. sag. 2, 279; mentioned even in Insel

Felsenbg, Nordh. 1746, 2, 366—370. About Münster they distinguish between *timp-hüte* and *lang-hüte*: the former are small, wrinkled, hoary, old-fashioned, with three-cornered hats; the latter tall, haggard, in a slouched hat. Timp-hat bestows positive blessings, long-hat keeps off misfortune. They live mostly in the barn or a deserted loft, and slowly turn a creaking windlass. In fires they have been seen to stride out of the flames and strike into a by-way. Conf. the homesprite *Dal-kopp*, N. Pr. prov. bl. 1, 394. Elsewhere they live in a corner *behind the oven*, under the *roof-beam*, or in *gable-holes*, where a board is put out to attract them, Müllenh. pp. 321-2. 332-5-7. Hpt's Lausitzer sag. 1, 56 seq. —The goblin sits *on the hearth*, flies out at the *chimney*, shares the peasant's room, Somm. p. 27-9. Spirits in the cellar, over the casks, Simplic. 2, 264-5; conf. Abundia (pp. 286. 1056). The goblin carries things to his master, but can only bring a certain quantity, and will change masters if more be demanded, Somm. p. 27 (see p. 512). He fetches milk from other men's cows, like the *dragon*, the Swed. *bare* (p. 1090) and the devil; here he encroaches on the witch and devil province. He helps in milking, licks up the spilt drops, Müllenh. p. 325. Goblins curry down and feed the cattle, and have their favourite beasts, Somm. p. 36-7; hence the name *futter-männchen*, Börner's Orlagau p. 241-3. A homesprite *bier-esel* in Kuhn's Nordd. sag. no. 225, conf. pp. 423. 521. They speak in a *tiny voice*, 'in koboldes spräche,' Müllenh. p. 335. Hagen's Ges. Abent. 3, 78; and yet: mit *größer stimme* er dô schrei 79. As nothing was seen of king Vollmar but his shadow, so is Good Johann like a *shadow*, Müllenh. p. 323. They are often seen in the shape of a *toad*, pp. 355. 330, also as *tom* or *tabby cat* (Suppl. to 505). The Albanians imagine their homesprite *vittore* as a little snake, Hahn's Lieder 136. A good description of the *kobold* in Firmen. 2, 237-8. The herb *agermund*, Garg. 88^b, seems conn. with *Agemund*, the house-dæmon in Reinardus.

p. 511.] The homesprite being *οἰκουρός*, agathodaemon (p. 485-6), there is milk, honey and sugar set on the bench for him, as for the unke, Schweinichen 1, 261. In the Schleswig-Holstein stories they must always have *pap* or *groats*, with a *piece of butter* in. The goblin has the *table spread* for him, Somm. p. 32. *Napf-hans* is like the Lat. *Lateranus*, Arnob. 4, 6; Lateranus

deus est focorum et genius, adjectusque hoc nomine, quod ex laterculis ab hominibus crudis caminorum istud exaedificetur genus . . . per humani generis coquinas currit, inspiciens et explorans quibusnam lignorum generibus suis ardor in focus excitetur, *habitudinem fictilis* contribuit *vasculis*, ne flammarum dissiliant vi victa, curat ut ad sensum palati suis cum jocunditatibus veniant rerum incorruptarum sapes, et an rite pulmenta condita sint, praegustatoris fungitur atque experitur officio. Hartung 2, 109 says it is *Vulcanus* caminorum deus; certainly Varro in fragm. p. 265 ed. Bip. makes Vulcan the preserver of pots: *Vulcanum necdum novae lagenae ollarum frangantur ter precatur* (conf. p. 447).

p. 512.] A goblin appears as a *monk*, Somm. pp. 35. 172-3. With *Shellycoat* conf. *Schellen-moriz* 153-4. Homesprites demand but trifling wages, as in the pretty story of a serving *dæmon* who holds the stirrup for his master, guides him across the ford, fetches lion's milk for the sick wife, and at last, when dismissed, asks but five shillings wages, and gives them back to buy a bell for a poor church, using the remarkable words: *magna est mihi consolatio esse cum filiis hominum*, Cæsar Heisterb. 5, 36. On the Spanish goblin's *cucurucho tamaño*, observe that the lingua rustica already said *tammanna* for *tau magna*, Nieb. in Abh. d. Berl. Acad. '22, 257.

p. 513 n.] The *allerürken* is a puppet locked up in a box, which brings luck, Müllenh. p. 209; conf. 'he's got an *oaraunl* inside him,' KM. 183 (infra p. 1203). Wax figures ridiculously dressed up, 'which we call *glücks-männchen*,' 10 ehen, p. 357; conf. the *glückes-pfennig*, Prediger märchen 16, 17, also the well-known *ducaten-kacker*, and the doll in *Straparola* (5, 21). KM³. 3, 287. 291. The *Mönöloke* is a wax doll dressed up in the devil's name, Müllenh. p. 209; conf. the *dragedukke*, a box out of which you may take as much money as you will.—A homesprite can be bought, but the third buyer must keep him, Müllenh. p. 322. One buys a *poor* and a *rich* goblin, Somm. p. 33. Such sprites they made in Esthonia of tow, rags and fir-bark, and got the devil to animate them, Possart's Esthl. p. 162; more exactly described in the *Dorp. verhandl. i. 2*, 89. So the shamans make a fetish for the Samoyèds out of a sheep-skin, Suomi '46, p. 37-8-9.

p. 516.] On the *manducus*, see O. Müller's *Etr.* 2, 101 (conf. p. 1082). 'Quid si aliquo *ad ludos* me *pro manduco* locem? quia pol clare *crepito dentibus*,' Plaut. *Rud.* ii. 6, 52. This too is the place for *schemen*: 'als dakten sich die schamn (l. *schemen*) ê, do si *diu kint schrakten mit*,' to frighten children with, *Jüngl.* 698. Are *schemen* masks? conf. 'schönbart' for *schem-bart*, OHG. *scema* = larva, persona, like *hage-bart*, *Schm.* 3, 362. *Graff* 6, 495. On *Ruprecht* see Kuhn in *Hpt's Ztschr.* 5, 473. von den sogenannten *Rupperten*, die sich 'bunt und *rauch* untereinander anziehen,' or 'einen *rauchen pelz*,' 3 *erzn.* 369. *Knecht Ruprecht* (or *Krampus*, *Klaubauf*, *meister Strohbart*) is St. Nicolas's *man*, *Ziska's Oestr. volksm.* 49, 110. *Hollepeter*, *Wolf's Ztschr.* 2, 194. 'dich müez der *Semper* machen g'sunt,' the devil have the curing of you! *Ring* 14^d, 5. To him corresp. old *Grumbus* with the rod, *Firmen.* 2, 45, and *Fiele Gig* (*fidele geige*?) of the *Kuhländchen*, described in *Schlegel's Mus.* 4, 119. *Walloon* 'hans-croufe, valet de S. Nicolas,' our *Hans Buckel* (*croufe* = *bosse*), *Grandgagn.* 1, 271. As *Niclas* has a *man*, *Gargantua* has a *drôle* in his retinue, *Mém. celt.* 5, 393-4. Our *knecht Ruprecht* is *Russ. buka*, *Gretsch* p. 109, *Lett. bubulis*. His Styrian name of *Klaubauf* resembles the *winterklaub*, *Wolkenst.* p. 67. A sooty face belongs to the phallophorus also, *Athen.* 5, 254. St. Peter, who may be regarded as *Ruprecht's* representative, when journeying with Christ, always behaves as a good-natured simpleton.

As people sacrificed to forest-women (p. 432), so they did to subterraneans, *Müllenh.* p. 281. On feast-days the *Ossetes* place a portion of the viands in a separate room for the homesprite to eat; they are miserable if he does not, and are delighted to find a part of them gone, *Kohl's Süd-russl.* 1, 295. A Roman setting out on a journey took leave of the *familiaris*: 'etiam nunc saluto te, *familiaris*, priusquam eo,' Plaut. *Mil. gl.* iv. 8, 29.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GIANTS.

p. 518.] In some ways men, elves and giants stand related as men, angels and devils. Giants are the oldest of all creatures, and belong to the stone-age. Here we have to make out more fully, that giants and titans are the *old nature-gods*.

p. 520.] Mere descriptive epithets of giants are: *der gróze man*, Ernst 469. 4288; *der michel man*, Lantz. 7705; *der michel*, *der gróze*, Altd. bl. 2, 149. So of their country: *unkundigez lant*, Roth. 625, and *der riesin lande* 761 (= iötun-heim, p. 530); of their nation: *unkundigiu diet* 630. The ON. *iötunn*, AS. *eoten* is supported by the dimin. *Etenca* (?). Is *Etionas* (for Oxionas) in Tac. Germ. 46 the same word? Hpt's Ztschr. 9; 256. Surely *hethenesberg*, *hedenesbg*, *hettesnasmont*, *etanasbg* in Chart. Sithiense 158. 80. 160-2 are not heathen's hill nor hätenbg? Graff 1, 370 has *Entinesburc* (conf. p. 525). *Etenesleba*, Dronke 233^a. —Leo in Vorles. über d. gesch. d. Deut. volks 1, 112 agrees with me in tracing the word to ON. *eta*, AS. *etan*; conf. *mann-aeta* (p. 520n. and Suppl. to 555), the giant's name *Wolfes mage* (Suppl. to 557), and a giant being addressed as 'dú *ungaeber fráz!*' Dietr. drach. 238^b. Ssk. *kravyád*, Bopp's Gr. § 572. Finn. *turilas*, *tursas*, *turras* = *edax*, *gluto*, *gigas*; and this is confirmed by the two words for giantess, *syöjätär*, lit. femina vorax, fr. *sjön* = *edo*, and *juojotar*, lit. femina bibax, fr. *juon* = *bibo*, Schiefner's Finn. w. 606-8. —Schafarik 1, 141 connects *iötun*, *jätte* with *geta* in *Massagëta*, *Thussagete* (p. 577n.). Thorlacius sp. 6, p. 24 thinks *iotar*, *iötuar*, *risar* are all one. Rask on the contrary distinguishes *Jötunheimar* (jätternes land) from *Jótlund* (jydernes land), likewise *Jötunn* (*gigas*) from *Jóti* (a [^]Jute), Afh. 1, 77-8. GDS. 736; he takes the *iötuar* to be *Finns* (more exactly *Kvaener*), and *Jötunheimar* perhaps *Hålogaland*, Afh. 1, 85-6; but in a note to Sæm. 33 he identifies the *iötuar* with the *Eistir*. Swed. *jätte* och *jättesa*, Cavallius 25. 467. *Jettha*, *Jettenberg* may be for *Jeccha*, *Jechenberg*, as *Jechelburg* became *Jethelberg*. *Jeteneburg*, *Getenburg* occur in deeds of the 13th cent., Wipperm. nos. 41. 60. *Jettenbach* on the *Hundsrück*, Höfer's Urk. p. 37. The giant's munching, 'mesan,' p. 519, should be *mësan*, OHG. *muosan*.

p. 522.] It seems that *þyrja* þioð in Sæm. 82^b does not mean *torridorum gens*, but stands for *þursa*, *þyrsa*. With Dan. *tosse* conf. *dysse-troll*, Sv. forns. 1, 92-8. Grendel is called a *þyrs*, Beow. 846. As the rune *þurs* in ON. corresp. to *þorn* in AS., we have even in ON. a giant named *Böl-þorn*, Sæm. 28^a. Sn. 7; should it be *Bålþorn*, fire-thorn? It is strange that *Alvís*, though a dwarf, says: *þursa líki þycci mer á þer vera*, Sæm. 48^a. OHG.

*(durisis = Ditis, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 329^b. Gl. Sletst. 6, 169. 'mære von eime tursen,' KM.³ 3, 275. In 'Thuringia the thurschemann, Bechst. Märch. 63. We still say 'der torsch.' To the Austrian families of Lichtenfels, Tiernstein, Rauheneck and Rauhenstein the by-name *türse*, Lat. *turso*, was habitual in the 12—15th cents., Heiligenkr. 1, 32. 46. 127. 179. 2, 14. 26. Women were called *tursin*, see Leber's book. *Türsemål*, peasant's name, MsH. 3, 293^b. 'in *thurisloun*,' Falke's Trad. Corb. 100-1. 354. Saracho p. 7, no. 81, ed. Wigand 281-4. 420; *tursen-ouwe*, etc. Mone's Anz. 6, 231; *Thyrsentritt*, E. of Lechthal, Steub's Rhät. 143; *Türschentritt*, *Dirschentritt*, Gumbel's Bair. Alpe pp. 217. 247; *Dursgesesz*, Landau's Wüste örter in Hessen p. 377; *Türschenwald* in Salzachdale, M. Koch 221; *Türstwinkel*, Weisth. 4, 129. Renvall has Finn. *tursas*, *turras*, *turrisas*, *turri*=giant, *turilas*=homo edax, vorax; *meritursas*, Schröter p. 135. Petersen p. 42. GDS. 122-3.*

Dionys. Halic. 1, 21 thought the *Τυρρῆνοί* were so called because they reared high towers, *τύρσοις*. That agrees with the giants' buildings (p. 534-5).

p. 524.] On Hunen-beds and Hunen, see Janssen's Drentsche oudheden pp. 167—184, conf. GDS. 475. Does the Westph. *henne-kleid*, grave-clothes, mean *hünen-kleid*? or hence-going clothes, as in some parts of Westphalia a dying man's last communion was called *henne-kost*?—'Als ein *hiune* gelidet,' having giant's limbs, Troj. kr. 29562; *hiune* is often used in J. v. Soest's Marg. von Limburg (Mone's Anz. '34, 218); Ortleip der *hiune*, Ls. 3, 401; 'der groten *hunen* (gigantum),' B. d. kön. 112. Strangely the *hühnen* in Firmen. 1, 325 are dwarfs, subterraneans, who are short-lived, and kidnap children, though like *hünen* they live in a hill; conf. the *hünnerskes*, Kuhn's Westf. sag. 1, 63-4. As the ON. *hûnar* is never quite synonymous with *iötnar* and *pursar*, so the *heunen* are placed after the giants as a younger race, Baader's Sag. no. 387. GDS. 475.

p. 525.] Other examples of AS. *ent*: *gelýfdon* (believed) on *deáde entas*, AS. homil. 1, 366; on *enta hláve* (cave), Kemble 4, 49; on *entan hlew* 5, 265.—*Entines-burc*, Graff 1, 370; *Enzinsperig*, MB. 2, 197; *Anzin-var*, Hess. Ztschr. 1, 246, like Ruozelmannes var, Mone's Anz. '36, 300; ad giganteam viam, *entisken wec*, Wien. sitz. ber. 4, 141; von *enten swarz unde grá kan ich nit vil sagen*, KM. ³ 3, 275.

p. 525.] Mercury is called 'se *gygand*' (p. 149); die *ghigante*, *gigante*, Rose 5135-82. Biörn writes *gígr*, Aasen 152^b has *jygger*, *gyvr* for *gygr* (conf. 'ze Givers,' Suppl. to 961); *giögra*, Faye 6. A giant is called *kämpe*, Müllenh. pp. 267. 277. Otos and Ephialtes, gigantes though not cyclopes, are sons of Poseidon, and the cyclop Polyphemus is another. Acc. to Diut. 3, 59 and the Parz. and Tit. (p. 690 n.), monsters were born of women who had eaten forbidden herbs.

p. 526.] Does *Hrisberg* stand for *Wrisberg*? Lüntzel's *Hil-desh*. 23. *riesen-kint*, Laurin 2053. 2509. 2604, and *enzen-kint*, like *menschen-kind*, son of man.—A *Lubbes-stein* in Müllenh. no. 363, p. 272; *Lüpperts-grab*, Vilmar in Hess. Ztschr. 4, 79; *Lüppenhart*, *Lüppental*, Mone's Anz. 6, 229; die *Lupbode*, Pröhle's Unterharz p. 212, conf. *lüppe*, poison (p. 1151). ON. *leiji*, *gigas*, *óleifi*, *humanus*; *rumr*, *vir immanis*, *gigas*. Whence comes *trigene* = *gigantes*? Graff 5, 512.

p. 526.] *Gígr* = *oreas*, Sæm. 143^b (Suppl. to 525). Other terms for giants: *fála*, Sæm. 143^b (conf. p. 992); *hála* 143^b. 144^a; *Gríðr* in Sn. 113 is the name of a *gýgr*, and her staff is named *Gríðarvöl*r 114.—*Tröll* is both monster and giant: *ertu tröll*, Vatnsd. 292; *þú þykki mer tröll*, Isl. sög. 2, 365; *hálf-tröll*, Nialss. c. 106. 120; *trölla-skog*, Landn. 5, 5; *trölla-skeið*, curriculum *gigantum* (Suppl. to 85); in Färöe, *trölla-botn* is giants' land. *Trollrygr*, *Trollagrof*, Werlauff's Grenzbl. 16. 22. 35. Michel Beham had heard 'troll' in Denmark and Norway, says Mone's Anz. 4, 450; but the word had been at home on German soil long before that: *vor diesem trolle*, Ortn. 338, 2; *er schlug den trollen* Liederb. (1582) 150; *ein voller troll* 215; *wintertrolle*, Mone's Anz. 6, 236; 'exsurge sede, tu *trolgast*, cito recede' says a verse of the 14th cent., Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 463; *einen drulgast laden*, Weisth. 1, 552; *de Drulshaghene*, Erhard p. 144 (yr 1118); *betrullet*, Tit. 5215 (Kl. schr. 4, 336). But whence comes the Fr. *drôle*, form. *draule*? It is rather a goblin like the M. Neth. *drollen*, Belg. mus. 2, 116. Kilian sub v.; conf. Gargantua's *drôle* (Suppl. to 516).

p. 527.] *Mylžinum* *kalnay*, giants' hills, *mylžynum* *kapay*, giants' graves, Kurl. send. 1, 46-7. Boh. *obor* appears as *hobr* in Wend. volksl. 2, 268^a. On the giants' name *Volot*, *Velet*, *Weletubus*, *Wilz*, conf. p. 1081 n. The *γίγαντες* of the Greeks lived in

Thrace, Paus. 1, 25; conf. the Arimaspi and Cyclopes, and the Ind. rākshasas (p. 555). To the Hebrews the Rephaim, Anakim, Nephilim were giant nations, Bertheau's Israel, p. 142-3-4.

p. 528.] The size of giants is expressed in various ways. Tityos, son of Earth, covers nine roods, Od. 11, 577; Otos and Ephialtes in their ninth year were *έννεαπήχεις* in breadth and *έννεόργυιοι* in length 11, 307 (conf. *Ένιαυτός τετράπηχυς*, meaning the 4 seasons, Athen. 2, 263). Dante, Inf. 31, 58—66 poetically fixes the stature of Nimrod at 90 palms, i.e. 54 feet, which comes to the same as Ephialtes's 9 fathoms. 'Cyclopen *höch sam die tanboume,*' tall as firs, Krschr. 357; 'ir reicht in kume *an die knie* (ye reach scarce to their knees), sie tragent *kláfterlangen bart,*' beards a fathom long, Dietr. u. ges. 621. Ovid's picture of Polyphemus combing his hair with a harrow, and shaving with a sithe, is familiar to us, Met. 13, 764.

Giants have *many heads*: the sagas tell of *three-headed, six-headed, nine-headed* trolds, Asbjörnson p. 102-3-4; a *seven-headed* giant in Firmen. 1, 333^a; another is *negenkopp* (9 head), Müllenh. p. 450; conf. the *three-headed* wild woman in Fr. Arnim's Märch. 1, no. 8, and Conradus *Dri-heuptel*, MB. 29^a, 85 (254). Pol. dziewię-sił, Boh. dewě-sil, dewět-sil (nine-powered) = giant. The legend of *Heimo* is in Mone's Unters. p. 288 seq., conf. Steub's Rhät. p. 143. Ital. writers of the 16th cent. often call giants *quatromani*; giants with 13 *elbows* in Fischart's Garg.; *Bilfinger* in Swabia are families with 12 fingers and 12 toes; 'cum *sex digitis nati,*' Hattemer 1, 305^a; conf. 'sextus homini digitus agnatus inutilis,' Pliny 11, 52.—Even the *one eye* of the cyclops is not altogether foreign to our giants: in a Norweg. fairytale *three* trolds have *one eye between them*, which goes in the middle of the forehead, and is passed round, Jäleträet 74-5; conf. KM. no. 130 (such lending of eyes is also told of the nightingale and blindworm, KM. ed. 1, no. 6). Polyphemus says: *Unum est in medio lumen mihi fronte, sed instar ingentis clypei*, Ov. Met. 13, 850; these one-eyed beings the Greeks called *kyklōpes*, the Romans *coelites*: *coelites qui altero lumine orbi nascuntur*, Pliny xi. 37, 35; *decem coelites, ques montibus summis Rhipaeis fodere*, Enn. in Varro 7, 71 (O. Müller p. 148); conf. Goth. haihs, *μονόφθαλμος*, coecus, Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 11.—A *tail* is attrib. to the giantess Hrîngerðr, Sæm. 144^a. Giants, like dwarfs, are

sometimes descr. as *black*: þráinn svartí þurs, Isl. sög. 1, 207, conf. Svart-höfði; a *black* and an *ash-grey* giant in Dybeck 4, 41. 25. As Hrúngnir's head and shield were of stone, Hymir's haus (skull) is hard as stone, Sæm. 56^b. Thôr's wife, a giantess, is named *Jarnsaxa*. The age of giants is the stone-age.

p. 528.] The adj. *nadd-göfgi*, Sæm. 98^b, seems also to express the unbridled arrogance of the giant: *risenmaezic*, *der werlte widersaezic*, Bit. 7837. The Gr. *Λαπίθαι* are braggarts, and akin to the Kentaurus.

p. 529.] The 11th cent. spell 'tumbo saz in berke . . . tumb hiez der *berc*,' etc., reminds one of Marcellus' burd. p. 29 (Kl. schr. 2, 129. 147-8): *stupidus in monte sedebat*; and conf. Affenberg, Giegenberg, Gauchsberg (p. 680-1), Schalksberg. Note that the iötunn too is called *áttrunnur apa*, simjarum cognatus, Sæm. 55^a. The Frozen Ocean is named Dumbs-haf. Biörn says the ON. *stumr* = *gigas* (dummy?); conf. *gýgr*, *giugi* (p. 525). In Fornm. sög. 1, 304 the heathen gods are called *blindir*, *laufir*, *dumbir*, *daudir*.

p. 530.] On *Fornjótr* see GDS. 737. *hin aldna* (*gýgr*), Sæm. 5^b. Giants' names: *Ör-gemlir* (our ur-alte), *Þruð-gemlir*, *Berg-gemlir* (var. -gelmir). The vala has been taught wisdom by the old giants, she says: *ec man iötna ár ofborna*, þá er forðom mik froedda höfðo, Sæm. 1^a. The good faith of giants is renowned: *cotena treowe*, Beow. 2137; so Wäinämöinen is called the *old* (*wanha*) and *faithful* (*waka*) and *true* (*totinen*), Kalev. 3, 107; so is God (p. 21).—Polyphemus tended sheep, and the Norse giants are herdsmen too:

sat þár á haugi oc slô hörpu
gýgjar hirðir, *gláðr Eglir*. — Sæm. 6^a.

Gýmir owns flocks, and has a shepherd 82^b. Thrymr strokes the manes of his horses, just as the Chron. Trudonis (Chapeville 2, 174) speaks of 'manu comam equi delinire.' Giants know nothing of *bread* or *fire*, Fr. Arnim's Mär. 1, no. 8; the Finn. giants do *without fire*, Ueb. d. Finn. epos p. 39 (Kl. schr. 2, 98). Yet they have silver and gold, they even burn gold, Dybeck 4, 33-8. 42; their horses wear iron rings in their ears 4, 37. 43. They not only bring *misfortune* on the families of man, but bestow *luck* 4, 36, and *fruitfulness* 4, 45. Esp. is the *giantess*, the giant's wife,

sister, mother, *merciful* and *helpful* to heroes (pp. 555. 1007-8). Altd. w. 3, 179. Walach. märch. p. 167.

p. 531.] A latish saga distingu. betw. Jötunheim, governed by Geirröðr, and Risaland, by Goðmundr, Fornm. s. 3, 183. The giants often have the character of older Nature-gods, so that *iötnar*=*gods*, Sæm. 93^a. The Serv. *divovi*, giants (Vuk's Pref. to pt. I. of new ed.) either means the *divine* (conf. p. 194) or the *wild*; conf. *divliy*=*ferus* [Slav. *div*=wonder]. When in our kinder-märchen nos. 5. 81-2 the *tailor*, the *carter* or the *gamester* intrude into heaven (Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 2—7), it may well remind us of the titans storming Olympus; conf. p. 575 on angels and giants.—Giants form ties of love with gods and heroes: thus Polyphemus is a son of Poseidon, Od. 1, 71 seq. Hrímgærðr the giantess wishes to pass a night with the hero, Sæm. 144^a, like the witch in fairytales and Marpalie in Wolfdietrich. Freyr burns with love for Gerðr, Oðinn spends three days in the mountain with Gunnlöd, Gefion the *âsynja* has sons (bull-shaped) by a giant, Sn. 1. Yet hostility betw. gods and giants is the rule: that these would get the upper hand, but for Thôr's enmity to them, the Edda states even more distinctly than the Swedish proverb:

mikill mundi æt iötna ef allir lifði,
vætr mundi manna und Miðgarði. Sæm. 77^b.

Conf. *Thors pjäska* ett qvinno troll baktill ihåligt, som tros fly för blixten in i ett hus, der åskan då står ned, Almqv. 464^a (*pjäska*=a dirty woman). The giant again is *âs-grúi*, terror asarum.

p. 532.] *Managolt*, Pistor. 497. *Managold*, Neug. 77. 355. On the myth, conf. Kuhn in Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 134. With Fenja and Menja, who grind until the cuckoo calls, conf. the mill-maids and cock-crow, Gr. epigr. 2, 56.

p. 532.] Fornald. sög. 1, 469 says: 'austan at Ymis dyrum'; and of Ullr: 'Ullr reið Ymesver, enn Oðinn Sleipni'; did the horse belong to Ymir? *Frosti*, *Jökull*, horses' names, Rask's Afh. 1, 95. Esth. *kühna isa*, wana *Pakkana*, Böcler 148. If Ymir comes fr. *ymja*, stridere, it is akin to Goth. *iujô*, turba, noisy crowd. The noise, the *roar* of giants is known to MHG., see Dietr. u. Ges. 391—4. 458. 470; is that why they are likened

to bellowing bulls? Rask in Afh. 1, 88 derives the names of *Herkir* and *Herkja* fr. Finn. *härkä*, ox; but we have also a Germ. giant *Harga*, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 256, conf. Herka (p. 253) and next note, end.—Giants are beings of Night: those of India grow stronger than heroes at *twilight*, and twice as strong in the *night*, Holtzm. Ind. sag. 2, 152. A Schleswig giantess is 'die schwarze Greet,' black Meg, Müllenh. pp. 157. 269. 273-5; on the other hand a queen Margareta, pp. 342. 14. 18.

p. 533.] The Greeks also make giants live on *rocks* and *hills*, Od. 9, 113-4. They are animated stones, or consist partly of stone, or they turn into stone. The giant in Müllenh. p. 442 has a stone heart. *Hrimgerðr*, surprised by daylight, stands *í steins líki*, Sæm. 145^b; conf. the Swed. tales in Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 503-4. Bader no. 486. *Hati iötunn sat á bergi*, Sæm. 143^a (Suppl. to 530). The *gýgr* lives in caves of the rock (*hellir*); as *Brynhildr* fares to *Hel*, a *gýgr* cries to her: 'skaltu í gögnum gánga eigi *grioti studda garða* mína!' through my stone-built garth; and *B.* answers: 'bregðu eigi mer, *brúðr* or *steini*,' bride of stone, Sæm. 227 (see p. 551). 'finna þeir í *helli* noekvorum, hvar *gýgr sat*, hon nefndiz *Thöck*,' Sn. 68. A giant's cave up in the wild mountain, *Trist.* 419, 10—20. *Berg-búi*=giant is also in *Landu.* 4, 12, and Sæm. 52; conf. *berges gnóz*, Er. 8043. *Hobergs-gubbe* (p. 536-7). Finn. *kallio*, *rupes*,=Goth. *hallus*, ON. *hallr*, hence *kaleva*, *gigas*; another Finn. term for giant is *vuoren väki*, power of the mountain. To *Þussin af Þiargi* corresp. *Tössebergs-klätten*, a place in *Värmland*, Rask's Afh. 1, 91-2. Note the term *berg-rinder*, mountain-cattle, for *Gefjon's* children by a giant are oxen, Sn. 1. One giant is called *kuh-tod*, cow-death, Müllenh. no. 328; conf. *Herkir*, *Herkja* in preced. note. Giants appear as *wolves*, Sn. 13.

p. 534.] The giantess pelts with stones, the giant wears a stone crown, Braunsch. mærch. p. 64. Iron will not bite the giant: 'tröll, er þik *bíta eigi iarn*,' Isl. sög. 2, 364. He can only be floored with *gold*, hence *Skiold* wraps gold about his club, Saxo 8. *Grendel* too is proof against iron sword: 'þone synscadan ænig ofer eorðan *trenna cyst*, *gúðbilla nán grétan nolde*, *Beow.* 1596. *Arnliotr* in *Hervarars.* has *league-boots*, like the ogre in *Petit poucet*; they denote the swift pace of the giant, hence *Diut.* 1, 403: 'hine fuor der herre, ilende also ein *rise duot*

(speeding as a giant doth), der zuo loufe sînen muot ebene lât gesetzt.

p. 535.] Curious old *structures* are ascr. to *giants* or *heathens*: ‘*entu burg, risôn burg,*’ Elene 31, p. xxii. Even Tristan’s cave of love is called a *giant’s building*, Tristr. 419, 18; conf. ‘*etenes bi old dayn had wrought it,*’ the house in the ground, where Tristan and Isolde lay, Tristrem 3, 17. *Hünen-wälle* are pointed out betw. Etteln and Alfen (Paderborn). The Orientals attrib. old buildings to a people called *Ád*, Hammer’s *Roseuöl* 1, 36; the Celtic legends to *Finn*. All those large *cairns*, and remarkable peaks like St. Michael’s Mount and the Tors, are the work of giants. Pausanias ii. 25, 7 mentions a *κυκλώπων ἔργον, ἀργῶν λίθων*, the smallest of which a pair of mules could not move. *Tyrrhenians* build towers (Suppl. to 522 end).—In O. Fr. poems the builders are giants or heathen Sarrasins or famous men of old: *la roche au jaiant*, Guitecl. 1, 90. 158; *un jaiant le ferma qui Fortibiaus ot nom*, Renans 177, 7; *Sarrasins* build, Garin in Mone’s HS. 219. 251; *el mur Sarrazinor*, Albigeois 6835; *el palais montent que firent Sarrasin*, Garin 1, 88; *la tor est forte de luevre as Sarrasins* 2, 199; *croute que firent Sarasins* 1, 57-9; *as grans fenestres que f. S.*, Mort de Garin p. 146. *Cain* builds a *tower*, Ogier 6644-66; *roche Cayn*, Garin 1, 93-4; or the giant’s building is traced to *Jul. Caesar*, to *Constantine*, Garin (Paris 2, 53). Chron. fontan. (Pertz 2, 284); conf. the work by *Jul. Caesar* in Thietmar 6, 39.—A legend of the great *cauldron* which the giants were 20 years digging in silence, is told in Halbertsma’s *Tongvallen* p. 54-5. *Stone-heaps* in the woods the Finn calls *hiiden pesät*, giants’ nests or beds, Kurl. send. 1, 47; a giant’s bed already in Il. 2, 783. The brazen *dorper* is like the huge metal figure that stands on a bridge with a *rod of steel*, barring the passage, Dietr. drach. 57^a. 61^{ab}; old Hildebrand says, ‘*ich klag ez dem der ûf der brücken stât*’ 62^a; they all misdoubt the monster 68^b. 74-5: ‘*der aller groeste viez* (rhy. liez), *daz in der tinfel wûrge!* er was grôz unt dâbî lanc, sîn muot was ungetriuwe; er sî lebende oder tôt, er ist ein rechter boesewiht,’ be he alive or dead, he is a bad one 83^{ab} (on *viez*, see Gramm. 1, 187).

p. 538.] The Gothland *högbergs-gubbe* must have got his name fr. *Hoberg* in the I. of Gothland, Molb. Tidskr. 4, 189. In

Esthonian legend *blocks of granite* are *Kalev's maidens' apron-stones* (Kallewi neitsi põlle kiwwid, Possart p. 177). What was told of giants, is told of the devil: Once upon a time, say the men of Appenzel and the Black Forest, the devil was flying over the country with a sackful of huts: the sack happened to tear, and out fell a cottage here and a cottage there, and there they be to this blessed hour, Schreiber's Taschenb. '41, p. 158.

p. 540.] *Eaters of flesh* give place to *sowers of corn*, hunters to husbandmen, Klemm 2, 25. Giants consider themselves the *old masters* of the land, live up in the *castle*, and look down upon the *peasant*, Haltrich 198. In the I. of Usedom they say (Kuhn in Jahrb. d. Berl. ges. f. d. spr. 5, 246): 'en risen-måken hätt auk mål enen *knecht* met *two ossen* unnen *håken* (plough) in åre schörte (her apron) packt, wil år *dat lütte wõrm* durt hätt (because she pitied),' etc. Similar stories of the *earth-worms* who *crowd out* the giants are told in many parts of Sweden, Dyb. 1842. 2, 3. 4, 40. '44. p. 105. '45. pp. 15. 97. '47. p. 34. Rääf's Osterg. 38; in Södermanland, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 506; in Schleswig, Müllenh. p. 279; in the Mark, Hpt 4, 392; in Westphalia, Firmen. 1, 322; in S. Germany, Bader nos. 375. 387. Panzer 2, 65; conf. Walach. mærch. p. 283.

p. 541.] Stories of the giant *clearing out his shoe* or *shaking the sand out of his holsken* (wooden shoes) are in the Ztschr. d. Osnabr. ver. 3, 230-5. Firmen. 1, 274^a. The giant feels three *grains in his shoe*, Hone's Daybk. 2, 1025. Dutch tales to the same purpose in Halbertsma's Tongvallen p. 55-6.

p. 543.] Near Duclair (on the Seine, towards Normandy) stands '*la chaire de Gargantua*: l'être mystérieux qui l'occupait pendant la nuit devait être un géant, que les peuples ont personifié sous le nom de Gargantua,' Revue archéol. xiv. an., p. 214. On G., conf. Bosquet pp. 177. 182. 193-4; with his seat conf. *devil's pulpits* and their legends.

p. 544.] Giants fling *hammers* at each other, Müllenh. no. 586. Panzer pp. 104. 114. Firmen. 1, 302. Rääf p. 38. Hünen *play at bowls*, Balt. stud. xii. 1, 115, like the *heroes* in the mount (p. 953), like *Thórr* (p. 545) and the *angels* (p. 953 n.). Another Westph. story of giants *baking bread*, Firmen. 1, 302. 372; they throw *tobacco-pipes* to each other, and knock the ashes out 1, 273. A giant is pelted with *stones* or *cheeses*, KM. no. 20.

Dyb. 4, 46. Cavall. 1, 3. 9; conf. the story from Usedom (Kuhn in Jrb. d. Berl. ges. f. d. spr. 5, 246). A *captive giant* is to be let go when he's pulled all the hair off a cow's hide, but he mayn't pluck more than one hair in 100 years, Wieselgren 459.

p. 549.] Similar *building* stories in Müllenh. nos. 410-2. Faye p. 13. A Bavarian tale of the *giant builder*, in which a hammer is hurled, Ober-bair. arch. 5, 316-7. A horse brings the stones, like *Svaðilfari*, Haltrich 29; conf. old Bayard at Cologne cathedral.

p. 551.] The giantesses spin like the fays, even giants spin, Firmen. 1, 323. In the Olafssaga *Olaf* fights the *margýgr*, and brings away her hand as trophy, Fornm. sög. 4, 56-7-8. *Red-bearded* Olaf is called Olaf *liósiarpr á hárr* 4, 38. His *pipuga skügg* could also be explained as the Dan. *pip-skiäg*, first beard.

p. 552 n.] Instead of the words in Danske v. 1, 223 the Kämpe v. 155 has: sprang til *flinte-sten lede og sorte*. In Norske ev. 1, 37. 2, 28 (new ed. 162. 272): *flyve i flint*, with anger. Norw. Lapp. gedgöm, I turn to stone, am astounded. MHG. *wurde ich danne zuo eime steine*, Herb. 8362; conf. ille vir in medio *fiat amore lapis*, Propert. ii. 10, 48. Conversely: in haeten sine grôzen liste ûz eime herten steine getragen, Mor. 1562. Many Swed. tales of giants whom the first beam of sunrise turns into stone, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 503-4. Cavall. 27. Norske ev. 162. The mighty king Watzmann is believed to be a petrified giant, Panz. Beitr. 1, 246. Frau Hütt turns into stone because she has rubbed herself with crumbs, DS. no. 233; people sink into the ground because they've trod on a wheaten roll, Giesebrecht's Balt. stud. 12, 126.—Esp. are a *bride and bridegroom* often turned into stone, DS. no. 229. Müllenh. pp. 108-9. 595. Giesebr. Balt. stud. 12, 114-5. 126. These 'bride-stones' are also known to Norweg. legend, Faye p. 4; nay, we find them in France in the *noce pétrifiée*, Michelet 2, 17, and even in the Wallach. märch. 117. Once a shepherd, his sheepdog and sheep were changed into stone by frau *Wolle*, because he had rejected her petition for bread, Somm. p. 11. The Wallachians have a similar story of an old woman, her son and her sheep, Schott 114-5; so have the Servians, Vuk's Wtb. p. 15^a. Heinr. v. Herford ad ann. 1009 relates after Will. of Malmesb. (acc. to Vincent 25, 10) how people in a Saxon village disturb the Christmas festi-

val by singing and dancing in a churchyard, and how the priest dooms them to dance a whole year; in time they sink up to their hips in the ground, till at the end of the year they are absolved by his Grace of Cologne. The place is in some MSS. called *Colovize*; surely these are the men of *Colbeke* who danced with what they took for stones, DS. no. 232. A 15th cent. version of the story in Altd. bl. 1, 54-5.

p. 553.] *Strong Jack* is sometimes named *der starke Hannel* (perh. *Hermel*), Siegthal p. 106. Finn. *Hiisi*, gen. *Hiiden*, *Hiidenpoika* = wild man of the woods, giant, Salmel. 1, 242. Lapp. *Hiidda*, *Hiita* is a malign deity, Suomi '44 p. 30. The Esth. tale of *Kallewepoeg* is given more fully in Poss. Estl. p. 174-5. Lönrot, who has collected from 60 to 70 giant-stories, relates in Kruse's *Urgesch.* p. 177: In the sea near Abo stands a huge stone, which the Finn. giant *Kalevampoika* hurled at the first church that was built. He was going to the church himself, when he met a man with a sackful of worn shoes, and asked him how much farther it was. The man said, 'You see, I've worn all these shoes through on my way.' Then K. took up the stone and slung it, but it missed the mark and fell into the sea.

p. 555.] ON. 'iötunn sâ er Brûsi hêti, hann var mikit tröll ok mann-æta,' Fornm. s. 3, 214. OHG. man-izzo, MHG. man-ebbe (p. 520 n.), AS. mon-æta, Lith. *vyrède*, viros edens. The Polyphemus legend is widely diffused, e.g. Sinbad on his third voyage punches out the eye of a man-eating giant; conf. the story of Eigill, Nilsson 4, 33. Müller's *Sagenbib.* 2, 612. As the Oghuzian cyclop takes the arrow for a gnat, so in our Ring p. 241: 'ich waen, mich hab ein fleng gestochen.' Similar tales in Konr. v. Würzbg, MS. 2, 205^a. Altd. w. 3, 178; esp. coarse is the version in the Leipzig MS., Altd. bl. 1, 122-7. For the giant, later stories substitute a *murderer*, Mone's *Anz.* '37, 399. 400; a *robber*, Wal. *märch.* p. 167-8-9. Poets of the 13th cent. make 12 schâchære (robbers) enter the dwelling of a *turs*, who *eats up* 11 of them, MSS. 2, 331^b. On the merciful giantess, conf. p. 1008.

p. 556.] A giant gets *bigger* as he rises out of the ground, and *smaller* as he sinks in again, Müllenh. p. 266. Giants often take the *shape of an eagle* (p. 633), e.g. Hræsvelgr, Suttûngr, Thiazi, Sn. 80-1; they are born as *wolves* 13. The story of the flying giantess trespasses on Beast-legend, Hpt's *Ztschr.* 4, 502-3.

p. 557.] Our Court-poets have preserved here and there a genuine feature of the folklore about giants: Tristan taking the giant's *hand* with him (16195) is like Beowulf bringing away Grendel's. Again, the *old giant-father carrying the heroes up a hill* (Daniel in Bartsch xxviii.) occurs not only in Hero-legend, but in Folktale, Müllenh. p. 266. Then, the giants of the Trûtmunt in Goldemar carry *long poles*, Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 521; *Runze* swings a tree over his shoulder, Wolfd. 510; one giant is named *Boumgarte* 493, 3. *Asperiân* is styled the giants' *spileman*, Roth. 2161. In Lancelot 17247 seq. are noticed the giants' *ogen verkeren, tanden criselen, hoft queken*. A giant couple in Ecke 7 (Hagen 5, 8) bear the names *vrô Hilte* and *her Grîme*, conf. Grîmr and Hildir, Vilk. saga c. 16. Note the giants' names in Dietr. drach., *Glockenbôz, Fidelnstôz, Rûmedenwalt, Schelledenwalt, Bitterbûch, Bitterkrût, Hôhermuot, Klingelbolt*; a *Grandengrûs*, *Grandgrûs* 118^b. 126^b looks Romance, like *Grandgosier* (great gullet) in Gargantua. *Wolfe-mage* (-maw) reminds of the manservant *Wolfe-darm* (-gut) in Helbl. 1, 372, and of the Ssk. *Urkodara* (wolf's belly), Hitzig 308. Norse names: *Ruth i Skut, Rolf i Topp, Hand i Handöl, Elling, Staff*, Dyb. '45, 97-9 (see p. 557). The connexion between giants and gods has been pointed out, Suppl. to p. 531.

CHAPTER XIX.

CREATION.

p. 558 n.] Conf. *kînent werden* (p. 746 n.); *zekein*, Wernh. v. Niederrh. 11, 18. Schelling takes chaos to be the Roman *Janus* = *hianus*, after Festus sub v. chaos. The material sense is also found in the expressions '*ingunnen werden*,' *secari*, N. Arist. 95; '*sîti ingunnen*,' *cloven*, Diemer 97, 26; M. Neth. *outginnen*, *secare*, Fergût 3461. 3565; conf. Hpt's Ztschr. 8, 18—20.

p. 559.] For the notion of *creating*, the AS. has the word *frumsceaft*, *prima creatio*: God is *frumsceafta freá*, Cædm. 195, 9. The Gothic renders *κρίσις* by *gaskafts*. On our *schöpfen, bilden, bilde giezen*, see p. 23: *wære ich nie gebildet*, had I never been shapen, Tit. 3283. Creature in the Bible is in OHG. *hant-tât*,

manu factum, N. Ps. 18, 2; MHG. *hant-geât*.—Haug thinks *Ymir* the Pers. Gajômars, Gött. Anz. '53, p. 1960. The *birth from feet* or legs seems to be remembered in an O. Fr. poem: *Fannul*, whom his mother had conceived out of the smell of flowers, touches his *thigh* with a knife that had just cut an apple; the thigh conceives and bears St. Anne; conf. Brahma's creation (p. 571). Ukko yumala rubs his hands, presses them on his left knee, and makes three maidens, Kalevala 9, 39—44.—Giants come before the Ases (p. 530-2); the *vala* sings, 'ek man iötna ár ofborna,' Sæm. 1^a; and Saxo divides mathematici into (1) *gigantes*, (2) *magi*=Ases, (3) *homines*. The Indians say the *cow* is *mother of the world*, and must not be killed, Holtzm. Ind. sagen 1, 65. Of *Bör's three sons*, who create man, it is said in Sæm. 1^b: *bioðum ypto*, orbes extulerunt, they set on high the globes of heaven (p. 701).

p. 560 n.] The Indian myth also accepts a creation out of the *egg*, heaven and earth being eggshells, Somadeva 1, 10; conf. the birth of Helen and the Dioscuri out of eggs.

p. 561.] *Askr* and *Embla* are known as *Es* and *Imlia* among the Yenisei Ostiaks, Castrén's Reise in Sibirien. The division into *önd*, *óðr* and *lá ok lítr* is also found in Plutarch 4, 1154: 'spirit, soul and body.'

p. 561.] To giants, men appear as *dwarfs*: they nickname us *earthworms*, and the giant's daughter takes the ploughman for a worm or beetle (p. 540). As dwarfs are made out of *maggots* in the Edda, so are men out of *ants* in Ov. Met. 7, 642; conf. the way *bees* are brought to life (p. 696). As fire is generated by rubbing wood, so are animals by *rubbing the materials* (Suppl. to 1100). *Hiisi* makes an *ely* out of various stuffs, Kalev. 7, 32 seq.

p. 567.] The two AS. accounts of the *creation of man* (p. 565, text and note) derive blood from fire, whereas the Emsig Code derives it from water, as the Edda conversely does water from blood. The *eight parts* were known to the Indians also (Suppl. to 571.—The Fris. *héli*, ON. *heili*=brain, resembles Lat. *coelum*, Gr. *κοίλη κοιλία*, GDS. 681. Godfrey of Viterbo's comparison of the head to the sky, of the eyes to the lights of heaven is repeated in Walther 54, 27: 'ir *houbet* ist sô wünnenrîch, als ez mîu *himel* welle sîn, dâ liuhtent *zwêne sternen* abe;' and in MS. 2, 189^b the eyes are called stars; conf. *himmel* and *gaume*,

Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 541.—A *tear* (thräne) is called in MHG. *mers trân*, *wâges trân*, Gramm. 1, 170. The Edda accounts for the taste of sea-water by the grinding of salt out of the quern Grôtti. A tear bites, like salt; δάκρυ, lacruma [and *tehero*, *tearas*, *zähre*] comes from *dak*, to bite. The Etym. magn. 564, 45 says: *Εὐφορίων δὲ βύνην τὴν θάλασσαν λέγει· οἶον—πολύτροφα δάκρυα βύνης—τοὺς ἄλας βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν. Βύνη=Ἰνώ*, GDS. 300.

p. 570 n.] An Esth. song in Herder p. n. 112 tells of one who shaped him a wife out of wood, gilded her face, and silvered her shoulders. The Egyptian notion as to the origin of the first man comes very near that of the Bible: Ptah or Neph is pictorially repres. 'turning the clay for the human creation,' Wilkinson's Egyptians p. 85.

p. 570.] Another Ind. story of the creation in Suppl. to 560 n. The Pers. doctrine is, that heaven and fire were first created, then mountains, then plants, then beasts. From the horns of the first ox sprang fruits, from his blood grapes, etc., Görres 1, 232-3. The description of *Atlas* in Ovid's Met. 4, 657 agrees with the Teutonic myth of creation far more closely than the notion current among the Greeks. He lets Atlas be converted into a mountain-chain: hair supplies the forest, his shoulders and arms the hills, his head the summit, his bones the stones.

p. 571.] The older Ind. myth makes the great spirit, *mahân atmâ*, produce the first man out of *water*; Prometheus too forms men of *earth* and *water*, Lucian's Prom. 13; acc. to Horace, Od. i. 16, 13, he tempers the given 'limus' with every possible ingredient, conf. Babr. 66. The Greenlanders think the first man was made of earth, and the first woman of *his thumb*, Klemm 2, 313, as Eve was of Adam's *rib*; so Dakshus was pulled out of Brahma's *toe* (Suppl. to 559). The *eight parts* occur even in the Rigveda, Kuhn in Höfer 1, 288.

p. 573.] For analogies in language between *man* and *tree*, see Pott's Zähl-meth. 234—6. *Askr* and other masc. names of trees indicate man, and femin. names woman. *Askr*, *Embla* begin with the same vowels as Adam, Eve; conf. Es, Imlia (Suppl. to 561).

The term *liut-stam*, nation, is taken wholly from the vegetable kingdom, Ofr. iii. 12, 7. Plants and rocks are not dead, they speak: *δρὺς καὶ πετρὰς ἀκούειν*, Plato's Phædr. 275. Men

arise out of trees and stones or mud : O *saxis* nimirum et *robore* nati, Stat. Theb. 4, 339 ; qui, *rupto robore nati, compositive luto*, nullos habnere parentes, Juven. 6, 12 (conf. die leimünen, p. 569 n.). Men grow out of *pin*es in Nonnus (Reinh. Köhler, Halle '53, p. 24) ; jâ werdent solich leut von *bómen* mit geborn, Wolkenst. 61 ; sîner spiez-genôze sweimet einer von dem *obersten birboume*, Ben. 419 ; 'Where people come from ? think I don't know that ? they're torn off *trees* when young,' Ayzer's Fastn. 160^d ; not sprung from a *hazel-bush*, Schelmufsky, 1, 51 ; his father was drowned on the *nut-tree*, his mother carried the water up in her apron (sieve), Brückner's Henneberg 17 ; a child is exposed on an *ash*, and is found there, Marie de Fr. 1, 150—4. In a Finn. fairytale a foundling is called puuhaara, tree-branch ; conf. our Fundevogel on the top of a tree, KM. no. 51. —Acc. to Greek legend there were only gods at first, the earth bristled with forests, till Prometheus made men, Lucian's Prom. 12 ; conf. the Prom. legends in Schütze's Excursus i. to Æsch. Prom. ; yet Zeus also makes men spring *out of the ground* for Æacus on his lonely isle, Paus. ii. 29, 2. The *throwing of stones*, which turn into men, is descr. in Ov. Met. 1, 411 ; the stones are styled *ossa parentis* 1, 383. 393, as Æschylus and Sophocles call rocks the bones of the earth. This sowing of stones reminds one of *mana-seps* = λαός, κόσμος (p. 793). The Saxons, named after sahs (saxum), are called in the legend from the Eisenacher Rechtsbuch in Ortloff p. 700-1 *Kieselinge, petrioli* ; conf. 'kisila irquiken zi manne,' quicken flints into men, O. i. 23, 47. Giants spring out of stone, and spring into stone again (pp. 532-3. 552) : 'eine, di slug ich *aus eime steine*,' Fundgr. 2, 518 ; 'nun sihet man wol, dasz er nicht *aus einem steine entsprungen* ist,' Galny 230 ; 'dasz ich *aus keinem stein gesprungen*,' Schade's Pasq. 76, 87 ; 'many a man fancies he is sprung from a *diamond*, and the peasant from a *flint*,' Etnn. Hebanne 15 ; 'gemacht aus *kisling-plut*,' flint-blood (also, donkey's rib), Fastn. 680, 26. 32. For other legends of the origin of nations, see GDS. 780.

p. 576.] Acc. to Plato's Symp. 190 B, there were at first *three sexes* : ἄρρεν, θῆλυ, ἀνδρόγυνον, descended from sun, earth and moon. It is an important statement in Gen. 6, 4, that the *sons of God* (men) came in unto the *daughters of men* (giantesses). Popular legend very remarkably derives *dwarfs* and *subterraneans*

from the *fallen angels*, Ir. elfenm. xiii. ; the 'good people' are not born, but dropt out of heaven, Ir. mǎrch. 2, 73 ; the same with the *huldren* in Norway, Asb. 1, 29. Thiele 2, 175 ; while Finn. Joh. Hist. eccl. Isl. 2, 368 says of the *alfs* : 'quidam enim a Deo immediate et sine parentum interventu, ut spiritus quosdam, creatos esse volunt ; quidam vero ab Adamo, sed *antequam Eva condita fuit*, prognatos perhibent.' A N. Frisian story has it, that once, when Christ walked upon earth, he blessed a woman's *five fair* children, and cursed the *five foul* ones she had *hidden* ; from these last are sprung the *undergrounders*, Müllenh. p. 279. The same story in Iceland, F. Magnusen's Lex. 842^b. Eddalären 3, 329. 330. Faye, pref. xxv.—The giant too is called *vǎlandes barn*, Trist. 401, 7. Even the devil tries to *create* (Suppl. to 1024). The Ind. *Visvakarma*, like Hephæstus, fashions a woman at Brahma's bidding, Somad. 1, 173. On ages of the world, and their several races, conf. Babrius's Prologue, and the statue (p. 792 n.). Ovid. in Met. 1, 89—127 assumes four ages, golden, silver, brass and iron. GDS. 1—5. In the age of Saturn the earth-born men went *naked* and free from care, lived on the fruit of trees, and talked with beasts, Plato's Politicus 272.

p. 581.] *Παλαιοὶ λόγοι* of deluges (*κατακλυσμοῖς*) are ment. by Plato de Leg. 3, 677. The form *sin-vluot* is still retained in Mauritius 692, also *sin-fluot* in Anegenge 22, 17. 24, 13, but *sint-vluot* already in 25, 18, *sint-waege* 23, 54, *sint-gewaege* 25, 7. Luther still says *sind-flut*, not *sündflut*. By the *flood* the race of giants is extirpated, Beow. 3377—84. As it subsides, three ravens are let fly (p. 1140) ; conf. the verses in the *Völuspá* on the falling of the waters : '*falla forsar, flygr örn yfir, sâ er â fialli fiska veiðir*,' Sæm. 9^b.—In the American story of the Flood the people likewise take refuge in a ship, and send out animals, the beaver, the rat, Klemm 2, 156. *Deukalions Flood* is described in Athen. 1, 409 and the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* ; conf. Selig Cassel's *Deuk.* p. 223. 246. In Lucian's account also, all the wild beasts are taken into Denkalion's ark, and live in peace together, Luc. de Saltat. c. 39.—The Indian narrative of the Flood is 'taken from the Bible,' thinks Félix Nève (*De l'orig. de la trad. Ind. du Dél.*, Paris '49) ; the rapid growth of the fish resembles that of *Jörmungandr* when thrown into the sea, Sn. 32, and of the snake who wishes to be taken to the sea,

Klemm 2, 162; *Manus* himself signifies man, Kuhn's Rec. d. Rigveda p. 107. On the other Ind. story, that of *Satyâvratâs*, see Polier's Mythol. des Indous 1, 244—7.—German tales of a great flood are told in Vonbun p. 14—16 (conf. p. 982-3). Our people still have a belief that destroying water will break out of mountains, Panz. Beitr. 1, 276-7. German legend makes the flood stream out of the giant's toe, as it does out of Wänämöinen's toe in Runo 3. The dwarf-story from the Rhine district in Firmen. 2, 49 seems founded on that of L. Thun, DS. no. 45; the dwarf reminds one of the angel who lifts his hand holding a cloth over the city, Greg. Tur. 10, 24.

CHAPTER XX.

ELEMENTS.

p. 582.] Before the *new* gods came, there prevailed a primitive worship of Nature (p. 335), to which perhaps Cæsar's 'Luna, Sol, Vulcanus' is to be referred; we know the giants stand for primal forces of nature, for fire, air, water, sun, moon, day and night, conf. Plato's Cratyl. 397. 408. And long after, in the Warnung 2243 seq., there still breaks out a nature-worship, an adoring of the bird's song, of flowers, of grass. All mythologies make *some* gods represent the elements: to the Hindûs *Indra* is god of the air, *Varuna* of water; to the Greeks Zeus was the same thing as aether, ær. The Persians worshipped the elements, not human-shaped gods at all, Herod. 1, 131.—The Indians admitted *five* elements: fire, water, earth, aether (akasa) and wind (vaya). The Chinese thought *metal* an element of its own. Galen sets down *four*: warm, cold, dry, wet (can we make these attributes represent fire, earth, air, water?). How the four elements run into one another, is described in MS. 1, 87^a; H. Sachs knows 'die vier element,' 1, 255; 'erde und wazzer nider swebet, viur und luft ze berge strebet,' says Freid. 109. 24; conf. Renn. 6115. Animals live in all four: 'swaz gêt, vliuzet, swebet,' MS. 2, 183^a. Men bewailed their sorrows to the elements, to earth, to fire (p. 642).

1. WATER.

p. 584.] People sacrificed to groves and *springs*: blôtaði lundin, Landn. 3, 17; blôtaði *forsin* 5, 5 (p. 592); and Sæm. 44^a says: *heilög vötn hlôa* (calent). The Hessians sacrificed ‘*lignis et fontibus*,’ Pertz 3, 343. The Samländer and Prussians denied the Christians access to groves and *springs* lest they should pollute them, Pertz 9, 375; conf. Helmold 1, 1. Prayer, sacrifice and judgment were performed at the spring, RA. 799. ‘Porro in medio noctis silentio illas (feminas) *ad fontes aquarum in orientem affluentes* juxta hortum domus egressas Herwardus percepit; quas statim secutus est, ubi eas eminus colloquentes audivit, nescio a quo *custode fontium* responsa et interrogantes et expectantes,’ Gesta Herw. Saxonis, yr. 1068 (Wright’s Essays 1, 244. 2, 91. 108. Michel’s Chron. Anglonorm. 2, 70). An Engl. song has ‘I the *wel woke*,’ Wright’s Ess. 1, 245; this is the ceremony of *waking* (watching by) *the well*. On the Bode in the Harz they still offer a *black hen* (?) to the river-god. Before starting the first waggonload from the harvest field, they throw three ears into a *running stream*; or if there is none, they throw three ears into the *oven-fire* before the waggon enters the stack-yard; if there was no fire, they light one. This is a Bavarian custom, Panz. Beitr. 2, 213. In Hartlieb’s book of all Forbidden Arts we read that lighted tapers are set in front of water drawn from three running streams before sunrise, and *man legt dem wasser êre an*, sam Gott selber (see p. 586). The Romans cherished the like reverence for water: ‘*flumini Rheno pro salute*,’ De Wal. no. 232; *genio loci et Rheno pro salute*,’ no. 233; ‘*deus Rheni*,’ no. 234. They *greeted* the bath with *bare head* on entering and quitting it, and placed *votive gifts* by the side of springs, Rudorff’s Ztschr. 15, 216; they had even *ministri fontis* 15, 217.

p. 585.] As *prunno* comes from *prinnan* to burn, the Romans spoke of *torrens aqua*, from *torrere* to broil: ‘*subita et ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio* aras habet,’ Seneca’s Ep. 41; conf. the context in Rudff’s Zts. 15, 214. It is said of St. Furseus (d. 650): ‘*fixit baculum suum in terram, et mox bullivit fons magnus*,’ Acta Bened. p. 321. The divine steersman in the Frisian Asegabuch, on touching land, *flings an axe* into the turf, and a spring bursts up, Richthofen 440. A *horse’s hoof* scrapes open a well (Suppl.

to 664 n.). Brooks gush out of Achelôus's *ox-head*, Soph. Trach. 14. A well springs out of an *ass's jawbone*, Judg. 15, 19. 'Dê spranc ein brunne sâ ze stete ûz der dÿrren molten,' Servatius 1382, when the thirsting saint had 'made a cross.' A spring rises where a maiden has fallen down, Panz. Beitr. 1, 198. A giantess produces water by——another method, Sn. (1848) 1, 286. The Finns have three rivers formed out of *tears*, Kalev. 31, 190; healing fountains rise from the *sweat* of a sleeping giant, Kalevi-poeg 3, 87-9. *Tiberinus* is prettily described in Claudian's Prob. et Olybr. 209—265; 'Rhenus *projecta* torpuit *urna*,' in his Rufin. 1, 133. The nymph holds in her right a *marble bowl*, out of which runs the source of the rivulet, Opitz 2, 262; she *pours* the Zacken 263, where the poet uses the phrase '*spring-kammer der flÿsse*'; so in Hebel pp. 12. 38 the baby Wiese lies in silver cradle in her crystal closet, in hidden *chamber of the rock*. At Stabburags well and grotto (Selburg diocese) the people see a spinning maiden who weaves veils for brides, Kruse's Urgesch. pp. 51. 169. 171. OHG. *klîngâ, chlinkâ* = torrens and nympha; conf. nixe, tocke (p. 492 n.).

p. 586.] At the restoration of the Capitol it is said of the Vestals: *aqua vivis e fontibus amnibusque* hausta perluere, Tac. Hist. 4, 53. Springs that a saint has charmed out of the ground, as Servatius by his prayer, have healing power: 'die mit deheinen sêren (any pains) wâren gebunden, genâde die funden ze demselben ursprînge,' Servat. 1390. Such *medicinal springs* were sought for with rushes, out of which flew a spark, Ir. mârch. 2, 76-7. The notion that at holy seasons *water turns into wine*, prevails in Scandinavia too, Wieselgr. 412. Wells out of which a saint draws yield wine, Mÿllenh. p. 102-3; so in Bader no. 338 wine is drawn out of a spring. The well *loses its healing power* when an ungodly man has bathed his *sick horse* in it, Mÿllenh. no. 126; the same after a noble lady has washed her *little blind dog* in it, N. Pr. prov. bl. 2, 44. On the contrary, fountains become holy by *goddesses bathing* in them, e.g. those in which Sîtâ bathed, see beginnu. of Meghadûta. Whoever has drunk of the well of Reveillon in Normandy, must *return to that country*, Bosquet 202.

p. 587.] Holy water is only to be drawn in vessels that cannot stand, but must hang or be carried, and *not touch the ground*,

for if set down they tip over and spill every drop (so the pulled plant, the fallen tooth, is not to touch the ground, Suppl. to 658 n.). Such a vessel, *fütile*, was used in the worship of Ceres and Vesta, Serv. ad Æn. 11, 339. Schol. Cruq. ad Hor. AP. 231. Forcell. sub v.; and by the Scots at the Well of Airth, where witnesses were examined, Hone's Daybk 2, 686, 867. Metal vessels of the Wends, which *cannot stand*, have been found in several places, Balt. stud. 11, 31-3-7. 12, 37. The Lettons, in sacrificing, durst not touch the goblet except with their teeth, Hpt's Ztschr. 1, 145. The hot springs at Thermopylæ were called *χύτροι* = ollae, Herod. 7, 176; conf. *olla* Vulcani.

Heliebrunno, MB. 28^a, 63; *heilicprunno* 11, 109. *heiligbrunno*, 29^a, 96. *Helicbruno*, Chart. Sithiense p. 113. *Helicbrunno*, a brook in the Netherl., Waitz's Sal. ges. 55. On *Heilbronn*, see Rudorff's Ztschr. 15, 226; conf. *nobiles fontes* 15, 218. 'Helgi at *Helgavatni*,' Landn. 2, 2: *Helgavatn*, *Urðarvatn* 3, 2. 3. Other prob. holy springs are *Pholesbrunno* (p. 226), *Gózesbrunno* (Suppl. to 368). A Swed. song names the *Helge Thors källa* in Småland, fr. which water is drawn on *Holy Thursday night* to cure blindness. Others are enumer. in Müllenh. p. 595. Mary is called 'alles *heiles ein lüter bach*' or '*heiles bach*,' Altswert 98, 23. 73. When the angel had troubled the water in the pool of *Bethesda*, whosoever then first stept in was made whole, John 5, 4. Rivers were led over graves and treasures (p. 251-2 n.).

p. 588.] A *youth-restoring fountain* is drunk of in May before sunrise, Tit. 6053. Another *jungbrunnen* in the poem of Abor, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 6. 7 and one in Wigamur 1611-5 by a limetree. M. Neth. *joocht-borre*, youth-bourn, Horae Belg. 6, 223. The eagle renews his youth at a fountain '*chóck-prunnen*,' Karajan 32, 12. 98, 5; conf. Griesh. Pred. 1, 29.

p. 590.] More about Scandín. *pilgrimages to springs* in Wieselgr. 389. 411. A Span. song tells of picking *flowers* on the *Guadalquivir* on *Midsum. morn*, Hone's Daybk 1, 851. At Warsaw, June 24, the girls throw *wreaths of roses* into the Vistula, and watch with joy or sadness their various ways of floating down the stream. This resembles the *Midsum. custom* of the Cologne women descr. by Petrarch, which Braun also in No. 23 of the Rhein. Jrb. traces to Christianity. The Schweiz. arch. 4, 87 says Petrarch first came to Germany in 1356, but his letter describing

the ceremony is dated 1330; in 1327 he saw Laura at Avignon, and then set out on his tour while yet a *youth*. Whom does he mean by the *spiritus pierii* of the Rhenish city? Alb. Magnus lived and taught at Cologne, but died in 1280; his pupil Thomas of Aquino also taught there for a time. Duns Scotus came to C. in 1308, and died there; Meister Eckhart (d. 1329) was at C., so was his pupil Tauler. The University was not founded till 1388.

p. 590 n.] Stieler p. 1402 mentions the following Easter custom: 'Habent Borussi verbum *schmack-ostern*, quod significat obviam quarto post tres dies Paschales oriente die venientes virgis caedere, sicut juvenus nostra facit quarto post ferias Natalitias die, et *kindelen* vocant in memoriam innocentium puerorum. *schmack* Borussis ferulam notat.' It is really more correct to derive the word from *smagać*, to flog (see Weinhold in Aufr. and Kuhn 1, 255) than from *śmigust*, ablution. Easter rods adorned with many-coloured ribbons are called *schmack-ostern*, Jrb. d. Berl. ges. f. d. spr. 10, 228-9. In Moravia *schmeck-ostern*, Kulda (d'Elv.) 114. Weinhold's Schles. w. 85 distinguishes between *schmag-oster* and *dyngus*.

p. 591.] In Norman stories, springs *run dry* when misfortune is nigh, Bosquet 201. Salt and medicinal springs *dry up* as soon as money is asked for them, Athen. 1, 288. A countryman died of consumption after a cool draught from a spring; and immediately it *ceased to flow*, Hpt's Ztschr. 3, 361. When a new spring *breaks out*, it is a sign of dearth, *ibid.* By the *rising* or *falling* of water in the Tilsgraben the inhabitants foretell a good or bad harvest, Harrys no. 2; conf. Müllenh. p. 104. When Wartha flats in Werra-dale have gone *unflooded* six years running, the farmer can eat off silver the seventh year, they say (Again: when the beaver builds his castle high, the water that year will run high too, Döbel's Pract. 1, 36^b). In Styria the *hungerbrunnen* are also called *hungerlaken*, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 43. At different periods the *Nile* had to rise different heights—22, 16, 14 or 12 yards [?—to meet the wants of the country, Herod. 2, 13. Strabo p. 788. Pliny 5, 10. Parthey's Plut. on Isis and Os. p. 243.

p. 592.] Whirlpool is in OHG. *suarb*, *suirbil* = vortex, Graff 6, 897; *sualm* = vorago in aqua, 6, 873; *huerbo* 4, 1237. Gr. *χάρυβδης*, Pott in Kuhn 5, 255. Serv. *kolovrat*, vortex (lit. wheel-turn) and *buk*, waterfall's roar (*bukati*, *mugire*). '*aitwinde*

(vel storm) = gorges, *eedewinde* = vortex,' Vocab. ms. Vratisl.; *aitveindu* = gorges, Diefenb. 271^b. Finn. 'korvalle tulinen kosken pyhän wirran pyörtehelle,' he went to the *firy waterfall* (Sw. *eldfors*), to the holy flood's *whirl*, Kalev. 1, 177; conf. 6, 92. 7, 785. 794-8. 17, 101. 314. 22, 10. 26, 198.—*Waterfall* is in OHG. *uazarchlinga* = *nympha*, Graff 4, 504; *wazardiezo* = *nympha* 5, 237. *wazzerdurh?* *uenster?* *cataracta*, Trier. ps. 41, 11. Windb. ps. 41, 11; *laufen*, Stald. 1, 444. Gr. *δίνος* and *δίνη*. The passage in Plutarch's *Cæsar* stands: *ποταμῶν δίναις καὶ ρευμάτων ἐλυμοῖς καὶ ψόφοις*. Homer has *ποταμὸς ἀργυρο-δίνης*, Il. 21, 130; he pictured waterfalls as horses flying *headlong*: *χαράδραι ρέουσαι ἐξ ὀρέων ἐπὶ κάρ* 16, 392. 'Tis a being below stirs up the whirlpool, Leopr. 106; Loki dwells in Frånangrs-fors, Sæm. 68. Sn. 69. At the *Donau-strudel* a spectre gives warning of death, Ann. Altahens., yr 1045; conf. the women in the Nibelg.

p. 596.] The Greek *rain-goddesses* are the Hours, who guard the cloud-gate of Olympus, opening or shutting, and by rain and sunshine ripen the fruits. The Hora has a *goblet*, which she rinses at the fountain, Theocr. 1, 150. Men also sacrificed to Zeus and Hera, when short of rain, Paus. ii. 25, 8. Gē (earth) is repres. in a picture, imploring Zeus for rain 1, 24. The Lith. *diewaitis* is god of thunder, *dewaite szwenta* goddess holy, g. of rain. The Esths call hoarfrost 'mother of mist,' Böcler 147. In Germany, as late as the 13th cent., dew was honoured as a benevolent being, Parz. 748, 28: 'geërt sî luft unde *tou*, daz hiute morgen ûf mich reis.' Dew drips from the manes of airy steeds: of Hrímfaxi, Sæm. 32^b; of the valkyria's horse 145^b (conf. p. 641).—The ceremony reported by Burchard is also quoted in Mone's *Gesch. des heident.* 2, 417 from Martin's *Rélig. des Gaules*. The Servian and (acc. to Schott) Wallachian custom of *wrapping round* reminds me of the Hyperborean votive offerings wrapt in ears of corn and carried by two virgins, Herod. 4, 33. Creuzer 2, 117. Were the maidens themselves wrapt up? and can the five *περφερέες* who escorted them be conn. with the rain-maiden's name *πορπηροῦνα*? conf. GDS. 865. In the new ed. of Vuk's *Dict.* the dance and rain-song are called *prporyshe* and the leader *prpatz*. When a priest touched the fountain with an *oaken bough*, the rain-cloud rose out of it, Paus. viii. 38, 3; so the French maire dips his foot in the well of Barenton. In Algeria,

when there is a long drought, they throw a few Marabouts into the river, like the Bavarian *water-bird*, GDS. 54. Kl. schr. 2, 445 seq.

p. 598.] Nero was going to *measure* the Aleyonic lake with ropes, Paus. ii. 37, 5. The story in Thiele 3, 73 about sounding the lake is Swed. also, Runa '44, 33. L. Wetter cries: '*müt min längd!*' Wieselgr. 459. On the Esth. worship of water, conf. Kreutzwald's Prof. to Kalewipoeg xii., and his and Neu's Myth. lieder 113; at 114 occurs the hauling up of a *goat's skull*.

p. 601.] To the river is sacrificed (pp. 45. 494) a *reindeer*, Castrén's Reise 342. In wading through clear water you utter a prayer, Hesiod's Erga 735; in crossing a river you take an *auspicium*, Rudorff 25, 218. Water-ordeals in the Rhine, RA. 935; conf. the *Fontinalia*, Rudff 15, 221. Lake and river are often personified: in Irish fairytales (1, 86—89. 2, 144—152) the *lake* is *lent out*, and is carried away in a many-cornered cloth. 'Three *loud laughs* the river gave,' Fleming 373. There is a myth of a wood or mountain sprite, who *scatters rivers* into dust, Praetor. Katzenveit p. 102—6; conf. the *stiebende brugge*, Habsb. urbar. 94, 4, i.e. a devil's bridge. In Denmark, on the approach of spring, they say of a god or genius: '*kaster en warm steen i vandet,*' F. Magnusen's Lex. 958; do they mean Thor?

Curiously the MB. 13, 18. 42 speaks of an Adalbero *filius Danubii*; 13, 96 Alberus *filius Danubii*; 13, 96 Gozwinus *de Danubio*, Albertus et Engelbertus *de Danubio*. And the *Suale*, *Neckar*, *Lahn*, *Leine* are introd. as persons (p. 494 and Suppl.); conf. Hebel's personific. of the *Wiese*.

With the notion of *ouwe*, *éa* conf. AS. *holm*=mare profundum, though ON. *hólmr* means iusula, and OS. *holm* even collis. The Celts too had *holy* islands, Mone's Heident. 2, 377—380.

Our *meer* (sea), neut., though Goth. *marci* and OS. *marí* are both fem., OHG. *meri*, m. and n., has in it something divine: *εἰς ἄλλα δῖαν*, Od. 11, 2 and elsewhere. Ocean is in Lettic *deewa uppe*, God's river, Bergm. 66. To the sea men sacrificed: '*nostri quidem duces mare ingredientes immolare hostias fluctibus consueverunt,*' Cic. de Nat. D. 3, 20. Homer furnishes it with a back, *νότος*, which need not imply a beast's figure, for even OHG. has '*mers buosen*, *mers barm*,' bosom, Graff 3, 154. It can be angry with men: *daz wilde mer ist mir gram*, En. 7659; *das*

wasser *gram*, das böse mer, Diocl. 7336; de *sture sê*, Partonop. 95, 27. It is wild, it storms and raves: *saevum* mare, Tac. Hist. 4, 52; über den *wilden sê*, MS. 1, 72^b; daz *wilde* mer, Troj. kr. 6922, etc.; des *wilden wâges* fluot, Gerh. 3966, etc.; daz *tobende* mer, Troj. kr. 5907, etc.; daz *wüetunde* mer, Servat. 3260, etc.; la mer *betée*, Ogier 2816, Prov. 'mar *betada*,' Rayn. sub v.; de *ruskende* see, Uhl. Volksl. 200-1; das *wibende wabende* wasser, Garg. 111; *sîd* wæter, Cædm. 7, 2. The Fris. *salt*, like ἄλς, means both salt and sea, Ssk. *lavanâmbhas*, mare salsum, Welsh *hallfor*, salt sea, Ir. muir *salmhar*, AS. *sealt* wæter, Cædm. 13, 6. Why the sea is salt, is told in Sn. 147. The sea is *pure*, she tolerates no *blood*, Anno 227-8, just as the ship will have no *dead corpse*, Pass. f. 379^b. She 'ceased from her raging' as soon as Jonah was thrown in.—Real proper names of the sea are: *Oegir* (p. 237), conf. AS. wæter-*egesa*, and 'diu *freise* der wilden unde,' Tit. 2567; *Gýmir*, conf. *gýmis leoð* qveða, Yngl. sag. c. 36; *Brîmir*, akin to *brim*; and *Geofen* (p. 239). Names of particular seas: *wendilmeri*, *endilmeri*, *lebermeri*, Graff 2, 820. To Ælfred, *wendelsæ* is the Black Sea, only a part of the Mediterranean; daz tiefe *wentelmere*, Diut. 3, 48; *wendelsê*, Tundal 42^a, 4, and often in Morolt; *wendelzee*, Bergh's Ndr. volksr. p. 146. Then: *lebermer*, Wh. 141, 20. Tit. 5448. 6005. Amûr 1730. Fundgr. 2, 4. Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 276. 294. Wigalois sub v.; in dem *rôten lebermer*, Barl. 262, 16; *labermer*, Ernst 3210; *leversê*, Walew. 5955; *leverzee*, V. d. Bergh 103. 127. With this term conf. the *πλεῦμων θαλάττιος*, sea-lung, of Pytheas; F. Magn. traces this lung to the dismembered Ymir. For *gârsecg*, conf. my first ed., Vorr. xxvii, and Hpt's Ztschr. 1, 578. Dahlmann in Forsch. 1, 414 explains *gars-ecg* as earth's edge; Kemble, Gl. sub v. *secg*, as homo jaculo armatus! For *gârsecg* in the Periplus, Rask writes *garsege*, but explains nothing; conf. Cædm. 8, 1. 195, 24. 199, 27. 205, 3. Beow. 97. 1024. The ON. *lagastafir* is at once sea and sown crop, Sæm. 50-1; Gudr. 1126-8 has 'daz *vinstermer*,' sea of darkness. Lastly, *Dumbs-haf*, *Dauða-haf*, Fornald. sög. 2, 4.—The sea advances and retires, has *ebb* and *flood* (on 'ebb' conf. Gramm. 3, 384 and Kl. schr. 3, 158); on the alleged Fris. and Sax. equivalents *malina* and *liduna*, see Gramm. 3, 384 note. The ON. *kólga* and *ólga*=aestus maris: 'er saman qvômo *kólgo systir* (fluctus undantes) ok kilir lāngir,' Sæm. 153^a. Ebb and

flood are in Grk. ἄμπωτις and ῥαχία, Paus. 1, 3; in Irish *con-traiht* and *robart*, Zeuss 833. The sea-waves are often treated as living beings: 'dâ nâmen ez die unden, diu eine ez der andern gap, unde truogenz verre sô hinab,' the waves caught it, passed it one to the other, etc., Pass. 313, 73. Three *plunging waves* are three witches, and get *wounded*; the *waterspout* is also a witch, Müllenh. p. 225. On the *nine waves*, conf. Passow sub. v. τρικυμία, πεντακυμία: 'ἐν τρικυμiais φερομένω,' Procop. 1, 318. In a storm it is the *ninth wave* that sinks the ship, Wright 1, 290 after Leo Allatins; it also occurs in Ir. sagen u. mäch. 1, 86. ON. *skajfl* = unda decumana, probably no more than a very high one, from skefla, acervare.

2. FIRE.

p. 602.] Fire is a living being. With *quec-fur* conf. *queckiu licht*, Ernst 2389. You can kill it: *trucidare ignem*, Lucr. 6, 146. You can wake it: *æled weccan*, Cædm. 175, 26; *bælfýra mæst weccan*, Beow. 6281. It is wild: conf. 'wildfire' (pp. 603. 179); *Logi villi-eldr*, Sn. 60; *Hans Wilds-fewer*, MB. 25, 375; ein *wildez viur* slouc in daz dach, Troj. kr. 11317; daz *wilde fur* spranc ûz den vlinzen herte 12555; daz *grimme wilde fuwer*, Rab. 659; daz *starke w. f.* 698; daz *w. f.* ûz den swerten spranc 412; daz *grimme f.* als ein lonp ûz den huof-isen stonp (spirted out of the horse-shoes), Dietr. 9325; daz *f. vlouc freislich* ûz helmen u. ûz ringen 8787. It is a devouring beast: *strudende* (desolating) *fýr*, Cædm. 154, 15; *brond* (glêð) *sceal fretan*, consume, Beow. 6024. 6223; in *pabulum ignis*, in *fuatar* (fodder) des *fiures*, Diut. 1, 496^a; dem *viure* geben ze *mazze*, as meat, Fundgr. 2, 131. It is insatiable, like hell or avarice, Freid. 69, 5; the fire saith not 'it is *enough*,' Prov. 30, 16; *eld*, *æled* (fr. alan, nourish) means *ignis pastus*, the fed and steady flame; conf. ἐκ δὲ θυμάτων Ἡφαιστος οὐκ ἔλαμπε, Soph. Antig. 1007. It licks: Lith. 'ugnis laizdo pro stoga,' at the roof; conf. *tunga*, *tungal* (p. 700); seven kindlings or seven tongues of flame, Colebr. Essays 1, 190. It snatches, filches: *fýres feng*, Beow. 3525; se *fýr* beoð *þeof*, Ine 43, like Loki and the devil. It plays: *leikr hâr hiti*, Sæm. 9^b; *leiki yfir logi!* 68^b; *leikr yfir lindar-váði* 192^a; *lácende lig*, El. 579. 1111; *lar* (fire) *super turrim saliit*, Abbo de b. par. 1, 548. It flies up like a red cock (p. 670): den *rothen hahn* zum gibel

ausjagen, Schottel 1116^b; der *rothe hahn* kräht aus dem dach, Firmen. 1, 292^b; der *gelbe hahn*, yellow cock 1, 208^a; conf. *blácan fýres*, ignis pallidi, Cædm. 231, 13; fire glitters with seeds of *gold*, Holtzm. Ind. sag. 3, 194; faces *aureas* quatiunt *comas*, Catull. 59, 92. It travels, *nigram viam* habens, Bopp's Gl. 83^a. Holtzm. 3, 194. In the Edda it is brother to the wind and sea; so Ssk. *pávaka*, fire, is lit. cleanser, fr. *pû* (Suppl. to 632, beg.), Bopp's Vocal. 205, conf. Gramm. 126 (new ed. 213-6), and *pavana*, wind, is from the same root, Bopp (conf. Gramm. 124); besides, fire is called *vayusakhi*, wind's companion. It flows: *daz viur flóz*, Livl. reimchr. 5956; in Holstein, when a fire breaks out, they call it *hot rain*, Schütze 4, 340; and the ON. *hripuðr*, fire, Sæm. 40^a seems to be fr. *hripa*, perfluere.

There was a time when *fire was unknown*, for the giants have none (Suppl. to 530): 'fiure was in tiure' dear, scarce, to them, Gudr. 104, 1. That time is still remembered in Kalevala 16, 247-8 (Castrén 1, 195) and our nursery tales. Fire belonged to the gods; it was stolen by Prometheus, and given to men. Acc. to a Finn. song it is created: an eagle strikes a fire for Wäinä-möinen, Petersb. Extract 3. Other traditions make a *little bird* (*rebló*, *troglodyte*) bring it from heaven, Pluquet p. 44. Bosquet 220. A contrast to the fireless time is the Dan. *arild-tid*, fr. *arild*, fireplace (*ild*, fire), Swed. *äril*, focus, Westg. *arell*, Helsing. *areld*.

p. 603.] Fire is holy: *ignis sacer* meant lightning, Amm. Marcell. 23, 5; conf. *igne felici*, Grotf. Umbr. 7, 5. Fire is called *sacrifice-eater*, Holtzm. Ind. s. 1, 24-6, and four times in Bopp's Gl. 401^b; *eldr sâ er aldri sloknaði* was called *vígðan eld*, Landn. ed. nov. p. 336. Being often found a hostile power, it was used in cursing, or was conjured by a spell. Other Fr. forms of cursing are: *male flambe t'arde!* Ren. 20762; *feu arde son musel!* Berte 116; conf. Holland to Yvain p. 222. The fire-cry in E. Gothland was: *kumbär eldär lös*, Östg. lag 229. *Fire-spells* are given in Mone's Anz. 7, 422-7. A fire is adjured in these words: 'brand, stand als dem dode *sein rechte hand!*' be still as the dead man's hand, Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 337. If you can charm a fire, it *jumps behind you* while you do it, and you must run for your life (Meiningen), Hpt's Ztschr. 3, 363. Remigius *puts a fire to flight*, and *locks it up*, Flodoardus 1, 12. *White angels* quench

a fire (Suppl. to xliii. end, and to 366.—Fire can be stifled with *clothes* that have been *worn some time*, whereas in a Lüttich legend the earth-fire attacks some men who wear *new unwashed* smocks, and is flogged with ropes, rods and sticks, Wolf's Ndr. s. no. 407. To an outbreak of *helle-viur*, which cannot be stamped out, you must sacrifice a *knight* in gorgeous array, Kschr. 1138-41. 1160—72. 1229; he tries while on *horseback* to *speak away* the fire, but falls and breaks his neck, Der Causenmacher, a play, Leipz. 1701, p. 152-6, and pref. A fire put out by means of a *horse*, Thür. Ztschr. 2, 505. To extinguish a fire, a woman in childbed, whose feet must *not touch the ground*, is carried to the fire, and uttering *mystic spells* throws a *new-baked loaf* into the flames (Austria). On quenching fires and driving out cattle, see Tettau and Temme's Pr. sag. 263. There are people who see a fire *burning beforehand*: you must then take out the beam they indicate, or *conjure* the fire *into an oak* with a bung, Müllenh. p. 570. Ossian speaks of pulling out *oaks*, so that *fire springs* out of them. —Fires *leap out of the ground* like water, Paus. ii. 34, 2: ein michel vûwer sich truoc ûf (ûz?) der erden munde (mouth), Pass. 359, 58; als *viurîn ursprunge* (fiery springs) dâ waeren ensprungen, Lanz. 2590. *Burning mountains* may be seen on seals of the 14th cent., MsH. 4, 280^a, conf. *Pymont, Brennenberg*. Fire struck out of a helmet may be caught on a *schoup* (truss of rye), Er. 9206. *Eggs* put out fire: 'holt lescil van eia, wâdi ne brennid'; ovorum autem tantam vim esse dicunt, ut lignum eis perfusum non ardeat, ac ne vestis quidem contacta aduratur, Gl. Argentor. Diut. 2, 194^a. *Milk, camel's milk* quenches fire, Ferabr. 3348.

p. 603.] The Indians had three sorts of fire: *common, celestial, frictile*, Holtzm. Ind. s. 3, 112. In Oegir's hall was '*ljysi-gull fyrir elds-liôs*,' Sæm. 59. Out of helmets and swords came fire and light: ob in des *fiures* zerinnet (when short of fire), daz kunnen sie wol suochen in *helm-spange*, Tit. 3222; among the Ases the *sword gives light*, Sn. 79; it shines in the dark, Landn. 1, 5; 'sin swert hiez si in bar nemen sunder sîn gewant . . . daz er'z mit im naeme, sô 'r in die helle quaeme, in die vinsternisse, daz er im gewisse dâmite *liuhten* solde,' Eu. 2858 (she bids Aeneas take his *naked sword*, that when he came into hell's darkness, he should *light* him therewith). Virgil, it is true,

makes Aeneas draw his sword (vi. 260. 291), but not to give light. Again: 'zuch hervor dîn swert, dû trage 'z in dîner hand bar, unde liuchte dir dâmite' 3172. Nothing of the kind in Virgil.—*Flint-eld* is struck over cattle, Dybeck's Runa '44, 7. If sparks fly out of a beam that is being hewn, it betokens fire to the house into which it is built, Müllenh. p. 570.

p. 607.] *Wildfire* is described in Miede's Hasenmelker p. 43. Needfire must be rubbed by two brothers, or at least two men of the same Christian name, (Fischer's) buch vom Abergl., Leipz. 1791, p. 177. Some new facts are coll. by Colshorn 231-2. 350-1. The Mecklenbg custom is described by Lisch 6^b, 127; that of the Moravian shepherds by Kulda (d'Elv.) 123-4. A giant rubs fire out of stones, Rother 1041 (acc. to two readings). The *notten* held on Midsum. Night, and twice mentioned in the Acct bk of Frankfort city, yr 1374, points to the supposed root hniudan.

p. 608.] Swed. accounts of *gnid-eld* (rubbed fire) run thus: 'Genom *gnideld* tagen i en ekesticke (piece of oak) från ett snöre (string) som så länge dragits fram och ater (pulled to and fro) i en hus-dörr, till-dess det blifvit antändt (kindled), och derefter 3 gånger ansyls förd omkring personen, samt med ett serdeles formulär signad, berökas och botas sjuka kreatur (cattle besmoked and cured).' Again: 'För samma ändamal borras hål (hole bored) uti en ek, hvaruti genom en pinne *eld gvides*, dermed antändes 9 *slags träd*, öfver hvilken kreaturen böra gå'; conf. Suppl. to 1089 (?).

p. 609.] Cows or calves are sacrific. elsewhere too, to protect the herd from plague: 'När *kalfvorne* mycket bordö, skall man våldsamt fatta an vid hufvudet framläppa honom ifrån kjötten, och honom verkeligen hals-hugga öfver fähu-sträskeln,' Rääf. A *live cow* is buried in the ground against murrain, Wieselgr. 409; or *one of the herd* under the stable-door (p. 1142); conf. Wolf's Märch. p. 327, where a cow's head is cut off and laid in the loft (see p. 1188).

p. 610.] In Ssk. *needfire* or *wildfire* is called rub-fire, and is produced by rubbing a male and a female stick together, Böhrtling 1, 522, conf. 1, 404. Acc. to Kuhn's Rec. d. Rigv. p. 98, it is rubbed out of the *arani* (premna spinosa). Holtzm. Ind. s. 3, 122; is this the aihvatundi? Weber's Ind. stud. 2, 4 says it comes

out of Pranava, the bow and arrow of self (the lotus-flower). The Arabs call the old-fashioned fire-rubbing sticks *zend* and *zendet*, the first being the upper and male, the second the female or lower one with the hole in it; striking steel and stone together is reckoned a barbarism, Rückert's *Hariri* 1, 648-9. Finn. *hela-vaalkya* (fr. *hela*, the spring festival), ignis non ex silice, sed ex lignis duobus vi confricatis elicitus; also *kitkan-vaalkya*, rub-fire, Renvall 1, 64.

p. 611.] A *perpetual fire* was kept up by the Israelites, Levit. 6, 12-3; and is still by Parsees and Guebers, as among the ancient Persians. Such a fire burned on the altar of Athena Polias at Athens, Paus. i. 26, 7, and in the temple of Pan in Arcadia, viii. 37, 8. Famous oracles maintained ever-burning fires, as that of Delphi, whose priests in time of war conveyed the sacred flame to Plataea, Plut. Numa cap. 9; conf. Valckenaer on Herod. 6, 108; so the fires of Delos were carried to Lemnos, Welcker's Aeschyl. Trilog. p. 247 seq. We know the undying fire of Hestia, Vesta. Colonies took their *sacred fire* with them from the mother-city; if it happened to go out, there alone could they light it again, Larcher on Herod. 1, no. 360. Wachsm. Hell. alterth. i. 1, 102. ii. 2, 118. Münter's Rel. d. Carth. p. 49. The Samogitians nourished a perpetual fire, Lasiecz. 56. On the *eternal lamp* in the worship of Mary, see Lange's Abh. v. d. ewigen lampe (Verm. schr., Leipz. 1832) pp. 191—204.

p. 614.] Toland's Hist. of Druids (quoted in Hone's Yrbk 876 seq.) supposes three *bealtines* in the year, May 1, Midsum. eve, Nov. 1. The first of May and of Nov. were called *beltan*, says Villemarqué's Bardes Bretons p. 386-7. GDS. 108. On *Bel*, see Diefenb. Celt. 1, 185, Stokes 349. Jamieson (Daybk 2, 659). The great and little *Bel*, Meier's Schwäb. sag. 297. On *Beltaine*, *Belton eve*, see Stewart's Pop. superst. 258 seq. Brand's Pop. Antiq. 1, 337. Stokes 349. Michelet 1, 452 seq. Ir. sag. u. märch. 1, 275-6. 2, 479. The May fire is also called *koelkerz*, *coelcerth*, Villem. B.B. 232. 385-6-7, but he does not explain the word; elsewh. *coel* is omen, fides, and *certh* signum.—An Armoric folk-song speaks of *eight fires*, and of the *father-fire* being lighted in May, Villem. Barzas breiz 1, 8; Hone's Daybk 2, 659. 866 puts the chief fire on Midsum. Day. *Sambhuinn* means Nov. 1 (O'Brien: samhainn = Allhallows-tide). The Druidic November-

fire was also called *tlachdgha*, *tine tlachdgha*, O'Brien sub v. The sacred fires are thus described in O'Connor's Proleg. 1, 24: 'duos ignes splendentes faciebant druidae cum incantationibus magnis supra eis, et ducebant greges quos cogebant transire per eos ignes'; conf. O'Brien sub v. bealtine. *Horses' heads* were thrown into the May-fire in Ireland, Hone's Daybk 2, 595 (as into the Midsum. fire in Germany, p. 618).

p. 617.] On *Easter-fires*, conf. Woeste p. 288; dat *osterfür anboiten*, J. v. Scheppau's Oster-pred. p. 8; das *ostermaen-luchten* in Wilster-marsch, Müllenh. p. 168. Even in S. Germany, e.g. about Abensberg in Lower Bavaria, they used at Easter time to burn the *ostermann*. After service at church a fellow lighted a candle, ran out into the fields with it, and set the straw Easter-man on fire. A Paderborn edict of 1781 abolished the *Easter-fire*, Wigand's Pad. and Corv. 3, 281. 1, 317. Instead of *bocks-thorn* (p. 616 n.), Groten's Gesch. v. Northeim 1723, p. 7 says: 'On this hill the *bocks-horn* was held within the memory of man.' The Easter *squirrel-hunt* in the Harz (p. 616) reminds of the Lay of Igor (Hanka p. 68), where every householder pays a *squirrel* by way of tax. Akin to Easter-fires are the *Walburgs* (Mayday) *fires*, Müllenh. p. 168: in Rügen, on Mayday eve, took place a *molkenoverschen bernen* with fire-bladders (p. 1072 n.), conf. Osnabr. verein 3, 229; on the Hundsrück the young men and boys are allowed to *cut wood* in the forest on St. Walburg's eve, Weisth. 2, 168.

p. 620.] The *sol-stitium* is in Homer τροπή ἡελίου, Od. 15, 404; ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς, Procop. B. Goth. 2, 13; ἀμφὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς 3, 27. The Bavar. records have *sunwenden*, *sunbenden*, the Aleman. *sungihten*: 'ze *sungihten*,' Weisth. 1, 293. 304. 316—8; ze *singeht* 1, 325; nach *sungehten* 1, 669; ze *sungiden* 1, 322-3; zu *sungihite* 1, 708; zu *singihiten* 1, 745; *singiht-tag* 1, 727; *sungeht-tag* 1, 669; *singehtag*, Namenbüchl. p. 114. The AS. *sungiht*, solstitium, stands in Menolog. for June 24; Schilter on Königsh. p. 458 has the whole passage. MHG. drî tage vor *sunegihiten*, Lanz. 7051; conf. *bette-gâht*, N. Cap. 46, kirch-giht (-going, Oberlin).—Vor der *sunnewenden*, Bamb. recht. ed. Zöpfl 154; 'hiute ist der ahte tac nâch *sunnewenden*, dâ sol daz jârât enden.' Iw. 2940.

Midsummer was a great time for meetings and merrymakings:

'ze einen *sunewenden* dâ Sîfrit *ritters namen gewan*,' Nib. 32, 4; 'vor disen *sunewenden*' Siegfried and Kriemhilt visit Worms 670, 3. 694, 3; and it is during the wedding festivities at Midsummer that Siegfried is killed, as may be fairly inferred, if it is not expressed. The wedding in the Heunenland is to take place 'zen nachsten *sunewenden*' 1424, 4; and the heroes arrive at Etzel's court 'an *sunewenden âbent*' 1754, 1. On Midsum. day the Zurich people carry their hot pottage over the water to Strassburg, Glückh. schiff, v. 194 seq.—On *sunwend-fires*, see Panz. Beitr. 1, 210 seq. Sunwent was corrup. into *summit*, *simmefeur*, Leopr. 182; *simentfeuer*, H. Sachs 1, 423^d; *sommerfeuer*, Albertini's Narrenhatz 100; *S. Johannis-fürle*, Germ. 1, 442. A sage remark on the sonwend-fire in Firmen. 2, 703; *feuia hupfa z' Johanne*, Schuegraf der wäldler p. 31. Always a *lad and lass* together, in couples, jump over the fire, Leopr. 183; some wantonly push others in, and spread their coat over the hot coals, Gesch. v. Gaustall (Bamb. ver. 8, 112). At Vienna, common women, loose girls, danced at the Midsum. fire, Schlager's Wiener skizzen 1, 270. 5, 352. *Fiery wheels* are driven in Tyrol and Hungary, Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 286-7. 270-1, and in Austria, Duller p. 46-7; conf. the joy-fires of Swiss herdsmen in the *Poster-nights*, Stald 1, 209. 210. Prohibitions of the Midsum. fire, Kaltenbäck's Pantaid. 98^b. 104^a.

p. 624.] On Engl. *bonfires*, see Hone's Daybk 1, 827. 846. 851-2. Brand 1, 299 seq. In France embers taken home from a John's-fire, in England any *live coals* are a protection against magic, Hone's Yrbk 1553. *Brising*, the Norweg. for Midsum. fires, may be akin to *bris*=*flamma*, *brisa*=*flammare* (Aasen), conf. *brasa*, our *prasseln*, to crackle. *Midsum. fires* flamed in Sweden too, 9 sorts of wood being used, and 9 sorts of flowers picked for posies, Runa '44, p. 22. Wieselgr. 411. In Spain they gathered *verbenas* in the dawn of St. John's day, and lighted fires, over which they leapt, Handbk of Sp. 1, 270^b. A St. John's fire in Portugal is descr. in the Jrb. d. Berl. sprachges. 8, 373. 'John's folk' is what the Letts call those who bring John's-wort (*hypericum*, and *raggana kauli*, witch's bones), and sing songs, Stender's Gram. p. 50, Dict. 85^a; on St. John's morning a wreath of flowers, or hawthorn, is hung over the doors, Fr. Michel's Races maud. 2, 147. In Esthonia they light a John's

fire, and gather a bundle of sweet-smelling herbs; these the girls put under their pillows, and what they dream comes true, Pos-sart's Esthl. p. 172. On the *Zobten-berg* in Silesia (fr. Sobota, sabbath) the Slavs kept their *sobotky*, Schafarik 2, 407 of transl.; it is also called 'mons Slesie, mons czobothus,' conf. Dietmar (in Pertz 5, 855). Moravia too has its John's fires, Kulda (in d'Elv) 111-2. Plato de Legg. 19, 945 speaks of a festival following the summer solstice.

p. 625.] To Ovid's picture of the Palilia, add that of Tibullus ii. 5, 87:

at madidus Baccho sua festa Palilia pastor
concinet: a stabulis tunc procul este, lupi!
ille levis stipulae solemnibus potus acervos
accendet, flammam transilietque sacras.

p. 628.] In Christmas-fires, mark the practice of saving up the half-burnt *yule-log*, Gefken's Cat. 56. Other fires are the *Shrovetide fire*, Stalder 1, 356, and the so-called *hoop-driving* (burning wheel) in Up. Swabia on the first Sunday in Lent, the N. Frisian *biiken-brennen* on Febr. 22, see Müllenh. p. 167.

p. 630.] Old examples of illumination: Joh. Chrys. Or. in red. Flaviani c. 4: ὅπερ οὖν ἐποιήσατε στεφανώσαντες τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ λύχνους ἄψαντες. Greg. Naz. Or. de red. Athanasii 21 p. 391: ἐὼ λέγειν . . . πᾶσαν φωτὶ καταστραπτομένην πόλιν. Choricii Gazaei Orr., ed. Boissonade '46 p. 101: σκεύεσι δὲ φωτὸς εἰργασμένοις εὐφημοῦμεν τοὺς εὐεργέτας. splendida fuit illuminatio; nos is fuit veterum diebus laetis ac festis. Ann. Worm. 1251 (Böhm. Font. 2, 168): regem incensis candelis et campanis pulsatis singulis diebus festivis denunciare. *Trees of candles* were carried in processions, Lünzel's Stiftsfehde 135-6. 279; vil liehtes gap dâ manec rone, Türl. Wh. 99^b (conf. Sæm. 22^b: med brennandom liosom oc bornom viðī). The Ksrehr. 91 has *brinnende ólvaz*. Walth. 28, 14 speaks only of ringing bells: ir werdent hôh enpfangen, ir sît wol wert daz wir die *gloggen* gen iu *liuten*.

3. AIR.

p. 632.] Wind is in Ssk. *anila* = ἄνεμος, also *pavana*, cleanser, fr. pû, like pāvaka, fire (Suppl. to 602). So in Finn. *tuuli* ventus,

tuli ignis; conf. 'des *flouwers wint*,' Gudr. 499, 2, and *viwer-rôter wint*, Nib. 1999, 2. An OHG. *suëp* = *aër*, Graff 6, 856, ON. *svif* = motus repentinus, vibratio. As *Wôdan* is the all-pervading æther, *Zeus* is equiv. to *aër*: ἀήρ ὃν ἄν τις ὀνομάσειε καὶ Δία, Frag. Philem. in Meineke 4, 32 (Euripides has *aether* for *Zeus*). In Latin also, *Jupiter* stands for *aër*, Valcken. ad Herod. 2, 13; conf. 'plurimus *Jupiter* = *michil luft*,' air, Gl. Sletst. 6, 467; and Servius ad Aen. 1, 51 says *Juno* was taken to mean air. The Greeks *sacrificed* to Boreas, Xen. Anab. (Koch 92). The Scythians worship *ἀνεμος* as cause of life, and the sword as that of death, Lucian's Tox. 38. GDS. 222. 459. The Finns call a *μαλακία* (calm) *Wäinämöinen's way*, *Väinämöisen tie* or *kulku*: the god has walked, and all is hushed; he is named *Suvantolainen* fr. *suvanto*, locus ubi aqua quiescit. The Norse *Andvari* is a dwarf, but also ventus levis, contrarius; conf. *Bifliði*, *óskabyrr* (pp. 149. 637), *Wüetelgôz* (p. 367 n.), *þoden* (Suppl. to 132 end). In the Mid. Ages Paul and John 'habent *dâ ze himile weteres gewalt*,' Kscrchr. 10948; they are the *weather-lords*, and their day (June 26) the hail-holiday, Scheff. *Haltaus* 111.—*Walt-wint* = *auster*, Mone's Anz. 8, 409, because it originates in the forest. The winds have a home: *Vindheim* *vîðau byggja*, Sæm. 10^a. *Wint*, *Wintpôz*, *Wintesbal*? are prop. names, Graff 1, 624. Wind is the windhund (greyhound), Kuhn in Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 131, as *Donner*, *Sturm* are names of dogs. Wind is worshipped: 'des *solt der luft sîn gêret* (air be honoured) *von spers krache*,' Tit. 2, 2; 'er *neic gegen dem winde* der *dâ wâte* von *Gotlinde*,' bowed to the wind that blew fr. G., Helmbr. 461; 'stâ *bî*, *lâ mich den wint anwaejen* (let the wind fan me), *der kumt von mines herzen küneginnen*,' MS. I, 6^b. Wind is spoken of as a person, it *goes*, *stands still*: *spiritus ubi vult spirat*, 'der *wint waeje als er welle*,' blow as he would, Barl. 257, 11; 'vlôch (flew) *waer die wint ghebôt*,' bade, Maerl. in Kästner 18^b. Winds *ride*, Ahlw. on Oisian 2, 278. They guide people: 'quel *vent vos quie*?' Ren. 2127. 3728; 'quel *vent vos maine*?' 2675; 'quel *vent vos mene et quel oré*?' 2654 = whence come you? conf. 'what *devil, cuckoo* brings you here?' (p. 1013). They are *wild*, Trist. 2415. Greg. 646. 754. Renn. 22962; angry: *erzürnet* sind die *lüfte*,' Dietr. u. ges. 393; 'die *lüfte solden zürnen*' at the height of the towers, Servat. 84. The air groans,

mutters, grunts: 'grunzet fone ungewitere,' N. Cap. 58; 'grôt wint ende gesoech,' Lanc. 3899; 'die winde begunnen *swege*len,' began to pipe, Servat. 3233; conf. 'up dem windes *horne*,' Weisth. 3, 231. On *Fönn*, *Drîfa*, *Miöll*, see GDS. 685.

p. 632.] Of the *wind's bride*: mit einer *windes-briute* wurden sie getwungen, Servat. 2302; in nam ein *windes-brût* 2844; flugen vaster dan ein *w. b.*, Engelh. 4771; daz diu *w. b.* gelît, Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 381; gelîch der *windesbrüite*, Troj. kr. 33571. Luther says *windsbraut* for ventus typhonicus, Acts 27, 14. Old glosses have *nimphus*, *nimpha*, stormwind, Graff 1, 625; is this a misapplication of nimbus? or a congener? In France they speak of the *whining of Melusine* (p. 434), who in Bohemia passes for a goddess of wind, and to whom they throw flour out of the window for her children (Suppl. to 636); conf. the whimpering of the Vila, and the weeping of the Esth. *tuuleema*, wind's mother, Böcler 146-7. Is the Swiss *harein*, Stald. 2, 21, fr. OHG. *harên* = clamare, Graff 4, 578, or fr. *charôn* = queri 5, 465? — Other expressions for wind's bride: *wind-gelle* = venti pellex (snê-gelle), Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 290. Rocholz 2, 408; Bavar. *wind-gäspêrl*, Swab. *wind-gäspele*, Leopr. 101. 120; Bavar. *windsch-brach*, *-brausz*, Panz. Beitr. 2, 209; *sau-kegel*, Rocholz 2, 187. OHG. *wanda* = turbo, Graff 1, 761; ON. *roka*, turbo. Other OHG. terms: *ungistuomi* = strepitus (MHG. *ungestüm*, vehementia aëris, Superst. H. cap. 77); *ungewitiri* = tempestas, procella, Graff 1, 630; *arapeit* = do. do. 1, 407; *heifti* = tempestas, Windb. 308. 313; *unst* = procella, tempestas, AS. *úst*; with *treip* = agebat (nubila ventus), Graff 5, 482, conf. ON. *drîfa*, snowstorm, *drîfa örva*, a storm of arrows. — Heralds of winter were 'twer und sûrin *bîse*,' MS. 2, 193^b; contrary wind is in MHG. *twer* or *twere*, and ON. *And-pvari*, *Andvari* is said to be that as well as a dwarf's name; conf. 'von luftes *geduere*,' Himelr. 292 (Hpt's Ztschr. 8, 153), 'die winde sluogen in *entwer*,' Hpt 7, 378-9. A hurricane, squall, flaw, is called *flâge* in Pass. and Jeroschin; windes *vlâgen*, Marienleg. 84, 21. 87, 8; die wint ene *vlaghe* brachte, Rose 13151. Maerl. 3, 189; Dut. *vlaag*, Gothl. *flagä*, *vindflagä*, Almquist 422^b; 'rotten und sturmwinde,' Luther's Letters 5, 155. In Slavic it is *vikhr*, Pol. *wicher*, Boh. *wichr*; Lith. *ummaras*, *vësulas*, whirlwind (conf. our provinc. 'eilung,' M. Neth. *ylinge*, Wessel's Bibel p. 7, with ON. *êl*, *jel*, nimbus).

The Greeks had ἄελλα, θύελλα, λαῖλαψ, Ital. fortuna di mare = storm.

p. 633.] *Zio* resembles Mars and Indras, the god of winds and of souls, who with his Maruts or spirits of storm makes war on the giants of darkness, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 488-9. 6, 131. Wuotan, the god of the Wild Hunt, sweeps like the storm through *open doors* (p. 926-7, etc.). Hodeke howls (Suppl. to 511 beg.). Both wind's bride and devil are called *sow-tail* (p. 996) or hammer (p. 999): conf. *sau-kegel*, Rochoholz 2, 187; in Bavaria *wind-sau*, Zingerle's Oswalt 83 (*αἰγίς*, goatskin, hurricane). Frau *Fiuk* or *Frick* also acts as goddess of wind, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 376. 6, 131; conf. the *fahrende mutter*, Wolf's Ndr. sag. no. 518. At a village near Passau they call the whirlwind *mueml*, aunty: 'mueml ist drin!' (m. is also toad); or else *schratl*, Schm. 3, 519. 522. The hurricane has hands: 'nu bin ich sturmwinden alhrst *in die hant* gevarn,' fallen, Trist. 8848.

p. 635.] Was there a wind named *Vorwitz* (prurient curiosity)?

do kam ein wint geflogen dar,

der ist *virwitz* genant,

in hânt die meide wol erkant

unde ouch die vrouwen über alle lant.

Renn. 84.

sân kumt *her virwitz* gerant

und *loeset* den meiden *ûf* (unlooses) *diu bant*. Renn. 268.¹

Conf. 'der *fürwitz*, so jungfern theuer machet,' Simplic. 1, 568; 'hine *fyrwit bræc*,' Beow. 464. 3966, 5565; *virwitz segens*, Turl. Wh. 128^a (Suppl. to 273 n.); 's sticht's der *wunderwitz*, Hebel 157; *fürwitz*, der krämer (huckster), Uhl. Volksl. 636. OHG. *firiwizi* is also portentum, mirificum, Graff 1, 1099; 'man saget mir von kinde, daz keme uns von dem *winde*,' Erlösung 2440.—As the North had its storm-giant Hræsvelg, Kl. Grooth's Quickborn calls a tempest 'de grote und de lütge *windkerl*'; conf. 'Gott füeget den wind,' Rabenschl. 619; 'der Gotes geist daz (saz?) *ûf* des luftes *vederen*, Aneg. Hahn 4, 72. Αἶολος, φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, Od. 10, 2; κείνον γὰρ ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε Κρονίων, 10, 21. Virgil's Æolus sits in a hollow mountain, and Juno begs wind of him, Æn. 1, 52. 64; conf. KM. no. 89: 'weh', weh', windchen!' blow, blow, Windie.

¹ Conf. λυσι-ζωνος, ζώνην λύειν. Tibi (Hymenææ) virgines zonula solvant sinus. Catull. 59, 53; zonam solvere virgineam 65, 28.

Eagles were fixed on gables or the top of a tent pretty often :
 le grant tref Karlemaine font contremont lever,
 par desor le pomel font *l'aigle* d'or poser,
 par devers Montauban en fist le chief torner.

Renaus 151, 2—4.

A golden eagle on the top of the castle, Auberi 73 ; high on the tent 'ein guldîn *ar*,' En. 9160. On the inroad of the 'Welschen' in 978, conf. Giesebrecht's Otto II. p. 48. In Kalevala, tom. 2, 12 (1 ed. 17, 341) :

du min *örn*, min sköna fogel,
 vänd (turn) åt annat håll ditt hufvud (head),
 tillslut (shut) dina skarpa ögon !

A golden eagle on the roof in Athenæus 2, 259 ; and observe, that *ἀερός* is both eagle and gable. The Basque *egoa*, south wind, is akin to *egoa*, *egaa*, *egala*, wing, Pott 2, 190. In Goethe, winds wave their noiseless wings. Thunder-clouds are also likened to the wide-spreading root of a tree, and called *wind-wurzel* (-root), a sign of hurricane, Schmidt v. Werneuchen 131.

p. 636.] The wind is *fed* with rags or tow, which is thrown to it, Leopr. 102. In Austria too they offer meal in a bread-shovel out of the attic window to the storm, saying (Popovitch sub v. wind) :

nimm hin, mein lieber wind,
 trag heim deinem weib und kind,
 und komm nimmer !

Instead of *giving the wind food*, a woman says 'I'd rather stab the *dog* dead,' and throws a *knife* into the yard (p. 632 n.) ; conf. M. Koch's Reise in Tirol p. 87-8. Winds were thought of as *meal-devouring dogs*, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 373-6. 6, 131 ; conf. Hodeke's *howling* (Suppl. to 633). In a storm at sea a *dove* appears, flies three times round the ship, one man puts out his arm and 'de cauda ejus *tres tulit pennas*, quas mari intinguens tempestatem compescuit,' Venant. Fortun. vita Radegundis, Acta Bened. sec. 1, p. 332. The Gr. *θύελλα* snatches away, Od. 20, 63-6, like the Norweg. northwind. To hurtful winds *black lambs* were sacrificed, to fair winds *white*, Aristoph. Ran. 845. Virg. Æn. 3, 120. For a favourable wind a *he-goat* is hung on

the mast, Hone's Yrbk 1553. On Irish wind-worship, see Conan 111—5.

p. 637.] Divine, semi-divine or diabolic beings excite wind (Suppl. to 145): Got füeget den wint, Rabenschl. 619; in Serv. songs God is implored for wind, Vuk ii. 561. 1089. i. 369 (no. 511). 370 (no. 513). 322 (no. 455); Christ is appealed to, Sv. vis. 2, 167. The saints invoked in a storm are called *wazzer-heilige*, water-holies, Marienleg. p. 85; the martyrs Paul and John 'hânt dâ ze himele *weteres gewalt*,' Ksrchr. Diem. 335, 1. *Scrâwunc* in Hpt's Zeitschr. 6, 290 seems the name of a weather-giant; Fasolt chases a woman in the mountains, Ecke 167, as Wuotan does; conf. 'mein sohn *Windheim*,' Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 311. Is there a special meaning in 'der wint von Aspriâne *dôz*,' whizzed, Roth. 4226? 'Folks said it wasn't a *natural* wind, they believed there wasn't a *tufel* left in hell, they was all from home, trying to *bluster* us out of our wits,' Stolle 170; conf. 'quel vent vos guic' etc. (Suppl. to 632 end). Oxen with their horns dig the tempest out of a sand hill, Thiele 2, 257. Müllenh. p. 128.—With Wôdan *ôska-byrr* conf. Suppl. to 149. ON. *byr*, Dan. *bör*, fair wind. Low Germ. seamen's words are *bö*, a sudden and passing squall, *böiges wetter*, *donnerbö*, *regenbö*, *hagelbö*. Slav. *búria* = procella, Miklos. p. 6; Serv. *bura*, Russ. *burán*, hurricane, conf. *Βορέας*. Boreas helps the Greeks, Herod. 7, 189. On *Juno*, see Suppl. to 632 beg. Can Oðin's name of *Viðrir* be akin to AS. *hwiða*, *hweoðu* = aura lenis, *hweoðrian* = murmurare? The Slav. *pogóda* is in Lith. *pagada*, fair wind, fair weather. Mist in ON. is called *kerlíngar vella*, nebula humi repens.

p. 639.] With the provisions of the Lex Visigoth., conf. the Indiculus Superstit. (in Pertz 3, 20) de tempestatibus and *cornibus et cocleis*, and the passage fr. Seneca in Wolf's Ndr. sag. p. 693 about *χαλασο-φύλακες*, hail-wardens; *ἐν Γέταις χαλαζῶν* is said of Zeus, Lucian 7, 51.

p. 640.] The passage fr. Bartholom. Anglicus is also in Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 494-5, where Wackernagel understands *Wiulandia* as *Finlandia*; and it is true the Finns are said to make *fiölkýngveðr*, Fornm. sög. 4, 44. In a Lapland epos a maiden has three sorts of magic *knots*; she unties the first, wind fills the sails and the ship gets under way; then the second and the third, followed by storm and shipwreck; conf. Klemm 3, 100. Such wind-knots a

woman on the Schlei and a witch of Föhr know how to make, Müllenh. p. 222-5; conf. the sailor's belief about wind in Temme's Pom. sag. 347-8, and the *Hollen* in Gefken's Catal. p. 55. In Gervas. Tilb. p. 972 ed. Leibn. (Liebrecht p. 21), is a story 'de vento *chirothecae* Archiepiscopi Arelatensis *incluso*, et valli ventis *imperviae illato*.'

p. 641.] The *ἀσκός* of Æolus, Od. 10, 19, is also in Ovid's Met. 14, 224: Æolon Hippotaden, cohibentem carcere ventos, *bovis inclusos tergo*; and 14, 230: dempsisse ligamina ventis. Eight whirlwinds are hidden in a *cap*, Schiefner's Finn. m. p. 611 [a formidable 'capful of wind']. Conf. *setting* the cap this way or that in Sommer p. 30-1, and *Hütchen*, *Hodeke*.

p. 641.] *Hail* is called in Ind. *marutphala*, fruit of the Maruts, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 489; an ON. name for it is *stein-ôði*, in *saxa saeviens*, Egilss. 600, an OHG. apparently *scrâwunc*, Hpt 6, 290. On *mildew*, conf. Schmeller 2, 567. Acc. to Jungm. 1, 56^b, *baby* (grannies) are clouds heaped up like hills. Our people ascribe the rising of mountain mist not to animals alone; at the Kifhäuser they say: 'Oho, Kaiser Friedrich is brewing, there'll be soft weather,' Prætor. Alectr. pp. 69, 70.

p. 641.] To the Greeks it was Zeus that shed the *snow*, Il. 12, 280-1; *ἐπιφεν ὁ Ζεὺς*, Babr. 45, 1. 'Die tōren (fools) sprechent (in winter) *snúa snú!*' Walth. 76, 1.

4. EARTH.

p. 642.] Ssk. *dhará*, Gr. *χώρα*, Bopp's Comp. Gr. p. 304. Ir. *tír*, Lat. *terra*, 'akin to torreo, and signif. the *dry*,' Pott 1, 270. Another Ssk. word is *ksham*, Bopp's Gl. 92^a. ON. *haudr*, neut., Saem. 120-6-7. Goth. *grundus* fr. grindan, as our *mël*, *malm*, *molte* (meal, dust, mould) are fr. *malan*; *scholle grund*, Ph. v. Sittew. 601.—Epithets applied to the earth's outside: *daz preita wasal*, Musp. 63; *síd folde*, Cædm. 154, 5; on *rúmre foldan*, Exon. 468, 25; *εὐπέλα χθών*, conf. Wh. 60, 28. Altd. bl. 1, 388. Eracl. 2153; *ûf der scibligen* (round) *erde*, Diemer 214, 23; *ûf der moltigen erde*, Mar. 157, 39; *diu vinsten erde*, Tit. 5120; in der *rôten erde*, Karaj. 93, 10; *um ein wenig rothe erde*, Simpl. 1, 575; *eorðe eal-grêne*, Cædm. 13, 3; *Guds gröna jord*, Sv. folks. 1, 126. Does 'terra viva' in Marcellus no. 24 mean grassy? conf. *viva flamma* (p. 611 n.).—But the Earth is also *liebe erde*,

Schweinichen 1, 104; diu *süeze* erde, Wernher v. Ndrh. 35, 9; hin *forna* fold, Sæm. 55^b; 'sicht wie die *heilij* erd,' looks (black) as earth, H. Sachs v. 368^b, conf. ἀπό γᾶς ἀγίας, Athen. 3, 494; Swed. 'Guds gröna jord,' our 'Gottes boden,' Chapbk of Hürn. Siegfri., Pol. maulaffe p. 231, Weisen's Com. probe 39; we say 'Hide in *God's earth* for shame!' Dying is called *ze grunde gân*; conf. 'daz ich bezîte werde *dir gelich*,' soon be like thee, Wh. 60, 28; 'sich aus dem *staube* machen,' make oneself out of the dust, scarce.—The earth will take in liquids: fold scal við flôdi taka, Sæm. 27^b; but '*bluot* benimet (robs) der erde den *magetuom*,' maidenhood, Mos. 10, 28; dennoch was diu erde ein *maget*, Parz. 464, 13. Earth bears not on her breast the man of blood: 'jâ solte mich diu erde umbe dis mort niht *en-tragen*,' Ecke 143; 'mich wundert daz mich diu erde geruochet *tragen*,' still deigns to bear, Greg. 2511; 'den diu erde niht solde *tragen*,' Wackern. lb. 588, 3. Stricker's Klage 38; conf. 'daz iuch die erde niht *verslant*,' swallowed, Warn. 3203; 'terre, *car ouvrez*, si *recois moi chaitis*!' Garin 2, 263; '*heald þu nu hrîse*!' Beow. 4489. So the witch may not touch the *bare earth* (p. 1074), holy water must not touch the *ground* (Suppl. to 587); whereas to the saint she offers herself as a seat: 'diu erde *niht en-dolte* daz er büge sîn *gebeine* (tholed not that he bent his limbs), si *bôt* sich her *engeine*, daz er als ûf einem *stuole* saz,' Servat. 1592. On *earthquakes*, see p. 816. Men confided secrets to the *earth*, Lothar u. Maller 36-7: 'si klagten sô *senliche*, daz in daz *ertliche* möhte g'antwürtet hân,' would fain have answered them, Mai 44, 21; they made their plaint to the *stone*, Lisch's Meckl. jrb. 5, 100. Müllenh. p. 37, or told their tale to the *dead wall*, Arnim's Märch. 1, 70.

Much might be said on *gold, silver, iron*. To the Finns iron (ranta, Lapp. route) is *brother to water and fire*, Kalev. 4, 29, and is born of virgin's *milk*. There is *liquid gold* and *milk* in amrita (p. 317). Gold is called *Fróða miöl*, Egilss. p. 450, *ógnarliomi* = *oceanum lumen*, Sæm. 152^a, and *munnfylli* or *muntal iötna*, Sn. 83; conf. 'morgenstund hat *gold in mund*,' though F. Magn. derives those words fr. mund = hand. Gold placed under a dumb woman's *tongue* makes her speak, Fornm. s. 3, 117—9; gold is tempered in dew, Tit. 3698 (Tigrisgold, 4348). On dragons' and griffins' gold, see pp. 978. 980.

p. 643.] For Ssk. *khusa*, Bopp in Gl. 78^a. 86^b writes *kuša*. I find a *reincurni* also in Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 364, *reinegras* = alga, Sumerl. 54. Putting *earth* or *turf* on the head secures against magic, Panz. Beitr. 1, 240-1. Kuhn's Nord. s. p. 378.

p. 644.] Emigrants took *earth* as well as fire out with them (Suppl. to 611); conf. the strewing of earth in the Old Saxon legend. Þórhaddr var hofgoði i Þrándheimi, hann fýstist til Islands, ok tók áðr ofan hofit, ok hafði með sér hofs-*moldina* ok súlurnar, Landn. 4, 6.

p. 644.] Demeter meets Jason in the *thrifallow*, the fruitfulest cornland: *μύγη φιλόττητι καὶ εὐνήν νειῶ ἐν τριπόλῳ*, Od. 5, 127, conf. Hes. Theog. 971 and *νειὸς τρίπολος*, Il. 18, 541; OHG. *driska*, GDS. 53. 61-2.

p. 645.] A *mons sanctus* near Jugenheim is mentioned in a record of 1264; conf. *svetú gorá* = Mt Athos; an *ὄρος ἱερόν* of the Getæ named *Κωγαίωρον*, Strabo 7, 298; a holy mount *Θήκης* in Pontus, Xen. Anab. iv. 7, 11. The mountains named *grand-father* are discussed in Hpt's Ztschr. 1, 26. Two adjacent mountains in Lausitz are named by the Wends *čorny boh* and *bjety boh*, black god, white god, Wend. volksl. 2, 285. The Ossetes worship their highest mountains (*brakabseli*, fair mountains), Kohl's S. Russia 1, 296.

p. 645.] The notable passage on *rock-worship* in Landn. 2, 12 is as follows: 'hann (Thorólfr) hafði svâ mikinn *átrúnað á fialli* því, er stöð í nesinu, er hann kalladi *Helgafell*, at þangat skyldi engi maðr *óþveginn líta*; ok svâ var þar mikil *friðhelgi*, at þar skyldi engu granda í fiallinu, hvarki fê ne mönnum, nema sialft gengi brott. Þat var trúu þeirra Þorólfs fraenda, at þeir *dœi allir í fiallit* (al. codex: þa þeir dœi, mundi þeir *í fiallit hverfa allir*).' And 2, 16: 'höfðu mikinn *átrúnað á hólana*—tráðu þeir því, at þeir *dœi í hólana*' (*hóll* = tumulus, colliculus); conf. '*dying (vanishing) into the mountain*.' The Icelder Kodran of Vatnsdal had a stone at Gilja, to which he and his fathers sacrificed; they imagined the *ár-maðr* lived inside it, from whom fruitful years proceeded, Kristnisaga c. 2.—Stones *prophecy*, Norske ev. no. 30; they are *washed, anointed, honoured*, F. Magn. Lex. p. 961. When winds are contrary, sailors *wash a blue stone*, and obtain a fair wind; they also take *oaths* upon it, Hone's Yrbk 1553. People *kneel naked* before the holy stone, Hone's

Daybk 1, 825. 2, 1035. They creep through hollow stones (p. 1166), they go into hollow rocks to present offerings (p. 58); conf. the Gibichen-stones, the pottle-stones with pits and holes, Giesebr. Balt. stud. 12, 114. 128. 'De his quae faciunt *super petras*' is the heading of cap. 7 of Indicul. Superst. On stone-worship among Celts, see Michelet 2, 16-7.—In Swed. tales and spells a stone is always '*jord-fast sten*,' one fixed in the earth, Runa '44, 22; â *iarðföstum steini stôð ec innan dyra*, Sæm. 99^a; till en *jord-fasten sten*, Sv. folks. 1, 217. Sv. üfventyr 1, 282-4-8. 305; AS. earðfæst. But we also hear of the '*wahsender bühel*,' growing hill, Lanz. 5132; and a Slov. riddle, '*kai raste bres korenia* (what grows without root)?' has the answer '*kamen*,' stone. A distinction is also drawn between *walgende* and *vaste-ligende steine*, Leyser 129, 35; usque ad *wagoden stein*, Mon. Zoll. no. 1, *wagonden stein*, no. 12; *gnappstein*, Stalder 2, 519; Dan. *rokke-stene*, Schreiber's Feen 21. These stones by their *rocking* are said to bring on *thunder* and *rain*, O. Müller 2, 340. Stones are often landmarks: zu dem *grawen stein*, Weisth. 1, 242, an dem *blauen stein* 2, 661.

p. 646.] Giants and men turn into stone (p. 551-2); stones have sense and feeling. It is true we say 'stone-deaf, stone-dead,' *stille sam die steine*, Karl 92^b. 94^a, and Otfried iv. 7, 4 calls them *unthratê*, pigri; yet in Luke 19, 40 'the stones would cry out;' the stone *holds fast*, Müllenh. p. 142-3. The *pierres de minuit* move at midnight, conf. the *turning-stones* in the Ir. mærch. 2, 37—44; the stone *turns* round on Christmas night, Harrys 1 no. 34 (conf. Heusinger p. 20), or when bells ring, Dybeck 4, 43. Men complain to stones as they do to earth (p. 642) and fire (p. 629), as if to elemental gods. The stone you complain to *changes colour*, the white turns red, the red blue, Wächter's Statistik pp. 13. 156. 'Si klagten, daz sich dio mårsteine mohten *klieben* herdan,' Klage 977 (so: 'si ruoften, daz diu erde unter in sich mehte haben üf getân,' opened under them 1073); 'stahel, vlins u. stein sih muosen von dem jåmer *klieben*,' Türl. Wh. 3^b; 'klage, diu flinse het *gespalten*,' split flints, Tit. 3765; 'von ir schoene müesto ein vels *erkrachen*,' MsH. 3, 173^a [similar examples omitted]; 'hiute ist der stein naz, dâ Karl uffê saz, vil heize weinunde,' to-day the stone is wet, whereon K. sat hotly weeping, Ksrchr. 14937. Stones relent in

the story of Hoyer, Wigal. p. 57—9. 452. Balt. stud. xi. 2, 191. A stone will not let a false man sit on it, 'ûf der *Eren* (êren? honour's) *steine* sitzen,' Lanz. 5178 seq.

CHAPTER XXI.

TREES AND ANIMALS.

p. 647.] As Freidank 10, 7 says that angels are immortal, that of men the spirit is immortal, but the body mortal, and of beasts both body and soul are mortal; so Berthold p. 364 allows being to stones, being and life to plants, feeling to animals. Schelling says, life sleeps in the stone, dozes in the plant, dreams in the beast, wakes in man. The Ssk. a-ga, na-ga (non iens) = tree, hill, Bopp's Gl. 2^a. 189^a. So in the Mid. Ages the line is drawn between 'ligendez und lebendez,' Diemer 89, 24. Notker's Boëth. speaks of boume and chriuter (trees and herbs) diu fone saffe *lebent*, and of *unliving* lapides, metalla. In Esth., beasts are *ellayat*, living ones, and plants *kasvias*, that which lives.—Not only do wild birds grieve at man's lament, Walth. 124, 30, and beasts and fishes help him to mourn, Ges. Abent. 1, 8, but 'elliu geschefede,' all created things, May, summer's bliss, heath, clover, wood, sun and Venus, MS. 1, 3^b; 'gi bom, gras, lof unde krût (leaf and herb), helpet mi skrigen over lût (cry aloud)!' Marienklage 386. Grass and flower fret at misdeeds, and mourn, Petersb. extr. fr. Kalev. p. 25, and in folksongs wither up. *Bluomen* brehent u. *smierent*, MS. 1, 44^b; *dô daz spil ergangen was, dô lachten bluomen u. gras*, Hagen's Ges. Abent. 1, 464; *die boum begunden krachen, die rôsen sêre lachen*, *ibid.* Flowers on the heath quarrel: 'dô sach ich *bluomen strîten* wider den grüenen *klê* (clover), weder ir lenger waere,' which of them was taller, Walth. 114, 28; *dû bist kurzer, ich bin langer, alsô strîtens ûf dem anger bluomen unde klê* 51, 35; vil maniger hande *bluomen kîp* (chid), MS. 1, 35^b; *bluomen kriegent* umb ir schîn, Lohengr. p. 154; *bluomen lachent* durch daz gras, der kurzer, dirre lenger was, Dietr. drach. 1067; conf. Kl. schr. 2, 157. They have their rules, Altd. w. 1, their precedences, their meanings and language, conf. the Flower-games (Suppl. to 909).—Tree-worship was

highly developed among the Indians and Greeks. The Hindûs with elaborate ceremonies marry trees to one another, esp. the mango and tamarind, shrubs like the rose and jessamine, even tanks and stones, Sleeman's Rambles and Recoll. [Horace: *vitem viduas ducit ad arbores*]. Woycicki, Germ. ed. p. 144-5. For Greeks, see Bötticher. The Germans *wake* tree as well as corn, Zingerle 691; *bäumchen, schlaf nicht, frau Holle kommt* . . . *bäumchen, wach auf, neujahr ist da*, Somm. 162. 182; the forest *sleeps* at New-year, P. Dieffenb. Wetterauer sag. p. 274; conf. Gerhard's hymn: 'Nun *ruhen* alle wälder.' Tree-tops wave, and carry messages, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 161; 'the birches *know* it still,' Gellert 3, 388. Trees *blossom* at a happy event, and *wither* when a death is near, Sueton. Galba 1; and like the Emperors, the Greeks had family-trees. Völsung's tree, barn-stockr, stood in the hall, Völs. cap. 2; conf. our 'genealogical *tree*.'

1. TREES.

p. 649.] Akiu to *nimil* is *vernemet* = fanum ingens, Venant. Fort. 1, 9. Diefenb. Celt. 1, 83-4: *silva quae vocatur nemet*, Glück p. 17; *δρυ-νέμετος*, Strabo 567. GDS. 497. Zeuss's Die Deut. derives *nemet* fr. *neamch* = coelum, and sees in it a 'sub divo,' therefore a contrast to wood. A Vocab. optim. p. 47^a renders *silva* wilder walt, *nemus* schoener walt, *lucus* dicker walt, *saltus* hoher walt.

p. 651.] The Lapps shoot *blindfold* at a suspended bearskin, Klemm 3, 14. Dyb. Runa 4, 92. The Amer. Indians hang up a bison-skin on a high pole to the Lord of life, and then cut it up into small pieces, Klemm 2, 164; likewise a deerskin 2, 179. Skins of sacrifices are hung up by Tungûses, Ostiáks, Boriáts, Cherkesses, 3, 106. 125. 114. 4, 91. The golden fleece of the ram was nailed to an oak, Preller 2, 211.

p. 651.] That is a pretty story of the holy *oak*, whose falling leaves people do not touch. When it is cut down and burnt, a dog appears in the ashes, and makes the people take all the ashes back to where the tree stood, Firmen. 1, 358. The oak as a *tree of complaints* occurs in Megenberg, Hpt's Zschr. 4, 255. Messages are delivered to a holy oak, Livy 3, 25. Its great age inspired respect: 'so long as *oak* and earth do stand,' Weisth. 2, 225: 'while the tree is in the ground and the *acorn* thereon,' 3, 779;

j'ai vu le *gland* et la *gaule*, Barzas br. 1, 28. 32. On oak and *beech*, see Dyb. '45, 78-9; conf. τὴν παλαιὰν φηγόν, Soph. Trach. 171. 'Af fornum *bolli*,' ex antiqua pinu, Sn. ed. '48, 1, 308; but 'af eikirotu' 310.—The *ash* was also holy: *fraxinus quem imperiti sacrum vocant*, Kemble 5, 103 (yr 854). It is hostile to snakes, Panz. Beitr. 1, 251-2. Pliny 16, 14; conf. askr Yggdrasil, and note, p. 796. There was a spell, that gave a *hazel-rod* the power to flog people in their absence; in the Atharva-veda a branch of *açvattha* has the power of destroying enemies; conf. the *hazel-wand* as *wishing-rod* (p. 975). *Hasalwara* is a proper name, Cod. Lauresh. 809. Lett. *lasda*, *lagsda*, Lith. *lazda* = *corylus*, *baculus*; *Lazdona* = *avellanarum deus*, god of *filberts*.

p. 653.] It is dangerous to build where an *elder-tree* has stood, Prætor. Weltb. 1, 16. Of the *rönn*, rowan, a sacred tree, we read in Dyb. '44, 9: *rönnen* sade till mannen: 'hugg mig ej, då blöder jag,' hew me not, or I bleed, Wieselgr. 378; conf. the Pruss. tale in Tettau and Temme p. 259, and the Finn. *clopua*, *arbor vitæ*, 'non cædenda in pratis.' The evil *Weckholterin* (*juniper*) is mentioned in the Herpin, Hagen's Ges. Ab. 3, xi. The Serv. for *juniper*, *borovitza*, is from *bor*, *fir*, Lett. *paëgle*, because it grows under the *fir*; and the Swed. *tall* (*fir*, *pine*) is not to be hewn either: do so, and on turning round you'll see your house on fire, Dyb. 4, 26. 44. Neither is the *hawthorn*, Nilsson 6, 4.

p. 653.] Have we any Germ. stories of spirits that live in the *erle* (*alder*)? Goethe's *Erl-king* seems taken from the Fr. *aulne*, *aune* = *alnus* and *daemon*. *Kalis* passes out of *Nala* into the *Vibhitaka*, which is regarded as haunted after that, Bopp's *Nalus* p. 153. Holtzm. Ind. sag. 3, 72. To the *fig-tree* the Indians present offerings, which are consumed by crows, sparrows and cranes; hence their name of *sacrifice-eater*. Like the maiden in the *pine*, the gods are said to live between *bark* and *tree*, Lasicz 46; conf. creeping between wood and bark (p. 1085). Iw. 1208: *sam daz holz under der rinden*, *alsam sît ir verborgen*; O. Engl. Iw. 741: *als the bark hilles the tre*; O. Fr. Iw. p. 146: *li fuz qui est coverz de lescorce qui sor lui nest* (*nait*). A *holy oak* grows out of the *mouth* of a slain *king*, Harrys 1 no. 55.

p. 654.] In choosing a twig [for a *wishing-rod* ?] it is important, first, that it be a new shoot, the *sumer-late* (p. 975), and secondly,

that it look to the east : â baðmi viðar þeim er *lúta austr limar*, Sæm. 195^a. Flowers were invoked : es sten dri rosen in jenem dal, die *rûfent*, jungfrau, an, Uhl. Volksl. 87. O sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur *in hortis numina!* Juven. Sat. 15, 10.

2. ANIMALS.

p. 655.] Beasts are commonly regarded as dumb : stumbez tier, Iw. 7767, stomme bête, Lanc. 18849. 32919, daz unsprechende vihe, Warnung 2704; conf. muta animalia, Dan. umälende beest, ON. ómála; 'der lewe zeict im unsprechenden grnoz,' Iw. 3870. They are ignorant : tier vil ungewizzen, Er. 5843. Yet they not only show sympathy, like stones and plants (Suppl. to 646-7), but in urgent cases they, like dumb children, find their tongues; witness Balaam's ass, and : armentaque vulgo ausa loqui, Claudian in Eutrop. 2, 43; attonito pecudes pastore locutos 1, 3. Oxen talk, Panz. Beitr. 1, no. 255. Nork 12, 377; ox and ass converse in the Bret. volksm. 87-8, but only for an hour once a year, between 11 and 12 on Christmas night, N. Preuss. prov. bl. 5, 468. Bosquet p. 221. Beasts can *see spirits* : Balaam's ass saw the angel with the sword, Numb. 22, 23—33; the dogs see the goddess, horses and hounds are ghost-seers (p. 667), Panz. Beitr. 1, 118; nay Athenæus 3, 454 says all *birds* were *men* once.

p. 656.] Conf. Ferd. Wachter's art. PFERDE in the Halle Encycl., and the beautiful Serv. wedding-song (Vuk, ed. nov. 15, no. 23. Wesely p. 55). *Sleipnir* is the son of Loki, a god, and Svaðilfari; from him is descended Sigurð's Grani, Völs. c. 13, and Grani has 'mans vid,' Fär. qväd. 156. A sagacious trusty steed occurs in Walach. mörch. no. 17, one that gives advice in Sv. sag. 1, 164; and in German, still more in Hungarian fairy-tales we have wise, helpful, talking horses, Ungr. tatos s. Ispolyi (conf. p. 392). *Skinfaxi* is a cow's name in a Norweg. tale, Asb. Huldr. 1, 202.

p. 658.] Nôtt rides on *Hrímfaxi*, Dagr on *Skinfaxi*. The Indians thought curly hair on a horse a lucky sign, Bopp's Gl. 34^a. The horse offered up by kings at the ašvamêdha must be *white*. To ride a white horse is a privilege of gods, kings and heroes, Pind. Pyth. 4, 117 : λευκίππων πατέρων. A stallion with three *white feet* and two glass eyes is in Weisth. 2, 618.

p. 658 n.] Helbl. 15, 293 : ein hengest der noch nie gras an *fulzande* en-beiz. A *Fülizan* in Ring 49^b, 38. 49^d, 31. The Serv. for *fülizant* is *xdrebetiak*, foal's (zub underst.). A horse keeps his foal-teeth till his third year, then cuts his horse-teeth, *dentés equini, quos nonnisi trimis caballis natura concedit*, Pertz 8, 214; *jouenes polains, quatre dens ot jetés*, Ogier 2412; *dentés equi, qui primi cadunt, alligati facilem dentionem praestant*, Forcell. sub. v. *dentio*.

Collo igitur molli dentes nectentur equini,
qui primi fuerint pullo crescente caduci. Serenus sam. 1040.

The same of a child's teeth: *pueri qui primus ceciderit dens, ut terram non attingat, inclusus in armillam et assidue in brachio habitus*, Pliny 28, 4. GDS. 154.

p. 659.] To Swed. *gnägga* corresp. ON. *gneggja*, Sæm. 144^a, AS. *hnägan*, neigh. The Dan. *vrindske* is our brenschen, wrenschen, frenschen; conf. *wrene* hengst, Lex Sal. p. xxviii. Ssk. *vriñh*, barrire, Bopp 32^b. Norw. Dan. *humra*, a low humming neigh. In Lanz. 474: *ez begunde sîn ros weien, trâsen unde schreien*; in Garg. 240^b: *rihelen u. hinnewihelen*, 77^b: *hinnewiheln*. Is *wihelen* akin to Prov. *evelhier*, Ferabr. 3613, and the horse's name *Valentin*, Ital. *Vegliantino*? In Gudr. 1395: 'man hôte ein ros *ergrînen*' when the battle began. *Bellona spumantium ad bella equorum hinnitu aures arrigens*, Pertz 2, 169.

p. 660.] *Vedrebbe un teschio d' asino in su un palo, il quale quando col muso volto vedesse verso Firenze*, Decam. 7, 1. Remember too the gyrating eagle on a roof (p. 633-4), and the dove over a grave (p. 1134-5 n.).

p. 660.] As to *horses' heads* on gables, see Müllenh. p. 239. Panz. Beitr. 2, 180. 448-9; they protect the rafters from wind and weather. Lith. *žirges*, roof-rider, from *žirgas*, horse, Nesselm. 549; also *ragai*, antlers, 426; conf. *capreoli*, tigna ad firmandum, and AS. *Heort*, *Heorot*, name of the house in *Beowulf*.

p. 664.] The *Boriáts* dedicate to the herdsmen's god *Sulbundu* a horse, on which he rides at night, and which they find all in a *sweat* in the morning, Klemm 3, 115. The horses ridden by spirits or night-wives have stirrup, cord and wool in their sides, and are covered with *drops of wax*, Kaisersb. Om. 42^d. 43^a. *Kalmuks* also consecrate a horse to the god, and let it run loose,

Ledebour 2, 49. Horses scrape up gold, like that of Rammelsberg, or a fountain, like Pegasus; conf. Panz. Beitr. 1, 38-9. 163. 186. 201. The hoof-prints of a god's horse in stone were believed in by the Romans: Ergo et illud in silice, quod hodie apparet apud Regillum, tanquam vestigium unguulae Castoris equi esse credis, Cic. de Nat. D. 3, 5. A sacred white horse walks on water without wetting his feet, Polier 2, 618.

p. 664.] Foremost of victims stands *ašva*, a horse-sacrifice is *ašvamêdha*, Böhling, 1, 520-4. The significance of a horse's head appears in many other customs: it is played upon (pp. 849. 1050-71), thrown into the Midsum. fire (p. 618), stuck on a pole or tied on a person at Christmas, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 472-4; in fairytales it works miracles, Müllenh. p. 422, often serves as a bridge 34. 146. 544, is nailed up under the town-gate (Falada's), and wooden ones are set on gables (p. 660). GDS. 151.

p. 665.] Sacred oxen of Artemis are mentioned in Plutarch's Lucullus p. m. 606. Hårekr keeps a *blótnaut* in the forest, Fornm. sög. 3, 132. On the bull's head in the scutcheon of Mecklenbg, see Lisch, Meckl. jrb. 10, 15 seq.

p. 666.] Oxen dig up a hurricane with their horns. A bull-calf is reared to fight the dragon, DS. 142, Müllenh. p. 238. Thiele 1, 125. Nandini is of all kine the best: he that drinketh of her milk remaineth young 10,000 years, Holtzm. Ind. sag. 3, 99. 100. 'The black cow crushes him, has trodden him' means 'he is weighed down by want and care:' so trat ihn auch die schwarze kuh, Ambraser lieder 147; stor blaa stud, Norske ev. 1, 111; conf. Hungar. 'has not yet trod the black cow's heel,' Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 271-2. Beside the cow's name *Auðhumla*, we have designations of oxen, as freyr, iörmunrekr, regiun, Sn. 221^a (ed. Hafn. 587).

p. 666.] A most ancient and fierce *göltr*, worshipped by the people, Fornm. s. 4, 57-8; conf. eburðrung (p. 727). Wacker-nagel in Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 280 puts a different interpret. on the verses preserved by Notker; but conf. the boar of the Swed. folktale, that goes about grunting with a knife in his back (Hpt 4, 506-7), and the Dan. legend of Lîmfjorden (Thiele 1, 131): A sorceress gave birth to a pig, and he grew so big that his bristles stood up above the forest-trees (Notk., burste eben-hô forste), and he rooted up the earth so deep that the sea flowed in to fill the

dike; conf. swine-dike (p. 1023). A rooting black hog foretells the fall of the city, Müllenh. p. 105; a Malb. gloss calls the boar *diramni*, earth-plougher, Leo 1, 75. GDS. p. 57. With Ovid's descr. of a boar, Met. 8, 284 seq., conf. Alb. v. Halberstadt p. 269, where the tusks are an *eln lanc* (Notk., zene sîne zuelif-*elnîge*), which is not in Ovid; 'dente minax' we find in Rudl. 16, 90. Vishnu in one incarnation appears on the sea as a boar. A *white goat* is reckoned wholesome in a horse's stable, Leopr. 226.

p. 667.] The *dog* is named among sacrificial beasts (pp. 48. 53), Kuhn's Westph. sag. 2, 138: he belongs to Hecate, Klausen's Æn. 1137. The dog knows Odysseus in his disguise; bitches can scent a Faunus: 'ab ea cane quae femina sit ex primipara genita Faunos cerni,' Pliny 8, 40, 62; only a dog with four eyes (nellisilm), i.e. with spots over his eyes, can see a devil, Estā. verh. 2, 90. A dog will bark before a haunted rock, Dyb. 4, 25. Dogs go mad if you give them the bones of the Easter lamb, Keisersb. Om. 52^a. Peter's dog appears in the legend of Simon and Peter, AS. homil. p. 372-4. Pass. H. 175.

p. 669.] A name similar to *Vetrliði* is Sumarliði, Fornm. s. 3, 205; conf. Gramm. 2, 505. Other poetic names for the bear in Sn. 175. 221, e.g. iorekr, equos fugans. To Samoyeds and Ostiaks the bear is a god, Castrén 235. 342; the Finn. *olto* is born in heaven, and brought to earth in a golden cradle; 'to climb on the bear's shoulders' means to go to heaven; his foam has virtue, and should be taken up, Kalev. 13, 236. 254. As Oðinn has two wolves, the Finn. Pahonev has great bloodhounds in his service, Salmel. 1, 193. It is believed in Scotland that deer can see spirits, Arvids. Ossian 1, 238. *Felis aurea* pro deo colitur, Pliny 4, 29, 35; cats are poisonous, acc. to Berth. of Regensb. 303; Unander connects *fres* with our *viel-frass*, glutton. A story in Klemm 2, 159 makes out that the house-building beaver was once man.

p. 670.] A *bird* demands that men shall *sacrifice* to him (p. 672); conf. the Lettish bird-cultus (p. 77), Giesebr. Balt. stud. 12, 128. 139. The 'servitium consuetum in blado et volatilibus,' Ch. a. 1311. MB. 30^b, 61 need not refer to sacrifice; it may be a mere tribute in corn and poultry. An angel is sent in the shape of a bird, see Gudrun and Sv. vis. 1, 232-4-5. As wind is repres.

under the form of an eagle, so the *aar* makes air and shade (p. 1133), and the cock perhaps weather, conf. the weathercock.

p. 671.] To the Dan. metaphor corresp. the Low Germ. 'de raude han kreide ut den dack,' Firmen. 1, 292^b. *Cockcrow* announces day: ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλέκτωρ ἡμέραν ἐσάλπισε, Lucian's Ocyrus 114. A set phrase in fairytales is: "lou gal canté, e foughé jhour,' Dict. langued. 224; 'cokkes erewe ande hit was daie,' Sevin sages 2536; thaz huan gikundit dages kunftî, O. iv. 18, 34; dô krât der han, ez was tac, Altsw. 67, 3; skal ek fyri vestan vindhialms brûar âdr *salgofnir sigrbioð vekî*, Sæm. 166. It scares away spirits:

Ferunt vagantes daemonas

laetos tenebris noctium

gallo canente exterritos

sparsim timere et cedere. Prudentii Hym. ad galli cantum 10.

A *red* and a *grey* cock crow to the spirit, Minstr. 3, 48, also a *white* and a *grey*, 2, 468. A *black hen* is sacrificed to the hill-mannikins (p. 1010). A *black cock* that was *born lame* takes the spell off an enchanted castle, Müllenh. p. 351. Out of a cock's egg is hatched a dragon, Leopr. 78. Of the longest *tail-feathers* of a cock pull out *the right one*, and you'll open any lock that you touch with it, walk invisible, and see everything, Luciani Somn. 28-9. A cock with *white feathers* is cut up, and carried round the vineyard against the wind, Paus. ii. 34, 3. Sacred cocks in Athen. 3, 445.—The cock on the steeple was already interpr. by the Mystics 1, 199 of the Holy Ghost. In Arabic it is called *abul-yaksân*, father of watchfulness. Fel. Faber in Evagat. 2, 219 thinks: 'Christiani *crucem cum gallo* ex institutione prima habent in culminibus suarum ecclesiarum'; while the Saracens have 'lunam cornutam vel supinam, quia gallus erecto collo et cauda stans speciem habet supinae lunae.'

p. 672.] To Ostiâks the *eagle* is holy, Klemm 3, 122; to Indians Garuda is king of birds, Holtzm. Ind. s. 3, 137; aquila, angla = Jovis ministra, Grotef. Inscr. Umbr. 6, 8.—The *hawk* was sacred to Apollo, Schwartz p. 16-7. Od. 15, 526: κίρκος, usu. *iépaξ*, and the Egyptians esteemed it a holy bird, GDS. 51. On *sparrowhawk* and *kestrel* see Suppl. to 675.—Like *Huginn* and *Muninn*, the AS. *hyge* and *myne* habitually go together, Pref. to Andr. xxxix. *Ravens* follow the hero: 'Haraldi

ver fylgðum síz or eggji komun,' Läsebog 112^a; two ravens are guardian spirits, Geser Khân 278. The raven, like the eagle, is displayed on flags (p. 1112); he is to the eagle as the wolf to the bear (or lion). More about the raven in Schwartz p. 42-3.

p. 672.] The *swallow*, OHG. *sualawâ*, AS. *swealewe*, ON. *svala*, Dan. *svale*, Lapp. *svalfo*. Goth. *svalvo*? *hruzda*? Dac. *crusta*, Lith. *krėgzde*, Gr. *χελιδών*, Lat. *hirundo* for *χεριδών*, *χριδών*, Wallach. *rëndurea*, Alban. *delenduse*. Lett. *besdeliga*. Slav. *lastovice*, *vlastovice*, Serv. *lasta*, *lastavitza*, Russ. *lástochka*. Finn. *pääsky*, Est. *päästlenne*, Hung. *fetske*. The swallow, *ὠς Ἀθηναία*, is the first to pluck a borrowed plume out of the *κολοιός* (*daw*), Babr. 72, 16; in prose however (Cor. 188) it is the owl (*γλαυξ*). Mary's needlewoman, who stole the ball of thread, was turned into a swallow, on which the white spot shows the ball, Wieselgr. 478. Iðunn, like Procne, is changed into a 'swallow' acc. to one reading, though the usual reading is 'hnot,' nut. The swallow's young are born blind, Dyb. '45, 67; 'if one of their chicks grows blind, they fetch a herb, lay it on, and restore the sight; hence the herb's name of chelidonium,' celandine, Dioscor. 2, 211; and Megenb. says the same about schellwurz (Suppl. to 1194).

p. 672.] The *swan*, OHG. *alpiz*, MHG. *elbez*, AS. *ylfet*, Sl. *labud*, *lebedi*; Gael. *eala*, *ealadh*, Ir. *ala*, *eala*, Wel. *alarch*, *eleirch*. 'Ulfa þytr mer þótti illr vera hiâ *söngvi svana*,' Sn. 27; *ylfete song*, Cod. Exon. 307, 6; see p. 436 and Schwartz p. 43-4-6. The Finns call their youtsen a holy bird, *pyhä linu*, Kalev. 8, 73.

p. 673.] The *stork* is called *odoboro* in Slettst. Gl. 36, 33; *otfer*, *ötdifer*, Altswert 71. In Lower Germany: *ådebar langbên*, *hålebåt langbên*, *knepper* (rattler) *langbên*; in Groningen *aiber*, *eiber*; in Gelders *uiver*, *heiluiiver*, also *heilebaot*, *albaor*, Simrock no. 335-6; *heilebate*, Hor. Belg. 7, 27^a; 'to call the stork *heilbott* and *otterwehr*,' Froschmeus. Ji vii^b. Can we trace it to a Goth. *addja-baira*, egg-bearer, or *addjê-banra*, egg-born? Kl. schr. 3, 147. 164. Outzen pp. 1. 2 says, *adebar* = spring's herald.—The Esth. for stork is *tone kurg*, Finn. *nälkäkurki*, hunger-heron? Lith. *gandras*; Lett. *swehts putns*, holy bird, and *melsprahklis*, black rump; Pol. *bocian* and Boh. *bočan* for the black stork, Pol. *czapla* and Boh. *čáp* for the white; this last is also Boh. 'bohđal,' God-given, dieudonné, Morav. 'bogđal, bokđal'; conf. *εὐσεβέ-*

στατον ζῶον, Æsop. Fur. 76. Babr. 13, 7; candidae aves, Journ. c. 42. The Slavic has also the congener of our stork in str'k, Miklos. p. 87, Russ. sterkh, Serv. štrk.—A stork foretells the downfall of a city, Journ. c. 42. Procop. 1, 330; another saves his father, Babr. 13, 8. Storks are men, says the Spinrocken-evang. Samst. 16. In striking harmony with Wolfram's eulogy, the stork in Babr. 13, 5 says: οὐ σπόρον καταφθείρω.

p. 675.] Ovid too has a statue 'gerens in vertice *Picum*,' Met. 14, 314; on *Picus*, see Klausen 844-5. 1141. Both *picus* and *pica* seem akin to *ποικίλος*, variegated; or *picus* and *s-pecht*, pecker, go together. The Greek for woodpecker is *πελεκᾶς*, fr. *πελεκᾶν*, to hack, *πέλεκυς*, hatchet; Stald. 1, 263 has *tann-bicker*, = *picus martius*; Lith. *volungė*, wood-hacker, is the greenpecker Lith. genys, Serv. *zhunia*, are also names of the woodpecker; Lett. *dsennis*, *dsilna*, is the bee-eater. The Russ. *diatel*, Pol. *dzięcioł*, Boh. *datel* (woodp.) seems conn. with *dziéciej*, *ditià*, *déti* (child), perhaps because he was considered a foster-father, as *Picus* was to *Romulus*. The Swiss *merzafüllli* is in the Hennebg dialect shortened into a simple *merz*: 'der *merz* hackt dich,' Hpt's Ztschr. 3, 360. Beside *kliktati*, used of the woodpecker's whine (and of the *vila*'s cry, p. 436), we have *totrkati* = *pulsare in arbore*, ut *picus facit*. Lith. *ulbauya volungė*, the woodp. whimpers, wails. Ukko created the *konkelo* (greenp.), Peterson 12. Renvall sub v. The pecker kind are treasure-birds (p. 973). Kuhn thinks the woodp. is conn. with fire. What is the meaning of 'hân ich in den speht erschozzen?' Hpt 6, 501.

p. 675.] The *sparrowhawk*, Boh. *krahug*, *krahulec*, *krahuljk* = *falco nisus*, Pol. *krogulec*, Linde 1134^b; Hung. *karoly*, *karvoly*. The OHG. for kestrel, *wannowehe*, *wannunwechel*, Graff 1, 643, *wannewechel* in Ziemann, sounds remarkably like the Lett. *vehia vannags*, sparrowhawk, lit. holy hawk, for Lith. *vanagas* is hawk, *vanagelis* little hawk. Garg. 279^b has the exclamation: *ir wannenwäher!* This is the name they still give in Swabia to a small bird of prey: they hang little tubs or baskets (*wannen*) outside their houses for it to build in, and think the house is then proof against lightning, Mone 7, 429. Frisch 2, 422 has *wanneweihe*, *accipiter tinunculus*, and other forms.¹ Does our *weihe*,

¹ *Tinunculus* is no doubt from *tina*, a vessel very similar to *wanne*; see Victor Hehn's "Migrations of Plants and Animals," Engl. transl. (Swan Sonnenschein) p. 487.—TRANSL.

wîo, wîho (milvus, kite) mean sacred bird? conf. wîvo: 'milvos laedere capitale est' in England, says Leo v. Rozmital 40. GDS. 50.

The *owl* prophesies (p. 1135). The Greeks held it sacred, as bird of night, bird of victory, bird of Athena. The Amer. Indians worshipped it, Klemm 2, 164; and conf. the Esth. tharapila, horned owl (p. 77). Runes were marked 'â nefi uglo,' as well as 'â arnar nefi,' Sæm. 196^a. On strix, στρίγξ, see pp. 1039 n. 1045.

p. 678.] The *cuckoo*, by calling out his name, awakens joy, hence his Finn. name of *ilo-käki*, joy-cuckoo, Kalev. 14, 226, munaiset käkeni 5, 196-7 (like Swed. *tröste-gök*); yet also *sorrow-cuckoo*, Castrén 292; six gold cuckoos, kuus on kullaista käkeä, Kalev. 14, 31; the sun like a golden cuckoo climbs the sky 27, 265. Lapp. jäkä, Syriän. kök. Ssk. kôkila, Pott's Zähl-meth. 229. Mark our exclamation 'heida-guguk!' Schulmeisterswahl 50-1. 83. OHG. *fols*, cuckoo, Graff 3, 517, has never been explained. On the cuckoo, see Reusch in N.Preuss. prov. bl. 5, 321-343; on the gucker, peeper, Leopr. p. 79. Shaksp., at the end of *Love's Lab. Lost*, quotes a verse on Spring and the cuckoo, and one on Winter and the owl. The cuckoo is summer's warden: swylce geac *mônað geomran reorde* singeð *sumers weard, sorge beodeð*. He prophesies to unplighted maidens, conf. Runa '44, p. 10; 'waz der kukuk hiure sanc,' this year sang, Mone's Schausp. 131.

p. 680.] *Zitefogel*, a prop. name, Mone's Anz. 3, 13. The peasant's *time-bird* is the raven, Kalenb. p. m. 284-7. In Wiltshire the people sing: 'The cuckoo's a fine bird, She sings as she flies, She brings us *good tidings*, And tells us *no lies*. She *sucks* the small birds' *eggs* To make her *voice clear*, And the more she sings "cuckoo," The summer draws near. The cuckoo *comes in April*, Stays the month of May, Sings a song at *Midsummer*, And then a *goes away*.'—An Ukrainian song of the cuckoo in Bodenstedt 57. Acc. to a Germ. song of the 16th cent., the cuckoo 'hat sich zu tod gefallen von einer hohen weide (willow).' The New Zealanders, like the Poles, esteemed the cuckoo a god (*catua*), Klemm 4, 371.

p. 681.] On the sceptres of Egyptian gods sits the *kukupha's head*, Bunsen 1, 435; conf. the figure at 315. 591 with the

kukupha-sceptre, Pindar's Pyth. 1, 10 ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διός, and the variant in Edda, Hafu. 2, 202 Gûngnis ugla. The plates to Pertz Scr. 8 show a *bird perched* on the sceptres of the Germ. kings Henry IV. and V. (conf. the eagle on Arthur's sceptre, Lanc. 30791). The cuckoo is the bird of wedlock and fecundity, that is why he has ten wives given him, Firmen. 2, 243^a. For Notker's 'ruoh,' Ps. 57, 11, both Graff 4, 1150 and Hattemer write *kouh*.—A *Gauchs-perk* occurs in Tirol. urbar. August. a. 1316. MB. 34^b. 360; *Gögeleberg*, Panz. Beitr. 1, 28; *Gogglesberg*, Steub's Rhät. 47; the Swiss name Guggenbühler presupposes a *Guggen-bühel* (-hill); *Girgenberg* in Up. Rhön and near Hersfeld, Hess. Ztschr. 1, 245; conf. Tumbo saz in berge = Stupidus in monte sedebat = giant. Henn von Narrenberg, Seb. Brant p. m. 131; an *Affenberg* near Nürnberg, Ettu. Unw. doct. 698; a *Monkey's mountain* [Jebel Tsatut, the anc. Abyla] on the African coast opp. Gibraltar. On affenberg, schalksberg, see Kl. schr. 2, 147. Gên dem *affen-tal* úzwaten, Hadamar 444, 4; der *affen zít*, Fragm. 14^a.

p. 682.] The cuckoo is reckoned a *miser*, who when the leaves come out in spring, dare not eat his fill, for fear they should run short: 'sô der gouch daz êrste loup gesiht, sô getar sich's gesaten niht, er vürht ez im zerinne,' Freid. 88, 3: more fully in the Welsche gast 114^a: conf. Freid. lxxxvii. In Ssk. he is called 'ab alio nutritus,' Bopp's Gl. 209^b. Gothl. *gauk-pigü*, en fågel som tros ligga ut gökkens ägg, Almqv. 425^b. He eats the hedge-sparrow's eggs, and puts his own in her nest, Freid. 143, 21. 144, 1—10; this is a fact of natural history, Döbel 1, 60. Schubert's Lehrb. p. m. 315. Eckerin. Gespr. mit Goethe 3, 211—5. When grown up, he is said to devour his (foster-) parents, *ibid.* 208, and in winter to become a bird of prey. He begins pretty early to stand for the devil: '*kukuk hiure unde vert!*' this year and last, an old hand, Helbl. 4, 800; '*des wirt guot rât, kukuk!*' 8, 1234.—Instead of the hoopoo, the *wryneck* takes the place of servant to the cuckoo: Finn. *käen piika*, *cuculi ancilla*, is transl. '*jynx torquilla*' by Renvall, '*curruca*' by Juslen. The wryneck is said by Nemnich (sub v. *jynx*) to come a fortnight earlier than the cuckoo; Swed. *gök-tyta*, Wel. *gwas y gog*, cuckoo's hand-maid. The *bittern* and the *hoopoo* were once cowherds, Lisch Meckl. jrb. 5, 77.—The *kibitz*, *kywit*, *peewit*, which plays a

prominent part in the märchen of the Juniper-tree, is called *giritz* in Stalder 1, 448: 'in plover's reedy swamp (*giritze-ried*) enchanted maidens fly.' Other tales of the lapwing in Nares's Gl. sub. v. The polytrichum comm. is in Finn. *käen petkel*, cuculi securis; *gauch-heil* (pimpernel?), which is not in Graff, and is sometimes called *hühnerdarm*, *morsus gallinae*, is in M. Nethl. *guychel-hoyl*, Mone 6, 448.

p. 683.] The *dove*, a holy bird to the Syrians, was in Ssk. called *kapôta* and *prîtu*, Gr. *περιστερά*, Lat. *columba* and *palumba*, Slav. *gólubĭ*, Lith. *karvélis*, *balandis*, conf. pp. 828. 1134-5 n. Kl. schr. 5, 445 seq. Women speaking a foreign tongue were called doves, says Herod. 2, 57. Song-birds seem to have been called *walt-singer*, Geo. 5849; their joy and grief were alluded to (p. 750-4). The *nightingale* passed for a messenger of Mary, Leopr. 79. 'Some say the *lark* and loathed toad change eyes,' Rom. and Jul. 3, 5. The *wren*, Lith. *nyksztélis* (thumbling and wren), Wel. *dryw* (druid and wren), is called 'petite poulette au bon Dieu,' Bosquet 220-1.¹ Disturbing the *redbreast* brings lightning on the house 221; she covers the face of a murdered man with leaves, Hone's Yrbk. 64; on the *red-tail*, see Leopr. 80. The *meislin* (tit) has an angel to himself, Keisersb. Brosäml. 19^c; hunting the *baum-meise* is severely punished, Weisth. 1, 465. The Finn. *tiainen*, Est. *tihhane*, is helpful, and understands beer-brewing, Schiefner's Finn. märch. 614. Kantel 1, 110. A legend of the *white sparrow* in Rommel's Hess. gesch. 4, 710 from Winkelm. Chron. p. 585. On the *kingfisher*, see Gefken's Beil. 113.

p. 685.] Transformation into a *snake* occurs in many fairy-tales. The cast slough of a snake is called *senectus serpentis* in Pliny and Marcellus no. 46 (Kl. schr. 2, 134. 150), agreeing with ON. *elli-belgr* from *elli*, *eld*; e.g. at *kasta ellibelgnum* = vernare. There is a beautiful legend about the snake in Klemm 2, 162-3; it lives for ever, 154. Its appearing is mysterious, so is its vanishing, 'des slangen *sluf*,' Freid. 128, 7. In Ssk. it is called the *creeper*, *wiggler*, *breast-walker*, *uraga*, Bopp 52^b; conf. Genesis 3, 14. The Ind. serpent-sacrifice lasts for years, it com-

¹ Why is the wren called king in the Gr. *βασιλίσκος*, Lat. *regulus*, It. *reattino*, Fr. *roitelet*, and Germ. *zaunkönig*? because of his golden crest? And is *zaunkönig* a transl. of *re-at-tino*, the *zaun* (hedge) being an adaptation by folk-etym. of *tinus* (*laurustinus*)?—TRANSL.

pels all snakes to come up and throw themselves into the fire, Holtzm. 3, 172-3. '186-8. In the Parthenon at Athens lived a serpent sacred to the goddess, and had a honey-cake offered to it every day, Herod. 8, 41. To the Romans also the anguis was holy, Klausen p. 1014.—A caduceus with figures of snakes in Pliny 29, 54 (12); and snake-figures may be seen on the Stuttgart todtenbäume. A serpent on a helmet was called *ezidemón*, Beneke sub v.; 'ezidemon daz edel kunder,' Tit. 3311. Lohengr. p. 12, where his friedelinne (lady-love) is also alluded to. The word is traceable to agatho-daemon, the Egyp. miraculous serpent kneph, Gerhard in Acad. Berl. '47, p. 203. Beside saribant and serpant we find a *sarapandra-test*, serpent's head, Parz. 50, 5. 68, 8. As Ofnir and Sváfñir are the names of two snakes, and at the same time by-names of Oðinn, so Hermes is closely allied to the agathodæmon, Gerh. as above 204; and divine heroes, descended from Oðinn, also inherit the 'snake in the eye' (p. 391). Serpents lick the *ears* of the sleeping Melampus, and on waking up he understands the speech of birds as they fly past, and ever after of all beasts that foretell the future to man. Prophetic Cassandra too, and her brother Helenus, had their ears licked clean by snakes.

p. 687.] The Greeks called the *home-snake* οἰκουρὸς ὄφις, genius loci, Gerh. in Acad. Berl. '47, 203; the Albanian *vittore* is a homesprite, imagined in the form of a little snake, Hahn's Lieder 136; the Samogitian *giuaitos*, black snakes, are fed and worshipped as household gods, Lasicz 51-5-6. That of *milk-drinking* belongs also to the snake-stories in Vonbun p. 24. Bader nos. 98. 106 (on the mocken, p. 686 n., see Schmeller 2, 549. Stalder 2, 212. Diut. 2, 84). Snakes had drink given them, Athen. 4, 364; one that sucked milk out of the breast, in Lucian's Alex. 7. With the Pomeran. story of a snake creeping into the pregnant woman, conf. Vopisci Aurelian. c. 4: 'pueri ejus *pelvem* serpentem plerumque *cinxisse*, neque unquam occidi potuisse; postremo ipsam matrem, quae hoc viderat, serpentem *quasi familiarem* occidere noluisse'; and Spartiani Sever. 1: 'dormienti in stabulo serpens *caput cinxit*, et sine noxa, expergefactis et acclamantibus familiaribus, abiit.'—More tales about the 'schlangen-krönli' in Vonbun 24-5. Woeste 50; about the *king of snakes* in Müllenh. p. 355. Pauzer 1, 183; the Ssk.

Vásukis, rex serpentum, Bopp's Gl. 158^a. Holtzm. 3, 143-5. 196-7. 157. 163. A Swed. story tells how the ormar elect a king, Dyb. '45, p. 100. A serpent-king has 12 heads; he that hews them off, and carries them about with him, is *everywhere victorious*, Reusch no. 74 and app. When an orm is challenged to fight, he keeps the engagement, Dyb. '45, p. 95-6. An adder comes carrying a stone in his mouth, Gesta Rom. ed. Keller pp. 68. 152; conf. *snake-stone*, unke-stone (p. 1219-20). Under a hazel on which mistletoe grows, lies a snake with a precious stone on his head (p. 1207). The *vouivre* wears but one eye in the middle of her forehead, and that is a carbuncle; when she stops to *drink at a fountain*, she *lays it aside*; that's the time to possess yourself of the jewel, and she is *blind* ever after. The *vouivre* flies through the air like red-hot iron, Mém. des antiq. 6, 217; the like in Bosquet p. 204-6-9. 'Des Montags nach S. Peters tach, so *aller wurmichleiche ze wazzer gât*,' Rec. of 1286 in Gemeiner's Regensb. chron. 1, 423; Fâfnir also *skreid̄ til vatz*, Sn. 138. Völs. c. 18. Snakes love to lie beside a spring, Ausland '57, p. 832^b; but the ash-tree has a spite against the snake, Panzer 1, 251. 351.

p. 688.] The *serpent's healing power* is heard of pretty early: 'if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived,' Numb. 21. 9. *Slaver* from the mouths of three colubrae runs into the healing, strengthening dish that has been cooked, Saxo ed. Müll. pp. 123. 193 (in two different stories): two snakes are black, one white. Eating of the white snake makes you know the language of beasts, p. 193. DS.² no. 132. KM.³ 3, 27 (conf. p. 983 and Suppl. to 689. 690). On the other hand, venom drips from the *eitr-orm*, Sæm. 69; snakes are made to suck their poison in again with their 'cleinen munden,' Pass. 310, 20. A Celtic story of the *anguinum* (ovum) made of *serpent's drivel* is given in Pliny 29, 3, 12. On magic wrought by means of snakes, conf. Spalding, Abh. d. Berl. acad.; on the snake as a bridge, and the term bridge's-tail, brûarspordr, see pp. 978. 732 n.

The *toad* also (kröte, Gramm. 3, 364) is a venomous beast available in magic: she carries a stone in her head (p. 1220); she sits on fungus and on mushroom, hence the one is called *krötenstul*, *toadstool*, Dut. *paddestoel*, LG. *paddenstol*, and the

other *weiss-krötling*. Austrian names, besides *krot*, are *hepping*, *braitling*, *nöting*, *brotze*, *auke*, Höfer 2, 47. 175; in Bavaria the male is *braste*, *broz*, *bratz*, Schm. 1, 274, the female *höppin*, *heppin*, also *muml* (aunty), and women are called *heppin* in contempt 2, 221. Add *wetterkröte*, *donnerkröte*, *blitzkröte*.

p. 689.] *Δράκων* is fr. *δέρκω*, as *ὄφις* fr. the lost *ὄπτω*: 'sharp-sighted as a lindwurm,' Soester Daniel p. 141; Gal. *dearc* = *lacerta*. Dragons are akin to snakes, hence the 'multitudo serpentum cum magno dracone,' Greg. Tur. 10, 1; conf. snake-charming and the old dragon in Lucian's *Philops.* c. 12. Dragons worshipped by the Esths, Adam. Brem. (Pertz 9, 374); portrayed on bronze kettles, Lisch in Meekl. jrb. 7, 35—38, 14, 326—330, interpr. by Giesebercht, Balt. stud. 11, 50-1.—A dragon is called *ormr inn fráni*, Sæm. 173^b. 189^b; MHG. *tievels bote*, Wigal. 5080, *tievels trút* 6443 (in 6453 rather the giantess). The *hvit-orm* lives under the roots of the oak, Dyb. '45, p. 78; but they like best to *lie on gold*, which is therefore called *linnar logi*, Sæm. 181^a; the dragon that brings you money behaves like a homesprite (p. 511? 1020). The dragon's *fire-spitting* may have arisen from confounding the kindred notions of fire and poison, Müllenh. in Hpt's *Ztsehr.* 7, 428. A Welsh dragon story in Peredur, Villem. *Contes* 2, 193. Like snakes and toads, these 'worms' also carry *stones*, but in their belly, and so many that you could build half a tower with them, Dietr. u. ges. 300. The dragon lives 90 years in the ground, 90 in the limetree, and 90 more in the desert, Van den Bergh p. 73; these stages of development were evid. suggested by the changes of the caterpillar and butterfly.

p. 690.] Dragons are hated: '*leiðari* enu manni hverjom enu fráni ormr med firom,' Sæm. 85^a with the note: 'vermes, in Speculo regali, vocantur *leiðendi*, odia, quasi res detestabiles.' Therefore heroes make war upon them: Apis comes to Argos, and *slays the dragon's brood*, Æsch. Suppl. 262—7. There are ways of guarding against them, and of killing them: *bläsvorm* in Mors is a venom-spitting worm; he can blow through seven church walls, but not through knitted stockings, Molb. Dial. lex. 43. Again: 'för att en orm med säkerhet skall kunna dödas, ritas först kring honom en ring med *års-gammal hassel-kjäpp*, innan han slås,' Rääf. Coats of mail are hardened in dragon's blood: *gehert* in traken bluote, Ecke 24; ganz al umbe den rant

schilt gemachet von gold und drachenbluot, Wigam. 2105; swert gehert in drachenbluot, Drachenk. 11. It is said of Alexander: 'gebeizet was sîn brunie in eines wurmes bluote, hurnen was siu veste,' Diem. 209. Massm. 1300 seq. Another sword tempered in dragon's blood, DV. 1, 265. Sigurðr, after eating *Fáfnir's* heart, understood the language of birds; Gudrun had eaten some too, Sæm. 211; conf. 'quin et inesse *serpentis* remedia multa creduntur . . . ut possint *avium sermones* intelligi,' Pliny 29, 4 (Suppl. to 638).

p. 691.] In Serv. also *smuk*, serpentis genus, Boh. *smykati*, serpere, ON. *smiuga*; Syriän. *zmey*, snake, Gabelentz p. 8. *Fishes* too deserve attention: Athen. 3, 30-5-6 speaks of a *ἰερός ἰχθύς*, they were beasts of *Artemis* and *Hecate* 3, 194; conf. *Berhta's* herrings (p. 273).

p. 692.] For *chafer* there is even an Egyp. *cheper*; OHG. *chwât-chever* (dung-beetle), scarabæus, Graff 4, 378, *suu-chever*, brucus, N. 104, 34; Westerw. *mai-kleber*, Ravensb. *eckernschäfer*; AS. *cynge cafertûn*, aula regia, Ælfr. Homil. 122. *Keverlinge-burg* and *Severlinge-burg*, Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 559; 'predium *chäver-loch*' (lôh?), MB. 8, 405. 500 (yr 1160), 'hodie *kefer-loh*' 8, 516, AS. *ceafor-leáh*, Kemble nos. 570. 1088. Conf. OHG. *muggi-stat*, Graff 2, 654; *brem-garten*, *brem-stall*, Schm. 1, 258; *bre-garten* = kitchen-garden, says Höfer 1, 113; *Pregarten*, a place in Styria, Rauch 2, 191.—The other term *wibel* occurs in the adjs. *wibel-val*, *wibel-var*, pale, Herb. 6880. 12867. A Welsh *gwibeden*, musca, *gwiblo*, to fly, swarm. *Κάνθαρος κόπρον σφαίραν ποιήσας*, Æsop. Fur. 223. Ælian. Hist. anim. 10, 15. Arist. Hist. anim. 5, 19 (conf. Lucian 8, 428). The Cod. Exon. 426, 11 has: 'is þæs gores suuu gonge hrædra, þone we *wifel* wordum nemnað;' in the same way bees are supposed to spring from putrefaction (p. 696), flies from the devil's rotting tongue, Walach. mährch. 285; and *chuleih*, scarabæus, horse-beetle, *kielecke* or stagbeetle (Schm. 2, 269) seems to have arisen out of *chuo-leih*, and to rest on a belief about the beetle's origin (from cow-dung?), Gramm. 2, 503; conf. *scîn-leih*, monstrum.

p. 693.] The lucanus cervus (conf. H. Müller's Griechenth. 446) is in Finn. *tammihärkä*, oak-ox, Serv. *yelén*, cervus volans, Engl. *stag-beetle*, *stag-fly*, Fr. *escarbot*, Swiss *queger*, *cerambyx*, *holz-bock*, *feuer-bock*, Stald. 1, 445; *feuer-käfer* in the Harz,

where they wrap him in moss, letting the horns stick out, and strike at him blindfold one after the other (as elsewhere at the cock); whoever hits him, takes him home (and has luck, or some honour by it?).—ON. has also *torð-ýfill*, Droplang. saga p. 10: *tio syndir sägas förlátas* (ten sins forgiven) den som vänder om en *på rygg liggande torðyfeel*, Runa '44, p. 8; conf. an Irish tale of the *daol*, Conan 124, and Schiefner on tarwas pp. 4. 5. The Finn. *turila*, *turilas* denotes a voracious insect that spoils fruit and grass, either melolontha or gryllus migratorius, says Renvall; but the same word means *giant*, conf. our heimo. Any one that sees the *wern*, mole-cricket, shall get off his horse to kill it, for it nibbles away the roots of the corn; to him that does so, the farmer owes a loaf of bread. The AS. *corð-ceaforas* = *tanri*, i.e. scarabæi terrestres, was doubtless modelled on the passage in Pliny.

p. 693 n.] Hung. *cserebogár*, maybug, lit. oak-chafer, oak-worm; Pol. *chrabąszcz*, *chrząszcz*, Boh. *magowy chraust*, Russ. *siplj*, O. Sl. *sipl*, Dobrowsky Inst. 271. Prov. *bertals*, *bertaus*, Mahn p. 59. Finn. *lehtimato*, leaf-worm, melolontha, Swed. *löfmatk*. Osnabr. *eckel-tiewe*, Lyra 23, also *eik-schawe*, Münsterl. *ecker-tiefe*, Ravensb. *eekern-schäfer*; Märk. Pom. *zebrehnke*; Swiss *bugareje*, Stald. 1, 239. Walloon: *balowe*, *abalowe*, *biese a balowe* = hannelton, fr. *baloier* = voltiger, and *bizer*, OHG. *pisôn*; *pisewurm* = oestrum. Finn. *urolainen*, a large beetle, *wros* = vir, heros, Serv. *urosh* = picus, heros.—Chafers carry a mirror about them: children in the Wetterau hold a cockchafer in their hands, and sing, 'Menche, weibche, weis' mer emol (do show me) dein spigelche!' the outspread wings? The *elben* are chafers, chrysalids, butterflies, spirits and holden (conf. pp. 1073-4. 1155-6). The *kobold* sits in the box in the shape of a beetle or humblebee, Sommer 33-4. 171-2. Panzer 2, 173. Rochholz 2, 238-9; the Dan. *skrukke-trold* is an insect too, but a wingless one. The Pentam. 3, 5 tells of a *fay* that plays with a sweetly humming chafer (scarafone).

p. 695.] The *coccinella*, Ind. *Indragópa*, Indra's cowherd, Bopp 40ⁿ. Schiefn. on tarwas p. 5; Finn. *lenninkäinen*, which sometimes means the beautiful hero Lemmenkäinen; Engl. *God'lmighty's cow*, Barnes; *sinnenkind*, sun's child, Schütze 4, 225; Austr. *sonnenkalbel*, sun's calf. *Goldwivil*, cicindela, Diut.

2, 94. Boh. *sluněčko* (little sun), *sluněčnice*, coccinella, also *linka*, Pol. *stonka*. Serv. *labe* and *mara*, Mary; the girls set it on their finger, and repeat a rhyme, Vuk p. 9^b. Lith. *dėwo yautis*, God's ox, God's birdie; so the glowworm is with us *liebe Gotts lammje*, Alb. Schott, the dragonfly *unser lieben frauen rössel*, horsie, *Gadespferd*, God's horse, Schütze 2, 6, but also *Devil's horse*, *needle* and *hairpin* (p. 1029), Stald. 1, 276, and *eye-shooter* 1, 119; Finn. *tuonen koira*, death's dog, Boh. *hadě hlava*, snake's head.—The butterfly, Gael. *eunan-dé*, bird of God, Ir. Gael. *dealan-dé* and Gael. *teine-dé*, both fire of God, Ir. *anaman-dé*, anima Dei; conf. Swed. *käring-själ*, old woman's soul, Ihre 2, 529 (see p. 829). Arm. *balafen*, *malafen*, *melven*; *balafennik doué*, petit papillon de Dieu. A butterfly-song of Hanoverian Wendland sounds like the ladybird-song: '*Bottervâgel, sött di, Vâder unn moder röpt di, Mul unn nese blött di*', thy mouth and nose are bleeding; otherwise '*Midschonke, midschonke, sött di*,' etc. A children's song at Lüben calls the butterfly *ketellböter*, kettle-mender, Firmen. 3, 480.

p. 697.] *Bees* live among men, and the joys and sorrows of the family are duly reported to the beehives, Bosquet 217, esp. the death of the master, 'if you wouldn't have all your hives waste away within year and day' they say in Münsterland. The same thing in Wilts, Berks and Surrey. Bees foretell the future to man (p. 1136): a humblebee in the box gives notice of spring, Panzer 2, 173. '*Apesfurtivae*' do not thrive, Pliny 19, 7, 37. Bosq. 217. Their home is carefully prepared: '*istud vas lacte et bona herba linivimus*,' Acta Bened. sec. 2, p. 133. They have come down from the golden age, Leo's Malb. gl. 1, 119.—Ssk. names for the bee are *madhu-pa*, *madhu-kara*, *madhu-lih*, honey-drinker, -maker, -licker; Abrah. a S. Clara calls them *mettsiedlerl*, mead-boilers, Schm. 1, 165. (Kl. schr. 2, 369). Gr. *ἀνθηδών*, flower-eater; but she drinks water too, acc. to a lawphrase in the Weisthümer; conf. 'die bin netzen,' to water the bees, Fischart's Gesch. kl. 87^a. A pretty name is '*pini-súga* (bee-suck) = thymus,' i. e. heath. Finn. *mehiläiskanerva* = clino-podium vulg. A queen-bee settles on the lips of a favoured person, Sv. folks. 1, 78.—Their origin is miraculous: '*diu pié ist maget, wird âne hîleichiu dinc geborn*,' the bee is maiden, born without nuptial doings, Predigten hrsg. v. Kelle 40. 'Der

Veldtbau,' Strasbg 1556, bk 15 cap. 1 relates after Varro de R. R. 2, 5 how bees spring out of the decaying body of a dead bull. Miklosich brings both *b'tchela*, *pcheló*=apis, and *byk*=taurus, under *boukati*=mugire (the hum of the bee?). The Gl. Salom. make wasps come from the rotten flesh of asses, drones from that of mules, hornets from that of horses, and *bees from that of calves*, conf. Diut. 2, 194: ἵππος ἐρρήμιενος σφηκῶν γένεσις ἐστι, Lessing 9, 146 fr. Aelian 1, 28; and bees proceed from the carcase of the lion slain by Samson, Judg. 14, 8. An account of the generation of hornet and bee in Schröter p. 136. Peterson, p. 55. In the Walach. Märch. 284 the white bee turns black.—As the bee in Germ. *weaves* (wift, wabe), in Lith. she *sews* (pri-súti): 'bittes daug pri-súwo,' the bees have stitched a good piece on. Bees *build*: ἔνθα τιθαιβώσσουσι μέλισσαι, Od. 13, 106; they build a wax palace, Stier's Volksm. 24. On the church wall at Folsbach was carved a hummel-nest, because the people had carted stones to it as diligently as the humblebee gathers honey, Panz. Beitr. 2, 173. A mau in Elsass having stolen the Host and thrown it in a field of standing corn, it hung balanced on three stalks, and bees came and built their waben (combs) round it, and over it was reared a chapel, that of the Three Ears; conf. Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 533. Predigermärch. 10, 12. Boyes Rodolphi de H. p. 257. In Cæs. Heisterb. 9, 8 the bees themselves build a chapel over the Hostie.

In Virgil's Georg. 4, 68. 75. 106 the sovereign of the bees is called *rex*, and 4, 4. 88 *dux*, *ductor*; 'einen *fürsten* (prince) hânt *bien*,' MS. 1, 84^a; 'volgheden, also haren *coninc* doen die *bien*,' Maerl. 3, 343; 'alsam diu bin zuo den karn mit fröiden vallent, ob ir rehter *wísel* (var. *wíset*) drinne sí,' MS. 2, 3^a; Flem. '*koning* der *bien*,' Hpt. 7, 533; Hennebg. 'der *hüdher*, der *weisel*,' Brückner. Cherkess *psheh*, prince, Klemm 4, 18. The Samogits allowed bees a god of their own, *Babilos*, and a goddess, *Austheia*, Lasicz 48. On the other hand, the Vita S. Galli (Pertz 2, 7) says: in modum parvissimae *matris apis*, conf. mater aviorum (p. 1242); *bienen-mutter*, Haltrich 121. Their honey is not everywhere sweet: τὸ γὰρ μέλι ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς Τραπεζοῦντος χωρίοις πικρὸν γίνεται, Procop. 2, 461; μέλι Ποντικὸν πικρὸν ἐστι καὶ ἀηδές, Dio Chrysost. Or. 9 (ed. Reiske 1, 289. 290).

The devil appears as a *fly*, so does *Loki* (p. 999). *Spiders* are

akin to dwarfs (p. 471). Out of all herbs the bee sucks sweetness, the spider poison. Yet may the spider be of good omen too; thus the kind enchantress climbs to the ceiling a spider, and drops down a woman, Arnim's Märch. 1, 52-7; conf. *luck-spinner* (p. 1136). Cobwebs fluttering on the ceiling betoken luck and a wedding, Lisch 5, 88; conf. the fortune-telling spider's head (Suppl. to 380 end). Lastly consider the myth of Minerva and Arachne.

CHAPTER XXII.

SKY AND STARS.

p. 700.] *Himmel* comes from *hima*=tego; the root appears without suffix in O.Swed. *himi-rike*; Bopp again would derive it from *kam*=splendore, Gl. 168^b, but this *kam* in Gl. 65^b means *amare*, which is more likely to have had the orig. sense of shelter, cover; and OHG. *himil* already included the meaning *laquear*, *lacunar*. AS. 'scôp heofon tô hrôfe,' and *hrôf* is roof; 'sô himil *thekit* thaz lant,' O. ii. 7, 4; 'mit dem himel was ich *bedacht*,' bethatched, Tragemund. We still say 'the sky is my *decke* (ceiling, coverlid), the earth my bed,' or 'the sky is my *hat*,' as the ON. calls it 'foldar *hattr*,' earth's hat. The sky is a vault, hence 'under heofones *hwealf*,' Beow. 1146. It may burst open: 'ich wânde der himel *waere enzwei*,' in-two, when it thundered, Dietr. Drach. 122^a. 143^a (on the comparison of heaven to the roof of the mouth, see Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 541). A variation of the idea in the ON. 'und himin-skautom,' under the skirts of heaven. Sæm. 173^b. Norweg. *hibna-leite*, *himna-leite*=horizon, Germ. *kimm*, *kimming*.—After death we may go to *himmel* (not *heven*); but the sun, moon and stars in L. Saxony stand in *heven* (not *himmel*); *heven-scher*, scudding clouds, Brem. Ndrs. wtb. 4, 645. *Heven* seems more the æther, the 'radur, rodor' of next paragraph. In Austria they call heaven *blo-landl*, Blue-shire; and OHG. *uflîh*=Olympus, *supernum*.

OS. *radur*, AS. *rodor* (norð-rodor, Cod. Exon. 178, 33) can hardly be conn. with Ssk. *rôdas*, *coelum et terra*, Bopp 295^b. Does the (perh. kindred) word *álf-röðull*, m., Sæm. 37^a, mean the

moon? With AS. *sceld-byrig* connect another expression of Cædmon's, 182, 22: *dag-scealdes hleo*, day-shield's (?) roof.

p. 701.] Ssk. *tárá*, f., Zend. *stár*, Gr. ἀστῆρ, Lat. *stella* fr. *sterna*, is expl. by Bopp, Vocal. 179 as that which is strewn over the sky; by Benfey 1, 661 as that which *strews* its beams, from root *stri*. With *sīdus*, Pott 1, 127 compares Lith. *swidus*, shining, and σίδηρος. It belongs more likely to *sīdo*, *consīdo*, as perhaps even *stella* and *star* are conn. with *sta*, stand; conf. *stalbaum*, and 'er (Got) *sitzet ûf den himel-steln*' rhy. *zeln*, *weln*, MSH. 2, 236^b. MS. 2, 166^b.—In Vermland, *tungel*=star, Almqv. 391^a. Helsingl. 403^a; in Angermanland, *tongel*=måne, Almqv. 307^b. In several languages, flame is called *tongue*, because it licks; in Irish the stars are *rinn*, which answers to the Gael. *roinn*=tip. In Fundgr. 1, 145 a constellation is called *licht-vaz*, lamp.

The OHG. *girusti* of the stars agrees with AS. *hyrste gerûn*, *rodores tungel*, Cædm. 132, 7; 'each star sat in his own little chair,' KM. 31, 138; 'when it thunders, you're afraid a *tron* will tumble out of heaven,' Garg. 181^b; the λαμπρὰ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου, sun's bright table, Aesop 350. The sun has a tent: 'undir röðuls *tialdi*,' Hervar. s. p. 438 (conf. Psalm 19, 4). The stars are considered sons and daughters: 'da mölten *jungiu sūnnelîn wahsen* ûz *sîm lichten schîn*,' little suns grow out of, Wh. 254, 5 (p. 703 end); 'eina *dóttur berr âlf-röðull*,' moon (?) has a daughter, Sæm. 37^a. In Lett. songs the stars are *saules meitas*, sun's girls, *deeva dēli*, sons of God, Büttner nos. 15. 18 (1842).

p. 703.] The sun is 'der *werlde schîn*,' MS. 1, 54^a; 'der *hêrschein*,' Fromm. Mundart. 4, 98. 113 (but see Suppl. to 731): se *æðela gleám*, Cod. Exon. 178, 31; *beorht beácen Godes*, Beow. 1134; *skínandi goð*, Sæm. 45^a. 195^a; *heáðo-sigel*, sol e mari progrediens, Cod. Exon. 486, 17 (conf. p. 223). Three suns are spoken of in Nialss. c. 131 end: til þess er þrjár *sólir* eru af himni.—O. Müller thinks sol and ἥλιος come fr. one fundam. form *Savelios*, see Schmidt's Ztschr. 2, 124 (Kl. schr. 3, 120); Etr. *usil*, Sab. *ausel*. Bopp's Comp. Gram. 42, 1318-9 derives the Zend. *hware* and Ssk. *súra*, *sûrya*, sun, fr. svar, svarga=sky; is *Sûryas* the same word as ἥλιος (for σφῆλιος) and sol? (Pref. liv., GDS. 301). We might also conn. the Goth. *sáuil* with *sáuls*=columna (Kl. schr. 3, 120).—The sun is descr. as a

wheel in Ksrchr. 80; *daz rat der sunnen*, Myst. 2, 180. *Hvel*, *hweol* is also the spinning-wheel, and in Finn. the sun is called *God's spindle*, Kalev. 32, 20 (its usual name is *päivä*, *sol* and *dies*, but also *aurinko*); conf. the constell. Freyja's-spindle, and Tertullian's *pectines solis*, GDS. 107. Before the sun there stands a *shield*; if it fall, it will set mountain and sea ablaze:

Svalr heitir, hann stendr sôlo for,
sciöldr scînanda goði;
 biörg oc brim ec veit at brenna scolo,
 ef hann fellr î frâ. Sæm. 45^a. 195^b.

Ennius (in Varro 7, 73) calls the sun *caeli clipeus*, and the notion is Slavic too, Hanusch 256.—On the sun as an *eye*, conf. Kuhn (in Höfer 1, 150), Passow sub vv. ὄμμα, ὀφθαλμός. *Li solaus qui tout aguete*, Rose 1550. The sun's eye hidden in the well seems to be referred to in such names as *Sunnebrunno* near Düsseldorf, Lacombl. 1, no. 68 (yr 874); *Sonnenbrunne*, Mone's Anz. 6, 227; *Sunnebrunnen*, *Sonneborn* in Saxe Gotha, Dronke's Trad. Fuld. pp. 42. 61; *Sunneborn*, Landau's Hessengau 181; *Somborn* near Gelnhäusen; *Sunnobrunnon*, Werden's Reg. 236, and *ougenbrunne* 6, 230; conf. Förstemann 2, 1336.—To AS. *wuldres gim*, *heofones gim*, Cod. Exon. 174, 30, corresp. the Ssk. *diei dominus*, *diei gemma* = *sol*, Bopp 27^a. Other AS. terms are: *folca friðcandel*, Cædm. 153, 15, *heofoncandel* 181, 34; *rodores candel*, Beow. 3143, *woruldcandel* 3926; *wyncandel*, Cod. Exon. 174, 31.

p. 704.] The Letts regard the *sun* and *moon* as sister and brother, Bergm. 120; in Dalecarlia the moon is called *unkarsol*, Almqv. 261 (is not that Lappish, the junkare's sun?). Goth. *mêna*, OHG. *mâno*, AS. *môna*, ON. *mâni*, all masc.; Carinth. *monet*, Lexer's Kärnt. wtb. Yet also: '*diu maenin* beglîmet,' V. Gelouben 118 (*glîmo*, *gleimo*, Graff 4, 289); *diu maeninne*, MF. 122, 4; *diu mâninne*, Diemer 341, 22. 343, 11. 342, 27; '*der sun (sunne) und diu maeninne*,' Karaj. 47, 8 (Ksrchr. 85-90). MHG. *diu sunne*, Hpt 8, 544. Diemer 384, 6; in Rollenb. '*der harte mond, die liebe sonn*.' The Angevins on the contrary called '*le soleil seigneur, et la lune dame*,' Bodin's Rech. sur l'Anjou 1, 86; so in Ksrchr. 3754 '*der hêrre*' seems to mean the sun, but in contrad. to n. 3756.—The forester kneels to *sun*,

moon and *God*, Baader iii. 21; 'the worship'd sun,' Rom. and Jul. i. 1. Men prayed towards the sun, N.Pr. prov. bl. 1, 300; they salute him (pp. 737. 749), esp. when rising: ὁ δὲ εἰστήκει μέχρι ἕως ἐγένετο καὶ ἥλιος ἀνέσχευ' ἔπειτα ᾗχετο ἀπιῶν, προσευξάμενος τῷ ἡλίῳ, Plato's Symp. 220. A feast of the sun was held in Dauphiné, Champoll. Dial. p. 11. On the Tartar worship of the sun, see K. Schlözer 32-3. Among Tunguses an accused man has to walk toward the sun, brandishing a knife, and crying: 'If I am guilty, may the sun send sickness to rage in my bowels like this knife!' Klemm 3, 68. Serv. 'tako mi suntza!' Ranke p. 59. We still say, when the sun shines warm, 'he means well by us,' Felsenb. 4, 241.—The Moon is called in Ssk. *niṣapati*, noctis dominus, or *naṭrēsa*, *tārāpati*, stellarum dominus; in Pol. *księżyc*, lord of night, and he is shepherd of the stars (Suppl. to 722). The moon is invoked against anger: 'heiptom scal *māna kveḍia*, Sæm. 27^b; and is asked for riches. With the German's naïve prayer to the moon to 'make his money more,' conf. a Swed. one in Wieselgr. 431. Dyb. Runa '44, p. 125, and the 'monjochtroger,' Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 60. To avert the moon's evil influence, the Bretons cry to her, 'tu nous trouves bien, laisse-nous bien!' When she rises, they kneel down and say a pater and ave, Cambry 3, 35.

p. 705.] The sun and moon have gods assigned them: Bacchus is sol, Ceres luna, Macrobian Sat. 1, 18. Virg. Geo. 1, 5. Acc. to F. Magnusen, Freyr is sol, Freyja luna; and four names of Freyja, 'Mardöll, Horn, Gefu, Sýr,' or 'Siofn, Lofn, Vör, Syn' are the moon's phases, Lex. myth. 357-9. Christ is often likened to the sun, Mary to the moon.—Our saying, that 'die sonne scheint, der mond greint,' is old: M.Neth. 'seder dat die maen grên,' Potter 2, 104; MHG. 'diu sunne beschînet, diu maenin beglîmet,' V. Gelouben 118 (Suppl. to 704).

p. 707.] In Pohjola, sun and moon get stolen; the sun is delivered fr. captivity by Perkun's hammer, N. Pr. prov. bl. 1, 299. Kl. schr. 2, 84. 98; conf. 'donec auferetur luna,' Ps. 72, 7. In eclipses the demon Râhus threatens the sun and moon, Kuhn in Höfer 1, 149. Holtzm. Ind. s. 3, 151; a dragon tries to swallow the moon, Cæs. heisterb. 3, 35, yr 1225 (Kaufm. p. 55); the Swed. sol-ulf is Dan. *sol-ulv*, Molb. Dial. p. 533.—But the sun may withdraw his light in grief or in anger:

<p>Sunna <i>irbalg sih</i> (was indignant) thrâto ni liaz si sehan worolt-thiot (-people) <i>hinterquam</i> in thrâti (disgust)</p>	<p>suslîchero dâto (deeds), thaz ira frônisga lioht, thera armalîchun dâti.</p> <p>Otfried iv. 33, 1. O. iv. 33, 14.</p>
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ioh harto thaz *irforakta*.

The sun hides his face before a great sorrow, e.g. at the death of Christ, or that of Von Meran: 'ez moht diu liechte sunne ir schîn dâ von verlorn hân,' Wigal. 8068. Hrab. Maurus in Wh. Müller pp. 159. 160. A fine descript. of a solar eclipse in Pindar, Frag. 74 Boeckh, 84 Bergk. On superstit. practices at the eclipse of 989, Thietmar of Mersebg says 4, 10: 'sed cunctis persuadeo Christicolis, ut veraciter credant, hoc non aliqua *malarum incantatione mulierum* vel *esu* fieri, vel huic aliquo modo seculariter *adjuvari posse*.'

The dæmon that dogs the moon is called by the Finns *capeet*; the *capeen* try to eat her up, Hiärn p. 37-9; Juslen has '*capet, eclipsis lunae*.' Now Renvall sub v. *kavet*, gen. *kapeen*, pl. *kapeet*, gives only the meanings 'dæmon, genius,' conf. Peterson p. 31; but sub v. *kuumet* he has 'moonlight, genius myth. *lunae inimicus*.' Compare that '*deducere lunam et sidera tentat*' (Suppl. to 1089 end), to which is added: 'Et faceret si non *aera repulsa* sonent,' Tibull. i. 8, 21; *aera verberent*, Martial 12, 57; *cum aeris crepitu*, qualis in *defectu lunae* silenti nocte cieri solet, Livy 26, 5; conf. Plutarch 4, 1155.

In lunar eclipses the Ossèts shoot at the moon, believing that a malignant monster flying in the air is the cause; and they go on firing till the eclipse is over, Kohl's S. Russia 1, 305; conf. the legend in Cæs. heisterb. Hom. 3, 35 (Mainzer's Ztschr. 1, 233).

p. 709.] The *change of moon* is called 'des mânen wandelkêre,' Parz. 470, 7, 'd. m. wandeltac' 483, 15, 'd. m. wandel' 491, 5. The period of her shining is expr. by: Sô dem mânen sîn zît In der naht herfür gît,' Er. 1773. By new moon we mean the true conjunction of sun and moon; but the Greeks reckoned the *νομηνία* from their first seeing the young moon at sunset, therefore some time after conjunction, K. F. Hermann's Gottesd. alterth. p. 226. Full moon is reckoned in with the 'afbrâken maan' [i.e. bruch, wane], Goldschm. Oldenb. volksmed. 144. OHG. *mânôt-fengidu*=neomenia, calendae, Graff 3, 415, conf.

fengari p. 701 n.; *anafang mânódis*, N. 80, 5; MHG. ein niuwer mâne hât nâch wunsche sich gestalt, er hât *gevangen* harte wer-declîche,' begun most worthily, MS. 2, 99^a. Welsh *blaen-newydd*, first of the new. The Esths hail the new moon with: 'Moon, get old, let me keep young!' Böcler's Ehsten 143. Full moon: ein *voller mâne*, MS. 2, 83^a; *höifylde*, Molb. Dial. lexic. 'Nova luna est *cornuta*, unde plena rotunda est,' N. Boëth. 171; from the moon's horns it was but a step to the *móon's cow*, Pott 2, 252. The oath of the Fehm-court (RA. 51) has: 'helen und hoden (conceal) vor sunne, vor mane, vor alle *westermane*'; what means this last word? The sun is imagined standing in the east, the moon in the west: 'östen for sol, og *vesten* for *maane*,' Asb. og Moe 2, 6 seq.

p. 711.] Taga blod emellan (let blood betw.) *ny* och *nedan*, Folks. 1, 111. Swed. *nedmörk* is the Gr. *νύξ σκοτομήνιος*, Od. 14, 457. Superstitions about *ned* and *ny*, *ned-axel* and *ny-täudning*, Rääf 110-6. In Dalecarlia, new moon is called *ävävand*, Almqv. 262^b; in the Edda, halfmoon is 'inn *skarði máni*,' Sæm. 134^b, as indeed Perkins *chops the moon in two*, Rhesa 92. 192. The Scand. *ny* is MHG. *daz niu*; thus Diemer 341, 22: 'alsô si an *daz niu gât*, und iewederen (each) halben ein horn hât'; then 342, 27: 'diu mâninne gât niht ze sedele, an *deme niu* noch an *deme wedele*'; but again 341, 21: 'diu mâninne *chrump* wirt unde *chleine*.' A statute of Saalfeld, like that of Mülhausen, says (Walch 1, 14): 'wer da mit uns hierinne in der stat sitzet *nuwe* unde *wedil* (= a month), u. kouft u. verkouft.' 'Neu u. völle desmonds,' Etnn. Unw. doctor 435; 'so hat Luna zwei angesicht, das ein gen *New* u. *Abnew* gricht,' Thurneisser's Archidox. 147; 'vollmond, *bruch* oder *vollschein*,' Franz. Simpl. 2, 301.—Waxing and waning are '*wahsen* unde *swinen*,' Barl. 241, 24; M. Neth. '*wassen* ende *wanen*,' Rose 4638, conf. p. 709 n. [and Engl. *wan*, *wane*, *want*, *wanhope*]. An Ind. myth of the waxing and waning moon in Holtzm. 1, 5—8. KM.³ 3, 401. The moon changes about so, his mother *can't cut out a coat* to fit him, KM.³ 3, 347. Plut. in Conviv. sept. sap. Aesop. Fur. 396. Corais 325. Garg. 135^b.

p. 712.] Is *wedel* akin to Ssk. *vidhu*=luna? Bopp 321^b. Passages quoted in preced. note contrast it with new moon; so '*hölter im wadel gehouwen*,' Hpt's Ztschr. 3, 90; but 'a hole in

his schedel (skull) hewn in *bad wedel*,' Uhl. p. 658. Ambras. 152. On wedel, good and bad wedel, and wedeln to wag, see Liliencron in Hpt 6, 363-4-8. Kuhn's Ztschr. 2, 131. *Wadal*=hysopes, fasciculus hysopi, Diut. 1, 494^a.

p. 715.] The reverse of what Cæsar says about the Germans (de B. Gall. 1, 50) is told by Pausanias i. 28, 4 of the Lacedæmonians, who would only fight at *full-moon*. Silver and gold are brought out at *newen mon*, Sup. G. 108. 'Quaedam faciunda in agris potius crescente luna quam senescente; quedam contra, quae metas, ut frumenta et caedua silvam. Ego ista etiam, inquit Agrasius, non solum in ovibus tondendis, sed in meo capillo a patre acceptum servo, ne decrescente luna tondens calvus fiam,' Varro RR. 1, 37. Moonlight makes rotten, and barrel hoops cut by it will rot sooner, Athen. 3, 7; worms get into wood not rightly hewn: 'hölzer die man nit zu rechter zeit des mons und monat gehauen hat,' Petr. Mihi 108^b; 'si howent raif (they cut hoops, the rascally coopers) an dem niwen mân,' Teufelsnetz 11127; elder to be cut by waxing or waning moon, Gotthelf's Schuldb. 14; more food taken, or less, acc. to the moon, Bopp's Gl. 122^b. Without moonlight, herbs lack scent and flavour, Holtzm. Ind. s. 1, 6. 8; 'tes mânen tou ist anagenne, unde sâmô saphes unde marges' [Moon's dew is regeneration, the seed of sap and marrow?], N. Cap. 25. Drink out of a jug that the moon shines into, and you'll be moonstruck [lunatic, sleep-walker?], Stelzhamer 47.

p. 720.] The *moon's spots* are also descr. as a *stag*, Hitzig's Philist. 283. In a Greenland story, while the Moon pursues his sister the Sun, she dabs her sooty hands over his face; hence the spots, Klemm 2, 314. The New Zealand view is, that they are like a woman who sits plucking Gnatuh 4, 360. The Ranthum people think the man in the moon is a giant, standing upright at ebb-time, and stooping at flood, Müllenh. p. 360; but also in the same neighbourhood he is a sheep-stealer or cabbage-thief, as in Holland, no. 483; conf. the Wallachian story in Friedr. Müller no. 229, and the Westphalian in Woeste 40. In the Ukermark he carries a bundle of pea-straw, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 390; 'und sprechend die laien, es sitz ain man mit ainer dorn-pürd (thorn-load) in dem monen,' Megenb. 65, 22. Ettner's Med. maulaffe speaks of a bundle of wood to fire the moon with. 'Burno, nom

d'un voleur, que les gens de la campagne prétendent être dans la lune,' Grandgagnage 1, 86. Acc. to Schott, the Old-Chinese tradition makes a man in the moon continually drive his axe into the giant tree kuei, but the rifts close up again directly; he suffers for the sins he committed while an anchorite. At Wallenhausen in Swabia they used to ride races for the dorn-büschele: three lads would start for the goal, the two foremost got prizes, and the third had a bunch of thorns tied on his back. In Bavaria the reapers leave a few ears standing, and dance round them, singing:

O heilige sanct Mäha,
 beschér (grant) ma a annasch gahr (year) meha
 so vil körntla, so vil hörntla,
 so vil ährla, so vil gute gährla,
 so vil köppla, so vil schöckla;
schopp dich städala, schopp dich städala!
 O heilige sanct Mäha!

The stalks tied together represent St. Mäha's *städala* (stack), which they *stuffed* full of ears; only we must observe, that in Bavaria the moon is called *má*, not *mäha*, Panz. Beitr. 2, 217 (Suppl. to 157). The *Kotar* on p. 719 n. was a herdsman beloved by the goddess Triglava, who put him in the moon. Finn. *kuutar* = moon, Kalev. 22, 270. 26, 296 or moon-maiden, from *kuu*, moon, Est. *ku*, Morduin. *ko*; and *kuumet* is the pursuer of the moon, Peterson p. 31-3. In Brother Gheraert ed. Clarisse p. 132 the man in the moon is called *ludergehr*; conf. the Saxon hero Liudegêr in the Nibelungen, and Gödeke's Reinfried 90.

p. 720.] *The sun dances* at Easter (p. 291). The Indians say the sun dances, and they in imitation salute him with dancing. Lucian. de Saltat. cap. 17.

p. 722.] The *stars* are said to glisten, twinkle, sparkle: *sternen glast*, MS. 2, 5^b; *ein sternen blic*, flash, Parz. 103, 28. The morning stars break out, like fire: *swenne der morgensterne io früeje uf brast*, MS. 2, 5^b; *an der sterren brunste*, burning, Diut. 1, 352; *sterre enbran u. schein*, took fire and shone 1, 351; conf. N. Cap. 97. The sinking, 'rushing down' of stars is in Grk *ἀσσεῖν*, Eurip. Iph. Aul. 9.—In Hungary 280 native names of stars have been collected, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 160.

Magyar Myth. 582; several names occur in Ossian, Ahlwardt 2, 265. 277. 3, 257. Arfvidss. 1, 149. 206; Armenian names in Dulaurier's Chronol. armén. '59, 1, 180-1.—Stars were invoked, as Hesperus in Bion 11; they were messengers of gods, as Arcturus in the prol. to Plaut. Rudens; they do errands for lovers, Vuk no. 137. Stars are *kind* or *hostile*: *quaeritis et caelo Phoenicum inventa sereno, quae sit stella homini commoda, quaeque mala*, Prop. iii. 21, 3; interpreting the stars is spoken of in MS. 1, 189^b; Prov. *astrucs* (astrosus) meant lucky, and *mal-astrucs* dis-astrous; 'her star is at the *heat* (brunst). . . . till their stars have *cooled down* (versaust, done blustering),' Ph. v. Sittew. p. 614. Stars take part in a man's birth (p. 860) and death (p. 721). They have angels to wait on them, Tommaseo 1, 233. For the misdeed of Atreus; God changed the courses of all the constellations, Plato's Polit. pp. 269. 271.

The stars are the moon's flock, she leads them to pasture, Spee p. m. 163. 210. 227. A Serv. song, Vuk no. 200, says:

od sestritze zvezde preodnitza,
shto preodi preko vedra neba
kao pastir pred bèlim outzama.

What star is meant by *preodnitza* (percurrens), 'who walks athwart the sky, as a shepherd before his white lambs'? conf. no. 362:

osu se nebo zvezdama,
i ravno polye outzama;

i.e. heaven sows itself with stars, and the wide plain with lambs. So in Pentam. 3, 5 (p. 310): *quanno esce la luna a pascere de rosata le galinelle* (Pleiades).

On *shooting stars*, see Humb. Kosmos 1, 393; they are called *stern-fürwe* (-furbish), Mone 8, 497; Austr. *stearn-raispn*, clearing the throat, *stearn-schnaitzn*, snuffing, Stelzh. 135—144; Gael. *dreug, dreag*. A star falls from heaven into the maiden's lap, Müllenh. p. 409; conf. 'non cadere in terram stellas et sidera cernis?' Lucr. 2, 209. They are harbingers of war, of dying, Klemm 2, 161; says the folksong: 'Over the Rhine three stars did fly, Three daughters of a widow die,' Simrock no. 68.—A comet is ON. *hala-stiarna*, Ir. *boid-realt*, tail-star, Ssk-

dhûmakétu, fumi vexillum. The Indians call the tail elephant's tooth, the Chinese a broom, Kosmos 1, 106. In Procopius 1, 167 the star is *ξιφίας*, sword-shaped, or *πωγωνίας*, bearded. It foretells misfortune; hence 'we name it the dreadful *scourge* of God,' zorn-rod, anger-rod, Lucae Chron. 249; 'et nunquam caelo spectatum impune cometen,' Claud. B. Get. 243, crine vago 247.

p. 723.] The Greeks called Mercury *Στίλβων*, Jupiter *Φαέθων*, Saturn *Φαίνων*, Venus *Φωσ-φόρος* = Luci-fer, and Mars *Πυρόεις*, five planets in all; conf. Cic. de Nat. D. 2, 20; so the third day of the week was *Πυρόεις*, the fourth *Στίλβων*.—The evening star was also called *tier-stern*, 'darumb daz die wilden tier dan herfür gent (wild beasts then go forth) auz iren walden und holern,' Oberl. 1639. Similar is the Lith. *žwerinné* fr. *žwëris*, fera, Boh. *zujřetnice*, wild star, evening star; conf. AS. *swána steorra*. Another Boh. name *temnice*, dim star, is like MHG. tunkelsterne. Welsh *gwenó*, evening star, Venus. The Lith. has also *wakaninne*, evening star, *auszrinne*, morning star, beside *žwerinné mažoyi* for Mars, and *žwerinné dideyi* for Saturn.—The day star, 'der lichte tage-sterre' of Albr. v. Halb. (Haupt 11, 366), is Serv. *danitza*, Boh. *dennice*, Russ. *dennítza*; 'der bringe-tag' in Scherfer's Grobian 75 is modelled on luci-fer. Der morgensterne, swenne er *úf gât*, und in des luftes trüebe lât, Iw. 627; der morgenstern *frolocht* reht, ob er brinne, Hätzl. 3^a; ik forneme des morgensternes *slach*, Upstand. 750; 'some say the devil has taken the daystar *captive*, hence the cold and ill weather,' Gutschlaf's Wöhhande p. 265.—The polar star, ON. *hiara-stiarna*; OHG. *leite-sterre*, loadstar, Graff 6, 723; MHG. *leite-sterne*, Trist. 13660,¹ also *mer-sterne*, stella maris, Griesch. 2, 13; *cathlim der flut* in Oisian 2, 334; in O. v. 17, 31 'Polónan then stetigon,' nom. *Polóni*? conf. *polunoci* [pure Slav. for midnight!] = septentriones, Graff 3, 334. The Lapp. *tjuold* = palus and stella polaris, because it stands firm as a stake; Americ. *ichka chagatha*, star that goes not, Klemm 2, 161.

p. 724.] Acc. to Sæm. 76^a it was *Thórr*, not *Oðinn*, that threw Thiassi's eyes into the sky. Theodosius was changed into a star, Claud. de 3 cons. Hon. 172, de 4 cons. 428. John the Baptist's

¹ *Leyt-gestirn* in the Wetterau (Höfer's D. urk. 60. Schmidt's Gesch. d. grossh. Hessen 1, 241) is spelt in the Cod. Lauresh. 3128—30. 249. 250-2 *Leit-kestre*, *Leit-estare*, *Leiz-castro*, and has therefore nothing to do with star.

head was placed in the sky (p. 284-5), so was that of Râhu, Holtzm. Ind. s. 3, 151.

p. 725.] Ssk. *rxâs* pl., the shiners (the 7 sages), *rxas* sing., the shiner=*ἄρκτος*. Indra's *car* is made of the *seven sages*; the constell. may also be called *vâhanam*, waggon, Kuhn in Höfer 1, 159. 161. Holtzm. Ind. s. 1, 30. The Grt Bear repres. the British *Arthur* (confounded with Arcturus), and the Lyre is his harp, Davies's Mythol. p. 187. All the luminaries ride in cars: 'luna rotigeræ vagationis,' Kemble 5, 195 (yr. 931). *Charles wain* is over the chimney, 1 Henry IV. 2, 1; *der wagen* ist ob dem hus, Keisersb. Brösaml. 70^e; *der himelswagen* schon die deichsel rückwärts drehet, Scherfer's Grobian ed. 1708, p. 72. An O. Belg. riddle asks who it is that has to go round on the Roodestraat all night in a coach without horses, and appears in the morning: '*Bruno* heeft een' *koets* ghemaekt Op vier wielen, zonder peerden; *Bruno* heeft een' *koets* ghemaekt, Die alleen naer Brussel gaet;' meaning the coach in the sky, Ann. de la Soc. d'émul. de la Flandre occid. '42, 4, 368. *Geticum plaustrum*, Claud. de B. Get. 247; and Alanus ab Insulis (d. 1202) in his Anti-Claudian makes allegorical females construct a *heavenly car*, Cramer's Gesch. d. erzieh. p. 204. Festus sub v. *septentriones*, septem boves juncti. Varro 7, 74: *boves et temo*. Ov. Met. 10, 447. Ex Ponto iv. 10, 39: *plaustrum*. Gl. slettst. 1, 2: *Virgalias*, *sibinstirne*; and 6, 392. 479: *Majae*, *Pliadas*, *sibinstirnes*.—Ir. *grigochan*, a constell.; Gael. *grigirean*, *Charles wain*, otherw. *crann*, *crannarain* (p. 729 n.); *griglean*, *griglean meanmnach*, *griglachan*, *Pleiades*. Ir. *cameeachta*, *plough*, *ploughshare*, seven stars of the wain. Finn. *otava* or *otavainen*, *ursa major*, is distingu. fr. *vähä otava*, *ursa minor*; yet *otava* can hardly belong to *ohto* (*ursus*). In Kalev. 28, 393-4 *otavainen* and *seitsentähtinen* (seven stars) are used as if synonymous, and both have shoulders. The Lapp. *sarw* is both alces, elk, and *ursa major*; in Ostiak too the constell. is called *los*, elk (Klemm 3, 128), and has a head and tail. In Greenl. it is *tukto*, reindeer, Klemm 2, 314. Fabricius 504^b. In American, *ichka shachpo* is supposed to be an ermine with its hole, its head, feet and tail, Klemm 2, 161. The Arabs call the two end stars of the bear's tail *mizar* and *benetnash*, and the third, which is the pole of the wain, *alioth*; the remaining four make the axles.

p. 727.] Orion's belt, Lat. *jugula, jugulae*: 'nec Jugulae, neque Vesperugo, neque Vergiliae occidunt,' Plaut. A. i. 1, 119; also *ensis* and *ensifer*, Forcell. sub v. *ensis*: 'nitidumque Orionis ensem, Ov. Met. 13, 294. In Westgötl. *Frigge-råkken* and *Jacobs staf*; ON. *fiskikallar*, F. Magn. Dag. tid. 105. 'Orion constell. a rusticis vocatur *baculus S. Petri*, a quibusdam vero *tres Mariae*,' Gl. Augiens. in Mone 8, 397; in Schleswig *Mori-rok* and *Peri-pik*, Müllenh. no. 484. Finn. *Kalevan miekka*, Kalevae ensis, also *Väinämöisen miekka* or *vikate* (sithe), Schiefn. on Castrén p. 329; Lapp. *niäll, niälla*, which usually means taberna, repositorium; in Greenl. the belt is named *sicktut*, the bewildered, being seal-hunters who lost their way, and were caught up and set among the stars, Klemm 2, 314; conf. the Lappish legend about the Pleiades, below.

p. 729.] Of the 7 Pleiads only *six* are ever seen, Humb. Kosm. 3, 65; quae septem dici, sex tamen esse solent, Ov. Fast. 4, 171 (see p. 728 n.). AS. Gl. 'pliadas, *sifunsterri*,' Oehler 359. Fr. *l'estoille poussinière*, Rabelais 1, 53; las *couzigneiros*, Dict. Languedoc. 127. The Hung., beside *fiastik*, has *heteveny*. In Serv. märch. pp. 15 and 87 appears a girl with the golden hen and chickens, conf. Vuk no. 10; the Wallach. story tells of a gold *cluck-hen* and *five chicks*, Schott p. 242.¹ Syryän. *vojkodzyun*, lit. night-star. The Lith. and Finn. notion of the constellation being a sieve reminds me of Lucian's Timon 3, where the quaking earth is compared to a shaken sieve.—The Pleiades are called in Norweg. Lapp. *nieid-gierreg*, fr. *nieid* = virgo, and *gierreg* = samling af en rets besiddere; but in Swed. Lapp. *suttjènes råuko* (Lindahl 406. 443^b), i.e. fur in frost: the sky, taking pity on a man whom his master had turned out of the house in the depth of winter, covered him with this constellation (F. Magn. in Dag. tider p. 103 gives *tjokka* = heart, which Lindahl has not under *tsákke*). Greenl. *kellukturset*, hounds baiting a bear, Klemm 2, 314. Fabricius 188^a; conf. Welsh *y twr tewdws*, the close pack, i.e. Pleiades, and *eburdung* (p. 727). The Amer. Indians worship this constell., Klemm 2, 112. 153. 173.—Similar to the Lith. name for the Kids, viz. 'ploughman and

¹ The lost lamb is looked for at the morningstar, eveningstar, moon and sun, Lith. in Rhessa p. 290-1-2; conf. p. 707-8, and 'coming to the sun, and asking him,' Hym. in Cerer. 64.

oxen,' is the Serv. *voluyaru* (fr. vol, ox ?), a star that ploughmen know, for when it rises they look out for their oxen. Cassiopeia is Lith. *jostandis*, no doubt fr. *josta*, girdle. The Hyades, AS. *raedgastran*. Lye: 'the five in the head of Taurus'; *raedgaesnan*, Gl. Epin., *redgaesrum*, Gl. Oehl. p. 336. The Lyre, Boh. *hausličky na nebi*, fiddle in the sky.

p. 731.] The constellation of the Bear is made out from the animal's head, back and tail. A star with the shape of a child, Pass. 24, 30 seq.; conf. the sun as a spindle (Suppl. to 703 mid.). Most natural of all was the making of stars out of *beaming eyes* (p. 565-6-8), as in the story of Thiassi and the New Zealand one, Klemm 4, 354-5. 388.

The northern lights (aurora borealis) are called *heerbrand*, *heerschein*, Frommann 4, 114 (Suppl. to 703 beg.); Swed. *norr-sken*, Dan. *nord-lys*; Gael. *firchlis*, *na fir chlise*, the merry dancers, Welsh *y goleuny gogleddol*. Finn. the fox's fire; conf. Gesta Rom. c. 78, and note to Keller's Sept sages ccxx.

p. 734.] On names of the rainbow, see Pott in Aufr. and Kuhn's Zts. 2, 414 seq. The ON. *Âs-brû* is OS. *Osna-brugga*, Massm. Egsterst. 34. Zeuss p. 11; *regenbogen-brücke*, Firmen. 2, 45. Ir. and Gael. *blogha braoin*, Carraigth. 54. The ON. *brúar-spordr*, bridge's tail, is further illustr. by a MHG. *sporten*, *caudae vulpium*, Griesh. 1, 125. 2, 42. The rainbow is called a messenger in Fornm. sög. 9, 518: *grárr regen-bodí Hnikars stôð â grimmum Göndlar hinn þegna*. Pliny 24, 13 (69): 'coelestis arcus in fruticem innixus'; more plainly 12, 24 (52): 'tradunt, in quocunque frutice curvetur arcus coelestis, eandem quae sit aspalathi *suavitatem odoris* existere, sed si in aspalatho, inenarrabilem quandam'; and 17, 5 (3): 'terrae odor . . . in quo loco arcus coel. dejecerit capita sua.' Another superstition is, that a *treasure* lies hidden at the foot of the rainbow, Panzer 1, 29.—Duller p. 35 cites the name *wetter-maal* (county Guttenstein), which I find nowhere else; *regenboum*=iris, Gl. Sletst. 39, 320. Finn., beside *taivaan-kaari*, heaven's bow, has *vesi-kaari*, water bow, *Ukon-k.*, *sateen-k.*, rain bow. To the Greenlander the rainbow is the hem of a god's garment, Klemm 2, 327. The Poles have *dąga*, bow, corresp. to Russ. Serv. *dugá*, but not in the sense of iris, which they call *teczka*. The Lettic has also *deeva johsta*, Bergm. p. 124, and the Lith. *dangaus szlota*, heaven's

broom. Schmeller 2, 196 has 'die *himmel-blüe*, rainbow,' conf. Iris, who gives her name to both rainbow and flower (Perunika, Suppl. to 1216 n.). Ssk. *Indri telum*, Bopp 43^a. The Tartars make a feast when the rainbow appears, Kurd Schlözer p. 11.

The Poljan-daughter sits on the air-bow (ilman weimpele), the sky-bow (taiwon kaari), *weaving*, Kalev. rune 3 beg. There also sit the sun (Päivätär) and moon (Kuntar), to listen to the song of Wäinämöinen 22, 17, spinning gold the while, till the spindles drop out of their hands 26, 296. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xx., end: 'Et quoniam est signum permutationis auræ . . . igitur apud poëtas legimus saepe, *Irim de coelo mitti*, cum praesentium rerum verti necesse sit status.'

CHAPTER XXIII.

DAY AND NIGHT.

p. 737.] On the origin of ἡμαρ, ἡμέρα, Bopp thinks differently, see Gr. 505. With Dagr as a mythical person conf. Baldæg, Swefdæg; of his son [or father] Dellíngr it is said in Fornald. sög. 1, 468: 'uti fyri *Dellíngs* dyrum,' under the open sky. The Edda makes night precede and produce day, conf. 'nox *ducere diem* videtur,' Tac. Germ. 11.

In spite of Benfey, the Ssk. nið and nakt seem to belong to one root. In GDS. 905 I have traced our nacht to nahan. The Ssk. *rajanî* seems akin to Goth. *riqis*, Ir. *reag*, AS. *racu* (p. 813 end). Other words for night: Ir. *oidhche*, *aidche*, Zeuss 257, Gael. *oiche*; Finn. *yö*, Est. *ö*, Hung. *éj*, Lapp. *iya*, *ya*; Basq. *gaüa*, *gauba*, *arratsa*, *zaroa*. The Greek language has a separate name, *νυκτὸς ἀμολγός*, for the last third of the night, when dreams are true (p. 1146 mid.); [but also the first third, when Hesperus shines, Il. 22, 317].

p. 737.] Day and night are holy: ἡὸς δῖα, Od. 9, 151. 306; mit Got und dem *heiligen tag*, Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 536-7; so mir der heilige dach! 107, 46. 109, 19; so mir Got u. dat *heilge licht!* 254, 19; so mir dat heilige licht! 57, 1. 105, 30; summer (so mir) der dach, der uns allen geve licht! 14, 50. 119, 1. 69, 21; God ind der *gode dach* 7, 41. 21, 40. 65, 55; so mir der gode dach, so uch der g. d.! 33, 39. 219, 62; durch den guden dach

69, 21. 196, 3. 312, 63; *sô mir der guote tac!* Ges. Abent. 3, 227; *als mir helf der g. t.!* 3, 243; *dor dere van den goden dage*, Lanc. 44948; *bi Gode ende bi den goeden dage*, Walew. 155; *Reinaert*, coming out of his hole, 'quedde den *schonen dach*', Rein. 2382; 'Saint Jourdhuy,' Théâtre Franç. 2, 47; *qui parati sunt diei maledicere*, MB. 26, 9 (n. 1256), conf. 'wê geschehe dir (woe betide thee), Tac, daz du mich lâst bî liebe langer blîben niht!' Walth. 88, 16. Of a piece with the above adjurations is our 'as sure as the *day* stands in heaven'; OHG. *theist giwis io sô dag*, O. v. 12, 33; MHG. *ich weiz ez wârez als den tac*, Trist. 6646; 'daz ist wâr sô der tac,' Diemer 78, 8.

p. 738.] Day appears as a personality independent of the sun: 'Awake the *god of day*,' Haml. 1, 1; 'hoer tag, den nieman bergen kan,' Spiegel after Altsw. 191; quasi senex tabescit dies, Plaut. Stich. v. 1, 8, conf. the Plautian phrase 'diem comburere'; mit *molten* den tag *austragen*, Burc. Waldis 272^b; *eya, tach, weres du veile*, Haupt 1, 27; *herre, wâ is (how goes) der tach?* En. 297, 18; *ez was hôhe ûf der tach* 300, 13; *waz wîzet mir der tach (got to say against me), daz er niene wil komen?* 335, 14; *alt und junge wânden, daz von im der ander tac erschine*, Parz. 228, 5.

Uchairsravas, the heavenly steed of day, emerges from the ocean, Holtzm. Ind. s. 3, 138—140.

Hunc utinam nitidi Solis praenuntius ortum
afferat *admisso* Lucifer *albus equo*. Ov. Trist. iii. 5, 55.

Ἀνίκα πέρ τε ποτ' ὠρανὸν ἔτρεχον ἵπποι
Ἄω τὰν ῥοδόπαχυν ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῖο φέροισαι. Theocr. 2, 174.

The shining mane of day agrees with the ancient notion that rays of light were hairs; Claudian in Prob. et Olybr. 3 addresses the sun:

Sparge diem *meliore coma*, *crinemque reperi*
blandius elato surgant temone jugales,
efflantes roseum frenis spumantibus ignem!

Compare too the expression Donnerstags-pferd, Thursday's horse.

p. 738.] The sun rises: *er sôl rann up*, Fornm. s. 8, 114. Sv. folks. 1, 154. 240. Vilc. s. 310; *rinnet ûfe der sunne*, Diem. 5, 28; *errinnet* 362, 26; *der sunne von dir ist ûz gerunnen*, MS. 1, 28^a. Lith. *utžteka* sâule, up flows the sun, fr. tekėti; light

also flows and melts asunder, conf. 'des tages in zeran,' Wigam. 3840. 'Morne, da diu sunne *úfgát*, u. sich über alle berge lát,' Dietr. drach. 345^b; swâ si vor dem berge *úfgát*, MS. 1, 193^b, conf. M. Neth. baren, ontpluken (Suppl. to 743); ê diu sunne *úfstige*, climb up, Dietr. dr. 150^a; dei sunne *sticht hervor*, Soesterfehde (in Emmingh.) 664; die sonne begonste *rîsen*, Rein. 1323; li solauz *est levez*, et li jors *essauciez*, Guitecl. 1, 241; 'des morgens, do de sunne *wart*,' came to be, Valent. u. Namel. 243^b; 'wan dei sunne *anquam*,' arrived, Soester-f. (in Em.) 673, *bricht an* 627. 682; 'diu sunne *úftrat*,' stept up, Mar. leg. 175, 47. 60; de sonne *baven de bane quam*, Val. u. Nam. 257^b; diu sunne *was úf hô*, Fraend. 340, 29; bi *wachender* sunnen, Keyserrecht. Endemann p. 26.

p. 740.] Er sach die sonne *sinken*, Lanc. 16237; diu sunne *under sanc*, Pass. 36, 40; die sonne *sanc*, soe *ghinc onder*, also soe dicke hevet ghedaen, Walew. 6110; sô der sunne *hinder gegât* (LG. hintergegangen?), MS. 2, 192^b; von der sunnen *úfginge* u. *zuogange*, Griesb. 2, 23; hinz diu sunne *zuo gie* (went-to) 122; dô diu sunne *nider gie* (went down), Nib. 556, 1; diu sunne was ze tal *gesigen* (sunk), Wh. 447, 9; ouch *éiget* diu sunne *sêre* gegen der *âbentzâte* (sinks low toward eventide), Trist. 2512; also die sonne *dalen* began, Lanc. 16506; also hi di sonne *dalen* sach, Maerl. 3, 197; ê sich diu sun *geneiget* (stooped), MSH. 3, 212^a; zu dal di sunne was *genigen*, Diut. 1, 351; des âbends dô sich *undersluoc* diu sunne mit ir glaste, Pass. 267, 51; diu sunne ie zû ze *tale schôz* (downward shot), Alb. v. Halb. (Haupt 11, 365); der sunne ze âbent *verscein*, Rol. 107, 23. Ksrchr. 7407; = die sunne *iren schîn verluset* (loses her sheen), Keyserr. Endem. p. 210; metter *sonnen-scede* (discessu), Limborch 8, 206.—On coucher, colcar, collocare, *solsatire*, see RA. 817: einz *vif soleil cochant*, Aspr. 39^b; 'und sôlar *siot*,' till set of sun, Sæm. 179^b; 'untaz siu *sizzit*,' until she sitteth, Fragm. 29, 14; e die sonne *gesässe*, Weisth. 2, 453; bis die sonne *gesitzt* 2, 490; *in sedil gân* = obire, Diut. 2, 319^a.

(Sunne) gewîted on *west-rodor*, Cod. Exon. 350, 23; *west* on-hylde swegelbeorht hinne *setl-gonges fûs* 174, 32; bis die sonne wider der *forste gibel* schinet, Weisth. 3, 498. Norw. 'solen begyndte at helde mod *aas-randen*,' Asb. Huldr. 1, 1, and 'solen stod i *aas-kanten*,' 1, 27, went towards, stood at, *aas's edge*; for this

and for *giâhamarr*, conf. F. Magn. Dagens tider p. 15 and Bopp's Gl. 25^b: '*Asta*, nomen *montis occidentalis*, ultra quem solem occidere credunt;' it came to mean sunset, and at last any downfall: 'Day sinks behind the *best of mountains*, *Ast*,' Kuruinge 563. 1718. 2393. Holtzm. Ind. s. 3, 183-4. (Pott in his Zählmeth. 264 derives *asta*, sunset, fr. as = *dejicere*, ponere); 'diu sunne an daz *gebirge* gie,' Ecke 110; ἔτι εἶναι ἥλιον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι, καὶ οὐπω δεδυκέναι, Plato's Phædo 116; ichn geloube niemer mê, daz sunne von *Mycène* gê, Trist. 8283 (Mycenæ in Argolis, Sickler p. m. 283-4). In a rocky valley of Switzerland, at a certain hour once a year, the sun shines through a hole in the mountain-wall, and illumines a church-steeple; conf. the sun shining into Belsen church, Meier's Schwäb. sag. 297.—'Dô diu sunne ze *gaden* solde gân,' Morolt 1402; de sunne geit to *gade*, Brem. wtb. 1, 474; ἥλιος κοιμάται, Wieselgr. 414; de sunne woll to *bedde*, Firmen. 1, 329. M. Neth. 'die sonne vaert henen thaerre *rusten* waert,' Maerl. 3, 124; umb jede abendzeit, ehe die sonne zu *hause* kömpt, Brehme B. 1^a; 'Moidla (girls), geit hoim! Die *sun* geit *no*; Kriegt koene koen tanzer, Wos steit ihr den do?'—'Eh die sonne zu *genaden* get,' Weisth. 1, 744. 2, 492; e die sunne under zu *genaden* gienge 3, 510. Does the Goth. *remi-sol*, *rimi-sauil*, mean the sun at rest? Hpt's Ztschr. 6, 540; quant li solaus *ganchi* (tottered), Mort de Garin 144. Note the phrase in Walewein 8725: 'Doe begonste die sonne gaen *Te Gode* van den avonde saen;' conf. Esth. 'pääw lähbäb loya,' the sun *goes to his Maker* = sets. The light of sunset is thus expr. in MHG.: 'diu sunne z'âbunde *schein*,' to evening shone, Karl 3525.

p. 742.] ON. *glâdr* = nitens and laetus, and we say 'beaming with joy'; so the beaming sun is called 'Glens bedja *Guð-blið*,' God-blithe, Edda Sn. Hafn. 1, 330. *Sunnenfroh* (or *Sunnenfrö*, Mohr's Reg. v. Fraubrunnen no. 381, yr 1429) may mean 'glad as the sun,' or 'of the sun,' as in Boner 66, 42. A maiden in a Swed. song is named *Sol-fagr*, var. *Solfot*, Arfv. 1, 177. 180; at *glädja* sig = to set, Sv. äfvent. 342. At evening the sun's bow goes to joy: illalla *ilohon*, Kalev. 27, 277. Acc. to Hagen's Germ. 2, 689 the sun has a golden bed, lies, sleeps on gold: als di soune in *golt* geit, Arnsb. urk. no. 824, yr 1355; *gieng* die sonn im *gold*, Günther 783; de sunne ging to *golde*, Ges. Abent. 2, 319; singt als die sonne fast zu *golde* wolde *gehn*, Scherfer

195. — The sun in rising out of the sea, *crackles*, Ossian 3, 131 ; and the image of the *zolutà bába* (golden granny) utters tones, Hanusch p. 167 ; like Memnon's statue, Lucian's Philops. 33.

p. 743.] Oannes (the sun) dips in the sea every evening, Hitzig's Philist. 218.

Ἥμος δ' ἥελιος μετενίσσεται βουλυτόνδε, Od. 9, 58. Il. 16, 779.

Ἥελιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέον προσέβαλλεν ἀρούρας

ἔξ ἀκαλαρρείταιο βαθυῤῥόου Ὠκεανοῖο

οὐρανὸν εἰσανιών, Il. 7, 421. Od. 19, 433.

Ἥελιος δ' ἀνόρουσε, λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην,

οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον, Od. 3, 1.

Occiduo lota profundo sidera mergi, N. 221. 'Sage me, for hwam scíne seo sunne swá reáde on ærne morgen? Ic þe secge, for þam þe heo cymð up of þære sæ,' Altd. bl. 1, 190 ; nu gengr sôl î egi, Alex. saga p. 163. The sun bathes at night, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 389. N. Pr. prov. bl. 1, 298 ; 'dô begund' ez werden naht, und *sleich* diu sunne nâch ir aht umbe daz *norden-mere*, als ê, crept round the northern sea, Geo. 6001 ; weil die sonne *niedertunkt*, Schmidt v. Wern. 184. — But the sun also goes into the forest. Swed. 'solen går i skogen' : sol gått i skog, Folks. 1, 155 ; när sol gick i skog, Cavall. 1, 96 ; 'sipan sol är undi viþi,' got behind the trees, Oestg. 175 (F. Magn. Lex., sub v. landvidi, gives a differ. explan. of vide, viþi) ; nå nu ned, du sol, i gran-skog, Kalev. Castr. 2, 57. Finn. kule (kulki) päiwä kunsikolle ! Kalev. 19, 386. 412 ; couf. 'Not yet *the mountain*, but only those houses are hiding the sunshine,' Goethe's Eleg. What means 'bis die sonne uf den *peinapfel* kommt,' (Weisth. 3, 791) ? till he gilds the fir cone ?

Unz sich der tac *úfmachte*, Hagen's Ges. Abent. 2, 367 ; der tac der *sleich* in (crept to them) balde zuo, MS. 1, 171^b ; der tac der *schleicht* wie ein dieb, Hätzl. 23^a ; der tac *nâhen* begunde nâch sînem alten vunde, Türl. W. 125^a ; die dach *quam*, die *niet onstont*, Maerl. 2, 236, so that he never stands still. The day says : 'I fare away, and leave thee here,' Uhl. 169 ; der tac wil niht *erwinden* (turn back, leave off), Wolfr. 8, 18 ; der morgen niht *erwinden* wil, den tac nieman *erwenden* (keep off) kan, MS. 1, 90^b. 'Dô der tac *erschein*,' shone out, Parz. 428, 13. 129, 15 ; d. d. t. vol *erschein*, Er. 623 ; der tac sich *schouwen* liez, Livl. 3299 ;

dô der morgen sich *ûf-liez*, uud si sîn entsuoben, Pass. 30, 79; sich der tac *entslôz* (unlocked), Urstende 118, 61; der tac sich *ûz den wolken bôt*, Türl. Wh. 67^a; dô si gesâhen den morgen mit sîne liechte *ûfstrichen*, die vinstre naht entwîchen von des sunnen morgenrôt, Pass. 36, 51; der tac *lâhte schitere* (thin), Serv. 3237. Dager var *ljus*, Sv. folks. 1, 129. La nuis sen va, et li jors *esclari*, Garins 2, 203.—‘Der tac sich *anzündet*,’ kindles, Hätzl. 36^a; dat hi den dach sach *baren*, Walewein 384; die men scone *baren* sach, Karel 1, 376. 2, 1306. 594; dat menne (den dach) *baren* sach 2, 3579, der tac sich hete *erbart*, Eracl. 4674: sach *verbaren* den sconen dach, Lanc. 44532. 45350. Also ontpluken: ‘*ontplóc* haer herte *alse die dach*,’ her heart flew open like the day, Karel 1, 1166. Walew. 3320. 7762; conf. ‘sîn herte *verlichte* als die dach,’ Walew. 9448; *ontspranc* die dach, Karel 2, 593; die dach *uten hemele spranc*, Walew. 6777. 4885; Fr. ‘le jour jaillit;’ möcht der tac *herspriessen*, Hofm. Gesellsch. 59; Lett. ‘*deena plaukst*,’ sprouts, buds. The day stirs: dag *rînit*, O. i. 11, 49; naht *rînit*, O. iii. 20, 15; licht *rînit*, O. i. 15, 19. ii. 1, 47. The day is rich, powerful: ‘*guotes* ist er niht *rîche(r)* wan als des liehtes der tac,’ than the day is of light, Cod. Vind. 428, no. 212; *reicher* dan der tac, Uhl. 1, 196.—Other expressions for daybreak: ‘die Nacht die *weicht*,’ gives way, Lb. 1582. 42; Niht forð *gewât*, Cod. Exon. 412, 12; diu nacht *gemachlich* ende nam, Frauend. 485, 11; uns ist diu naht *von himmen*, Wolfr. Lied. 8, 16; unz uns diu naht *gerûmet*, Hahn’s Stricker 10, 35; so lange bis die schmiede pinken, u. der tag sich wieder *vorzeiget*, Ettner’s Vade et occide Cain, p. 9. It is finely said in the Nib. 1564, 2: ‘unz daz (until) diu sunne ir liehtez schînen *bôt* (held out) dem morgen über berge;’ als der morgenrôt der vinstern erde licht *erbôt*, Mar. 169, 28; unz der ander morgenrôt der werlde daz licht *bôt*, Serv. 1839; ouch schein nu schiere der morgenrôt, den diu sunne *sante* durch vreude *vür* (Dawn, whom the sun sent before him for joy) daz er vreudenrîche kür vogeln u. bluomen brâhte, Türl. Wh. 69^a. Simpler phrases are: dô begundez liuhten vome tage, Parz. 588, 8; gein tage die voege sungem, Mai 46, 16. For descrying the dawn they said: ‘*nû kius* ich den tac,’ choose, pick out, espy, Walth. 89, 18; *kôs* den morgen licht 88, 12; den morgenblic *erkôs*, Wolfr. Lied. 3, 1; als man sich des tages *entsté*, Wigal. 5544.

p. 744.] Day is like a neighing steed :

Velox Aurorae nuntius Aether

qui fugat hinnitu stellas. Claudian's 4 cons. Hon. 561.

He cleaves the clouds : der tac die wolken *spielt* (split), MS. 2, 167^a. So the *crow* with flapping of her wings divides the night, lets in the light ; with her and the AS. *Dæg-hrefn* we may assoc. the ON. names *Dag-hvælp* (quasi young day) and *Dag-ulf*, Förstem. 1, 328.

p. 744.] Day is beautiful : *beau comme le jour*, plus beau que le jour ; ils *croissoient* comme le jour, D'Aulnoi's Cab. des f. 243 ; *wahsen* als der tac, S. Uolr. 328. Sô der morgen *enstât*, Herb. 8482 ; dô der tac *werden* began, En. 11280 ; die naht *lêt*, ende het *waert* dach, Karel 2, 1305 (conf. die nacht *lêt*, die hem verwies, Floris 1934) ; der tac ist *vorhanden* (here, forthcoming), Simpl. 1, 528 ; dô *gienc* *ûf* der tac (went up), Wh. 71, 20 [Similar examples omitted] ; unze *iz* beginne *ûf* *gân*, Diem. 174, 5 ; es *giengen* nicht 14 tage *in's lund*, Schelmufsky, conf. p. 633^a ; der tac *gât* von Kriechen, MSH. 3, 426^a. Diu naht *gie hin*, der tac *herzuo* (or, der morgen *her*, der morgen *quam*, Pass. 47, 89. 329, 53. 307, 68 [Similar ex. om.].—Day comes rapidly : comes *upon the neck of you*, Döbel 1, 37^a ; *an trat* der ôstertac, Pass. 262, 16 ; als der suntac *an gelief* 243, 1 ; dô der ander morgen *ûf ran*, Serv. 3410 ; der tac *geflozzen kam*, Troj. kr. 29651 ; der tac *kommt stolken*, Hätzl. 26^b ; der tac *kam einher walken* 28^a ; *êr die mane sinke neder*, ende *op weder rise* die dach, Karel 2, 1194. He pushes his way up : dô *dranc* *ûf* der tac, Rosen-g. 627 ; begunde *ûf dringen*, etc. [Similar ex. om.] ; dô siben tage *vor drungen*, Kolocz 162 ; des *tages wîze ôstern* durch diu wolken *dranc*, Wigal. 10861. He is up : des morgens, dô der tac *ûf was*, Fragm. 41^c ; nu *was wol* *ûf* der tac, En. 7252 ; *ez was hôhe* *ûf den tac* 11146 ; dô *was ez verre* *ûf den tac* 10334.

p. 745.] The day may be hindered from breaking : 'What have I done to the day ? Who has led him astray ?' En. 1384 ; H. Sachs iii. 3, 68^a (ed. 1561), 48^d (ed. 1588) says of a 'day-stealer' (idler) : 'wilt den tag *in der multer umbtragen* ?' carry him about in thy trough, OHG. muoltra. There is a *key* to the day, Sv. vis. 2, 214. Vlaemsche lied. p. 173 ; the key of day is thrown into the river, Uhl. 171 ; 'Had I the day under lock and key, So close a *prisoner* he should be' 169 (conf. the day's

answer). The sun is caught in a noose, he cannot continue his journey, and has to be ransomed, Klemm 2, 156.

A phrase used in Wirzburg comes very near the Romance *poindre*: 'der tag *spitzt sich schon*,' points, perks, pricks itself up, H. Müller's Griechenth. 44; Illyr. *zora puca*, the dawn shoots. With *à la pointe du jour*, conf. 'matineret *a punta d' alba*,' Mila y Funtals 159. OHG. *strîza=jubar* (sub ortu), Graff 6, 760; *lucis diei spiculum in oriente conspiciens*, Kemble no. 581, p. 106; 'der tac die wolken *spielt*,' split the clouds (Suppl. to 744).

p. 747.] The dawn is accompanied by *noise*, esp. by agitation of the air: *ich waen ez tagen welle, sich hebet ein küeler wint*, Nib. 2059, 2; *diu luft sich gein dem tage ziuhet* (air is drawn towards day), *diu naht im schier entfliuhet*, Türl. Wh. 65^a. We must conn. *aurora* and *αὔριον* (morrow) with *aura*, *αὔρα* (breeze); and AS. *morgen-swæg* may be akin to *swëgel* (p. 746). 'Sôl ek sâ driupa *dyn-heimum î*,' *solem vidi mergi in oceano? mundo sonoro?* Sæm. 125^b. The Hätzlerin 30^a speaks of the *gewimmer* (whine, moan, droning) of daybreak; 'far an eirich *gu fuai mear a' grien o stuaidh nan ceann glas*,' *ubi oritur sonore sol a fluctibus capitum glaucorum*, Tighmora 7, 422; Ssk. *ravi* means *sol*, *rava sonus*, *ru sonare*.—*Alba* is the *lux prima* that precedes the blush of dawn, Niebuhr 2, 300; it is like *Matuta*, *Leucothea*. Burguy's Glossaire 350^a explains '*par son*' before '*l'aube*' as '*par dessus, tout à la pointe*'; It. *sull' alba*. Our *anbrechen* contains the idea of noise: *daz der tac uf prach*, Diemer 175, 7; *de dach up brak*, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 399. Detm. 1, 50 [Sim. examp. om.]; *day breaks in* through the windows, Felsenb. 3, 458; *ich sihe den morgensterne uf brehen*, MS. 1, 90^b, conf. Lith. *brëkszti*, to glimmer, dawn; *erupit cras*, Walthar. 402; *l'aube creva*, Méon 1, 291. The noise of daybreak is sometimes to be expl. by the song of the wakening birds: 'der tac wil uns *erschellen*,' ring out, Ges. Abent. 1, 305; *der süeze schal kunt in den tac*, Mai 93, 33; *biz sie erschracte* (startled them) *der vogel-sanc* 93, 32. With the Span. '*el alva se rie*,' conf. Turn. v. Nantes 42, 4: '*diu sunne in dem himel smieret*,' smiles. *Crepusculum* presupposes a crepus, which must belong to *crepare*, as *ψέφος* murk is akin to *ψόφος* noise, see Benfey 1, 617 seq. Bopp's Gl. 91.

p. 748.] Bopp's Gl. 53^b connects *uhtvô* with *ushas*, from *ush* to burn, as *ahtau* with *ashtân*; *die ucht* is still used in Germ.

Bohemia: *Uhti-bitu*=orgia, Gl. sletst. 6, 436, is explained by Wackernagel as dawn-petition, Haupt 5, 324. Diluculo is rend. in OHG. by: in demo *unterluchelinge*, Windb. ps. 260; fruo *unterluchelingen* 206; *dagendeme*, Ps. Trev. 206; an demo *dulithe* 260; *piliothe*, Dint. 1, 530^a. *Falowendi, faloendi*=crepusculum, Graff 3, 496-7 (falo=fulvus, pallidus); prima luce=in der *urnichden*, Hor. Belg. 7, 36^b, for which AS. has *wóma* (p. 745), beside *glomung, dægrið*=crepusculum (may we connect 'as de dach *griemelde*'? Fromman 4, 265). ON. *byrtíng*; and with *dagsbrín* is conn. the Fr. female name *Brun-matin*=Aurora, Dict. 2, 325, misspelt *Brumatin*, Méon 3, 447. MLG. *dageringe*=diluculum, Detm. 1, 178. 2, 546.

The personific. of *Tagarôd* is also indicated by the men's names *Daghared*, Trad. Corb. 226, *Dagrim* 394. The word is fem. in Gotfr. Hagen 65: an der *dageroit*; but the masc. preponderates, both here and in *morgenrôt* (see quotations from Mar., Servat., and Türl. Wh. in Suppl. to 743 end); yet 'die rotbrünstige morgenrôt,' H. Sachs's *Wittenb. nachtgal*. 'Der tag graut,' turns grey, dawns; conf. 'es graut mir,' it frightens me: des tages blic was dennoch grâ, Parz. 800, 1. 'Ἡμέρα ἀμφὶ τὸ λυκανγῆς αὐτό, dies circa ipsum diluculum est, Lucian's *Somn.* 33; Arab. *dhenebu-ssirhan*, wolf's tail, the first glimmer of dawn, that sweeps over the sky, then disappears, leaving a deeper gloom behind, Rückert's *Hariri* 1, 215.

p. 748.] Does the obscure word *morgen* actually mean breakfast? Finn. *murkina*=jentaculum, breakfast-time. Morning, like day, climbs up and is high, hence the name of Dietrich der *Hochmorgen*, Rauch 1, 413. Greek *αὔριον ὄρθρος*, to-morrow morning; *βαθὺς ὄρθρος*, Arist. *Vesp.* 216. Plato's *Crito* 43 and *Prot.* 310. Luke 24, 1.

p. 748.] The sense of downward motion in *abend* is confirmed by 'diu sunne begunde senken u. *aben* (sinking and offing) tegelich,' Heinz v. K.'s *Kitt. u.* pf. 5. AS. *cwild*=conticinium, ON. *qveld*; conf. Goth. *anaqal*=quies. ON. *hûm*=crepusculum, AS. *glom*. The ON. *röckur*=crepusculum (p. 813) is in Swed. *skymning*, Dan. *skumring*, LG. *schemmer, schummerlicht*; conf. Boh. and Russ. *sumrak*, and the name Simrock [*súmrak, sú-merki*=half-mirk, *subtenebrae*, fr. *mrak, mórok*=mirk]. ON. *skóera*, twilight, Olaf helg. s., ed. Christ. 47, 25.

Diu *tunkle*, evening twilight, Osw. 2013-71; OHG. *tunchali*, Graff 5, 435. Swed. *tysmörk*, Dan. *tusmörke* crepusculum (p. 814 n.). Vesperzît, sô diu *sunne schate gît* (gives shadow), Mar. 158, 7; conf. δύσετό τ' ἥλιος, σκιῶντό τε πάσαι ἀγνιαί, Od. 11, 12. 15, 185. Twilight is also *eulen-flucht*, or simply *eule*, owl, Firmen. 1, 268. Si *bran úf* schône sam der âbentrôt, MS. 1, 34^a. ON. *qvöldroði*, aurora vespertina. 'Abentrôt, der kündet *lúter mære*,' Walth. 30, 15. Modern: 'abendroth gut wetter bot,' or 'ab. bringt morgenbrot,' or 'der morgen grau, der abend roth, ist ein guter wetterbot,' Simrock's Spr. 20. 19. 7099. On the other hand: *Εὐάγγελος μὲν, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία, "Ἔως γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα*, Aesch. Agam. 264.

p. 749.] Ssk. *ušas* aurora, dual *ušásâ*, Bopp's Gl. 53^b; Lat. aurora for *ausosa*; Att. *ἔως*, Ion. *ἠώς*, Dor. *ἰώς*, Æol. *αὔως*; conf. Ostarâ (p. 290). The blush of dawn is expr. in Ssk. by *narîr*, the virgins, Gött. anz. '47, p. 1482. In Theocr. 2, 147 the goddess rosy-armed is drawn by steeds (Suppl. to 738); 'constiteram *exorientem auroram forte salutans*,' Cic. de Nat. D. 1, 28 (conf. Creuzer p. 126). On the Slav. *Iutri-bogh* as god of morning, see Myth. ed. 1, p. 349 n.

p. 750.] The origin of '*Hennil, Hennil, wache!*' in the Mark is still unexplained. Observe, that tales are told of *Strong Hennel* as of Strong Hans, and that *honidlo*, acc. to Wend. volksl. 2, 270^a, actually means a shepherd's staff. Like that shepherd in Dietmar, the Roman fetialis, when about to declare war, entered the sanctuary, and waved the shields and lance of the god's image, crying, '*Mars, vigila!*' Hartung 2, 168. Serv. ad. Aen. 8, 3.—Both in France and Germany the watchman, the *vrône wehter* (MSH. 3, 428^b), blew the day in with his horn; his songs were called *tage-lieder, aubades*. '*La gaitte corne, qui les chalemiaus tint*,' Garin 1, 219; *les gaites cornent desor le mur anti* 2, 117. 158; *la guete cuida que laube fust crevee, il tret le jor, et huche et crie*, Méon 1, 195; *et la guete ert desus la porte, devant le jor corne et fretele* 1, 200. '*Der wahtaere diu tage-liet* (pl.) sô lûte erhaben hât,' Walth. 89. 35 (see Lachm. on W. p. 202); *den tac man kündet dur diu horn* (pl.), MS. 2, 190^b; *diu naht was ergangen, man seite ez wolde tagen*, Nib. 980, 1; *wahter hûet hôh enbor*, MS. 1, 90^b; *er erschelt ein horn an der stunt, dâmit tet er den liuten kunt des tages kunft gewalticlich*,

Ls. 3, 311. He cries : ' ich sich *in her gân* (I see him come on), der mich wol erfröuwen mac, *her gât* der lichte schoene tac,' *ibid.* ; smorghens also die *wachter* blies, Floris 1935 ; der uns den tag *herblies*, Liederb. of 1582. 28, *anblies* 238 ; der wechter blöst an, Keisersp. Brösaml. 25^d ; ' the watchman blows the rest,' Eliz. of Orl. 502 ; the warder or ' hausmann ' blows the day off, he comes of himself, Drei Erz. p. 443 ; ' der wechter ob dem *kasten*,' the guard over the coach-boot. Did watchmen carry a mace called *morgenstern*? see Hollberg's *Ellefte Juni* 5, 9. Frisch 1, 670 says it was invented in 1347.

p. 750.] Day is *beautiful* and *joyous* : der tac schoen u. grîse sîn licht beginnet mêren, Troj. kr. 9173 ; daz licht *mit vreuden* ûf trat, Pass. 329, 54. On the contrary, ' das abendroth im westen *welkt*,' fades, pales, Schm. v. Wern. 253. The morning star is harbinger of day (p. 752 n.) : daz im der tage-sterre vruo *kunte den tac*, Ksrchr. 7885 ; ἀστὴρ ἀγγέλλων φάος, Od. 13, 94.

Birds rejoice at his coming : ἠνίκα ὄρνιθες ἄσσοσι πρῶτοι, Charon. Fragm. 34^b ; ὁ ὄρνις τὴν ἔω καλῶν, Athen. 4, 36 : daz cleine süeze *vogellîn* kan dîngen (reckon) ûf den morgenschîn, u. sich des tages fröuwen muoz, Troj. kr. 20309 ; nam diu naht ein ende, die *vogel* des niht wolden durch iemans freuden swende verswîgen, wan sie sungen als sie solden (would for no man's pleasure hush, until, &c.), Tit. 5364 ; noch süezer denne dem voglîn morgens vrône, Frauenl. Ettm. p. 27 ; de voghel den dach smorghens groette, als hine sach, Rose 7832 (conf. ' den kleinen vogellîn *tröumet ûf esten*,' dream on the boughs, MS. 2, 166^b). Cock-crow announces day : ἐξέργεσθαι ἤδη ἀλεκτρούωνων ἀδόντων, Plato's Symp. 223 ; der han hât zwîr (twice) gekraet, ez nâhet gên dem morgen, MS. 2, 152^a ; as de hanens den dag inkreggeden (crowed-in), Lyra p. 114.

p. 752.] The swift approach of Night, its falling, sinking, is expr. in many turus of speech : ez taget lanc (slowly), u. *nahtet drât*, Teichn. 70 ; als die nacht mit *aller gewalt* (all her might) herein brach, Drei klügste leute 146. That night breaks in, whereas day breaks forth, has been remarked by Pott 1, 236 ; yet Goethe says ' die nacht *briecht an*,' Faust 126 ; cum nox *inrueret*, Greg. Tur. 10, 24 ; wie die nacht *herbrach*, Katzip. ci^b ; biss das der abend *hereindrang* (pressed in), Fischart's Gl. schif 1131 ; *forth* of each nook and corner *crowds* the night, Goethe ; dô *viel*

sîn gaeher âbent *an*, Trist. 314; diu naht nu sêre zuo *gâht*, Türkl. Wh. 26^a; die n. *rückt mit gewalt ein*, Maulaffe 569; die n. *rasche quam*, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 338; es *schiesst* (et schütt, it shoots) in den abend, Schütze 4, 33. Night came upon the neck of us, Ungr. Simpl. 65. Etnn. Apoth. 877; 'die n. *stösst an*,' bumps against, Weisth. 1, 305; 'it was avent, de n. *anstoet*,' Reineke 4, 1. 'Niht *becom*,' supervenit, Beow. 230; conf. εἰς ὄκην ἔλθη δείελος ὀψὲ δύων, σκιάση δ' ἐρίβωλον ἄρουραν, Il. 21, 231; ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ἐπήλυθε δείελον ἡμαρ, Od. 17, 606; as de avent in't lant kem, Müllenh. p. 201; *trat de n. an*, Weisth. 3, 87; die n. *betritt* ihn (tramples) 3, 457; conf. 'wan sie die n. *betrifft*,' hits 3, 785, and 'bis die dämmerung *eintrat*,' Felsenb. 4, 63. 2, 599, *herein tritt*,' steps in 4, 144; 'die naht linzuo *geschreit*,' strode up to, Troj. kr. 10119; 'nâhet in diu naht,' nears them, Nib. 1756, 1; 'en hadde die n. niet *ane gegaen*,' not come on, Karel 2, 934; do diu naht (der âbent) *ane gie*, Lanz. 3210. Flore 3497. Diemer 27, 4. Frauend. 342, 30. Iw. 3904; *gieng* der abend *her*, Götz v. Berl. 82; hie mite *gienc* der âbent hin, u. diu naht heran *lief* (ran), Pass. 47, 84; diu vinstere n. her ouch *swanc*, als si in ir loufe *lief* 36, 41; als diu n. hin *gelief* 81, 86; diu n. kumt dâher *gerant*, Dietr. drach. 336^b.

Again, night sinks, bends, falls: der âbent was zuo *gesigen*, Diut. 1, 351; ist diu naht *herzuo gesigen*, Troj. kr. 11718; diu n. *sîget zuo*, Dietr. drach. 154^a; uns *sîget* balde zuo diu n., Lanz. 709; diu n. begunde *sîgen an*, Morolt 1620. 3963; diu n. *sîget an*, Dietr. dr. 327^b; diu n. vast ûf uns *neiget* (bends), Hätzl. 192, 112.—Or day sinks, and night *climbs*: dô der tac hin *seic*, diu n. *herzuo steic*, Dietr. 9695; biz der dach nider begunde *sigen*, inde die nacht *up-stigen*, Karlmeinet p. 18; li jours va a *declin*, si *aproche* la nuit, Berte 54; li jors *sen va*, et la nuis *asserri*, Garins 2, 157; la nuiz *va aprochant*, si *declina* le jor, Guitecl. 2, 169; nu begund diu sunne *sîgen*, u. der âbentsterne *stîgen*, Zwei koufm. 180; ez begunde *sîgen* der tac, Er. 221; à la *brune*, à la *chute* du jour. Similar are the phrases: der tac was iezuo *hin getreten*, Pass. 27, 7; der tag *gieng* zu dem abend, Uhl. 1, 246; conf. 'dagr *var á sinnum*,' inclined to evening, Sæm. 104^b. In the same way: der tac hiemit ein *eude nam*, diu vinstere naht mit trüebe *kam*, Pass. 19, 3; der tac *sleich* hin, u. *kam* diu naht, Freib. Trist. 4705; ja *swant* (vanished)

der tac, u. *wuohs* (grew) diu naht, Heinz v. Konst. Ritt. u. pf. 7; conf. Lat. *adulta nocte*; dô der tac *verswant*, G. frau 2013. 2427; LG. 'he lett dagen u. *swinen*,' 'schemmern u. dagen,' Strodtm. 200. 238. Brem. wtb. 4, 634; 'dô der tac zerstoeret wart von der vinsternisse grôz, u. diu n. *herzuo geflôz*,' came flowing up, Troj. kr. 10489; der tac *gefлуze* hiu 8519; dô der t. was *ergân*, Diemer 149, 25; 'als der t. was *gelegen*,' lain down, Ernst 4679; 'dô der t. *lie sînen schîn*,' let be, left off, Troj. kr. 11095; 'der t. sîn *wunne verlât*,' his bliss forsakes, MS. 2, 192^b; der t. sîn *licht verlât* 2, 496^b; der t. *lât sînen glast*, Troj. kr. 8480; dô des tages licht *verswein*, Barl. 368, 3; siððan *æfenleoh*t under heofenes hâdor *bekolen* weorðeð, Beow. 821; der tac *gieng* mit freuden *hin*, dô diu naht ir trûeben schîn über al die werlt gespreite, Gerh. 4931; æfenscîma *forð gewât*, Cædm. 147, 30; der tac begerte urloubes (took leave) mit *liuchte*, Tit. 3743.

Night catches, grasps: diu naht *begrîfet*, Tit. 3752. Dietr. dr. 97^a. Heinr. Trist. 4650; die nacht hevet mi hier *begrepen*, Maerl. 3, 157; unz si *begreif* diu naht, Wolfd. 302, 1; unz daz si dâ diu n. *begreif*, Mai 39, 5; die nacht kompt *geslichen*, Ld. 1582, 53. Night covers, spreads her mantle: þâ com æfter niht on lât dæge, lagu-streámas *wreáh*, Cædm. 147, 32; 'ja waene diu n. welle uns nicht *wern mâr*,' will not guard us more, Nib. 1787, 2; die nacht war *für augen*, Drei kluge leute 147; evening was *at the door*, Pol. maulaffe 171; der abend all bereit *vor der hand*, Schweinichen 1, 87; dô man des âbindis *intsuob*, Athis C*, 153.

Night was deemed *hateful, hostile*, Benfey 2, 224: Grk δειλή, δειελος evening is akin to δειλός timid, δειδω I fear; conf. νύξ δλοή, Od. 11, 19, *nacht-eise* horror noctis, and Shaksp.'s 'grim-looking night.' The Lith. '*naktis ne brolis*, night is no man's friend' occurs already in Scherer's St. Gall. Mss. 34^a: die nacht niemand ze freunde hat, and in H. Sachs 1, 233^c. On the other hand: 'la nuit porte avis,' conf. to sleep upon a thing.

p. 752.] 'Night has the *victory won*' is also in Rosen-g. 1119; der tac *vertreip* diu vinsten naht, Frauend. 344, 31; per contra: diu n. den t. het *verswant* 271, 25. A full descr. of night's victory, with 'her *dusky banner* hung on all high towers,' in Ls. 3, 307.

p. 753.] The notion of night's *gloominess* preponderates: ἀλλ' ἦτοι νῦν μὲν πειθώμεθα νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ, Od. 12, 291. OS. *thiustri* naht, Hel. 133, 4, etc.; de *dustere* nacht, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 393; in *dero naht-finstri* bechlepfet, N. Cap. 13; *diu vinsten* n., Frauend. 339, 30, etc.; *diu tót-vinsten* n., Lanz. 6538; *diu swarze* n., Herb. 7964. In thieves' lingo, *schwarz* = night; *diu trüebe* n., Wh. 2, 10. Swiss 'kidiqe nacht,' pitch-dark, Stald. 2, 98 (kiden = ring out, pierce); bei *eitler* naht, Abele's Gerichts-h. 1, 391. Uhl. Volksl. 683 (Ambras. Ldrb. 1582, 377). AS. 'on *wanre* niht,' pale, Beow. 1398; niht *wan* under wolcnum 1295; conf. OS. *wanum* undar wolcnum, Hel. 19, 20, morgon wanum 21, 1; *niht-helma* genipu, Cod. Exon. 160, 12; *sceadu-helma* gesceapu scrīðan cwōmon, Beow. 1293; ON. *gríma*, larva, means also conticinium, quando omnia quasi obvelata caligine videntur.—In *voller* nacht (pleine nuit), Schweinich. 3, 59. 87. 234; 'die *geschlagene* n.,' stricken, hushed, Matth. Pred. v. Luth. p. 27. Philand. 2, 83; *beloken* n., Rein. 2271 (illunis?); nuit *close*, Babou 219; schon weicht die *tiefe* n., Goethe 12, 242 = succincta nox, Sid. Apoll. Epist. 3, 3; ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τρίχα νυκτὸς ἐήν, μετὰ δ' ἄστρα βεβήκει, Od. 12, 312. 14, 483, conf. the seven parts of night, Fernow's Dante 2, 229.—Night is long, νύξ μακρῆ, Od. 11, 373; often called *intempesta nox*, unseasonable (for work): dum se *intempesta* nox *praecipitat*, Cato de Mor.; conf. the ON. adj. *niol*, Sæm. 51^a (AS. neol, neowol = prona?). But also *εὐφρόνη*, the kindly (comforting?), Hes. Op. et D. 562; OHG. *kistillandi* naht, Diut. 1, 251; 'dô was *diu sîeze* n. für,' gone by, Lanz. 1115. On *modranect*, see Hattemer 1, 334. The midnight hour is fittest for deciding the fates of men (p. 858-9).

 CHAPTER XXIV.

SUMMER AND WINTER.

p. 754.] Winter is called bird-killer, *οἰωνοκτόνος*, Aesch. Agam. 563, and 'der vogele nôt,' MSH. 1, 53^b. A M. Neth. poem (Karel 2, 133) says: 'so dat si ten naesten Meye metten vogelen gescreye porren moghen,' may march out mid the songs of birds; 'wie der Meie vögelin vroene macht,' gladdens, elevates, MS. 1, 31^b.

p. 755.] Sl. *iar* (spring) = *yêr* (year), says Miklos. 110; Zend. *yâre* (year), Pott 2, 557. Bopp, conf. Gramm. p. 568. Kuhn's Ztschr. 2, 269 connects *yêr* with *ῥῆρα*, *hora*. Bekker in Monatsber. '60, p. 161 says *ĕap* for *Fĕap* = *vêr*. We may also conn. *ĕap* with *ἤρι* (early), as our *frühling* with *früh*. Kuhn thinks *ver* is for *ves*, Ssk. *vasantas* (spring); conf. *vasas*, *vâsara* (day), *vasta* (daylight). Ssk. *vatsava* (year), Bopp's Gl. 306^b. Finn. *vuosi* (year), Esth. *aast*, conf. Lat. *aestas*; in Kalev. 1, 248 *vuosi* year, and *kesä* summer, seem synonymous. Ssk. *samá*, *annus*, is fem. of *sama*, *similis*, Bopp and GDS. 72 seq. Lenz (spring) is also *langsi*, *lanxi*, *lanzig*, Stald. 2, 156; *somer* ende *lentîn*, Rose 7326.

p. 755.] Change of season, change of year is expr. by 'diu zît hât sich *verwandelôt*,' MS. 1, 78^b; conf. 'in der *zîte jâren*,' years of time, Mai 107, 18. To the Egyptians the year *sails round*, whilst in German 'unz *umb kam* daz *jâr*,' Otnit 899; ein *umbe-gêndez jâr*, Trist. Frib. 1079; ein *mând* in (a month to them) des *jâres trit*, Pass. 162, 58; das *rollende jahr*.—In *gui-l'an-neuf*, *gui* is mistletoe (p. 1206); conf. our Germ. cries: 'drei *hieffen* (3 blasts on the bugle) zum neuen jahr!' Schm. 2, 156; 'glückseliges neues jahr, drei *hieffen* z. n. j.!' Frisch 1, 452^c from Besold. New-year is expr. by 'sô sich daz *jâr geniüwet hât*,' in springtime, Warnung 2291; or 'wann daz *jâr auzchumpt*,' out comes, Gesta Rom. Keller 99; do das *jar auskom*, Weisth. 3, 650; but also by the simple 'New.'

p. 756.] The idea of the *whole year* is now and then personified, both in wishes and otherwise: Got gebe uns *wunneclîche jâr*, Reinh. acc. to var. 2248 (ms. P.K.); *guot jâr gange si an* (encounter them), Kistener 1188; conf. *übel-jâr*, *mal-anno* (p. 1160 end); do das *jar auskom*, Weisth. 3, 650; ehe ein *jahr* in das *land kommt*, Drei Erzn. 266; ehe *zwei jahre* in's *land gehn*, Pol. Maul. 8; daz *vünfte jâr in gie*, Trist. 151, 27; that *jâr furdor skréd* (strode), Hel. 13, 23 (conf. AS. *forð gewát dæg-rîmes worn* (numeri dierum multitudo), Cædm. 60, 1, see 'dæg-r. worn' 80, 20. 156, 51); le *bonhomme l'année*, Mém. de l'acad. celt. 4, 429. In the Bacchica pompa *Ἐνιαυτός* appears as a *giant* with four elbows (*τετραπῆχυσ*, 4 cubits high?), bearing Amalthea's horn, Athen. 5, 198 (Schw. 2, 263).

p. 757.] Also in Hel. 14, 10: 'sô *filu wintro endi sumaro*'

means the same as AS. *fela missera*; but 5, 1. 2, where Zacharias says he was 'tuëntig wintro' old when he married Elisabeth, and has lived with her 'antsibunta (70) wintro,' he is 90 years old, and *wintar* stands for year. The AS. midwinter, ON. *miðvetr*, appears in M. Neth. as *medewinter*, Lanc. 13879, *midde-winter* 23907. A computation of *sumor* and *lencten*, Andr. & El. p. xxiv. Leo's Rectitud. 212-3. The ON. *dægr* is Swed. *dygn*. Gudrun says in Sæm. 232^b: 'fôr ek af fialli *fimm dægr talið*,' fared I from the fell 5 days told; conf. F. Magn. Dagens tider, p. 28. The sacredness of *Midsummer* and *Midwinter*, of St. John's day, *sunnewende* (p. 617) and *yule*, favours the dual division: on the night of St. John, vigils are kept in field and lawn under gold-apple tree, Molbech no. 49. Norske eventyr no. 52. KM. no. 57.

p. 758.] As to a connexion between Tacitus's three seasons and *Wodan's three progresses*, see Kuhn in Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 493. It seems to speak for the three seasons, that often only *three assizes* are recorded in a year; and still more, that *three great sacrifices* were offered, in autumn *til ârs*, in winter *til grôðrar*, in summer *til sigrs*, Yngl. s. cap. 8; *tribus temporibus anni*, Lacombe. no. 186 (yr 1051). Gipsies divide the year into *two* and *six* seasons, says Pott 1, 66. The Persian, like the Spaniard, had two springtimes, for Fasli in the *Gülistan* speaks of the *Shah Spring*, *Shah Summer*, *Shah Autumn*, *Shah Winter*, and *Shah New-year* (*newrus*) = March, who reintroduces the spring. ON. *haust*, Swed. *höst*, is an abbrev. of *herbist*, *hærfest* [Scot. *hair'st*], see Gramm. 2, 368. In Up. Hesse also they call spring *auswärts*, Vilmar's Hess. Ztschr. 4, 52.

p. 761.] Spring is expr. by the phrases: *ez was in der zîte aller bluomen ursprinc*, Flore 5529; *sô die bluomen enspringent* 153; *von den bluomen wie sie sprungen* 821; conf. *flos in vere novo*, Pertz 5, 735. More vividly personal are the adjs. in: 'der *lange fröhling*,' E. Meier's Schwäb. mährch. p. 303; '*vil lieber Sumer, der liebe S.*,' MS. 1, 167^b. MSH. 3, 212^a; *diu liebe sumerzât*, MS. 2, 108^a; *diu liebe sumer-wunne*, Dietr. 381; *saelige sumerzât*, MS. 2, 108^b (our 'die liebe zeit'); and even 'der *heilige sumer*,' Myst. i. 312, 2. To which is opposed 'der *leidig winter*,' MSH. 3, 215^b; 'die *felle winter*,' Rose 53. 62. Both seasons come and go: '*ira yvers, si revenra estez*,' Orange

2, 75; OS. *skréd* the winter *ford*, Hel. 6, 13; hiems saeva *transiit*, Carm. bur. 193; swanne der winter *abe gienc*, unde der sumer *ane vienc*, Alex. 5094; Neth. die winter *ginc in hant*, Maerl. 2, 8 (like: binnen dien *ginc* die nacht in hant, Lanc. 46927); als die winter *inginc*, Lanc. 36044; *geht* der winter *daher*, Götz v. Berl. 246; der *vorder Winterklaub* herwider hat gehaused sich auf seinen *alten sitz*, Wolkenst. 67; nu *ist* der leide winter *hie*, Ben. 396; der sumer *ist comen in diu lant*, MS. 2, 83^a; pis *kumt* der sumer *hêre*, Otnit (V. d. Rön) 29; unz uffen S. *Ûrbans* tac, danne *gat* der sumer *in*, H. Martina bl. 250; si jehent, der sumer der *sí hie*, MS. 1, 67^b; es *geet* ein frischer freier sommer *da herein*, Bergreien 71; ver *redit* optatum, Carm. bur. 178.—Or, instead of Summer, it is *May*, as *mai-gesäss* means summer-pasture, Stalder 293; als der *Meie in gât*, Warn. 1887; an S. Philippentage, sô der Meie alrêrst *in gât*, Frauend. 63, 13; also die Mey *in quam*, entie April *orlof nam*, Lanc. 23434; ‘dâ hât uns der Meie sînen *krâm* (wares) erlobet, ze suochen, swaz wir sîner varwe geruochen,’ to pick what we please, MS. 2, 167^a; des Meien *blic*, Tit. 32, 2; dô man des liechten Meigen *spil* mit sîner blüete komen sach, Troj. 6889; Meie, die heide grüeze! MS. 2, 167^b; der Meie hât die heide *geéret* 2, 52^a: ‘der winder twanc die heide, nu grüenet si *im ze leide*,’ to spite him, Ben. 453; flower-leaves, whereon ‘der May sein *dolden* (umbels) hengeset,’ Suchenw. 46, 28; des liechten Meien *schar* (company) stât *bekleit* in *purpur-var* (-hue), MSH. 3, 195^b; flowers are ‘des Meien *künne*,’ MS. 2, 22^a, and ‘*sumer-geraete*’ 1, 194^b; uf Walpurgen tag xv. gebunt *Mei-gerten* (-switches), Weisth. 3, 497; ‘giezent nur den Meien under ongen!’ sings a girl in MS. 2, 74^b; does it mean ‘put the garland on me’? Mai, dein *gezelt* (pavilion) gefellt mir wol, Wolkenst. 116.—May has power: ich lobe dich, Meie, dîner *kraft*, MS. 2, 57^a; des Meies *virtuit*, Uhl. 1, 178; gên wir zuo des Meien *hóch-gezíte* (hightide), der ist mit *aller sîner krefte* komen, Walth. 46, 22 (Lachm. is wrong in note to Nibel. p. 6). So: in der sumerlichen *maht*, Parz. 493, 6; der sumer mit sîner *kraft*, MS. 1, 37^a; des Meien *kraft* sie bráhte dar, der was der málare (painter), Blicher 79; der winter twinget mit sîner *kraft*, MS. 1, 37^b; des Abrellen *kraft*, Hpt’s Ztschr. 6, 353, and so of all the months. With power is blended goodness: des Meien *güete* u. *kraft*, Muscatbl.

in Altd. mus. 2, 189; ze veld u. ûf der heide lac der Mai mit sîner *güete*, Hätzl. 131, 6. Suchenw. 46, 15; des Meigen *güete*, Hätzl. 159, 584. Troj. 16213; conf. thera zîti guati (Suppl. to 791); der Meie hete dô *gevröut* (gladdened) mit der liechten künfte sîn (his coming) diu wilden waltvogelîn, Partenopier 45, 18; sumer, du hâst manege *güete*, Lachm. Walth. xvii. 7. Summer brings bliss: si jehent, der sumer der sî hie, diu *wunne* diu sî komen, MS. 1, 67^b; 'heia *sumerwunne*, swer uns dîn erbunne!' grudge us thee 2, 63^a; sît die *sumerw.* alrêrst begunde nâhen 2, 74^b; er ist komen wider mit gewalde, den der Meige hât vertriben; *sumerw.* ist im entrunnen (fled before him) balde, der ist vor im niht gebliben, Frauend. 507; *sumerw.*, nîg dem süezen Meigen, MS. 2, 22^b; der *sumerw. güete*, Flore 165; zur *somerw.*, Baur no. 718.—The Germ. Summer or May stands on a par with the Scand. god Freyr returning from exile (p. 212-3), as indeed *Maia, Flora, Aprilis* were goddesses to the Romans. A tree breaks into blossom when a *god settles* upon it:

seht ir den boum, der dâ stât,
 der loubes vil u. bluomen hât,
ein got hât sich dâ nider gelân (let himself down),
 ân den (without him) môhte ez niht ergân,
 ez ist bî namen Tervigant. Geo. 2162.

The poet of the Warnung sings:

nu minnet (ye adore) bluomen unde gras,
 niht in der (not Him who) sîn meister was;
 wîp unt vogel-gesane
 unt die liechten tage lanc,
 der sache jegelîche (all such things)
 nemt ze einem *himelrîche*. Hpt's Ztschr. 1, 495.

And still more distinctly:

einer *anbetet* (one adores) daz vogel-sane
 unt die liechten tage lanc,
 darzuo bluomeu unde gras,
 daz ie des vihes spîse was (cattle's food);
 diu rinder vrezzent den *got* (oxen gobble your god); *ibid.* 1, 500.

Green foliage is the garment of May and Summer: *quouque le bois reprenne sa robe d'été*, Villem. Bardes Bret. 215; *sumer-kleit hât*

er ir gesniten (cut out), MS. 2, 47^b; der Sumer wil rîchen manigen boum mit loubes *wât* (leafy dress) 2, 83^a; heide u. anger habent sich bereitet mit der schoensten *wât*, die in der Meie hât gesant (which May has sent them) 2, 83^a; herbest, der des Meien *wât* vellet von den rîsen (cuts fr. the twigs) 2, 105^a; vil rîcher *wât*, die Meie hât 1, 192^a; sich hâte *gevazzet* (collected) der walt, u. schoeniu *kleit* gein dem sumer au-geleit (put on), Manrit. 1684; in *Meigeschem* walde, Tit. 143, 1; solutis Ver nivibus *viridem* monti reparavit *amictum*, Claud. B. Get. 168.

p. 762.] Winter is a ruthless ruffian warrior: 'spiteful W.'s envy' is complained of, MS. 1, 192^a; 'der arge Winter *twanc*,' oppressed, *ibid.*; der W. *bant* (also *twanc*) die heide 2, 78^{ab}; nu ist der blüenden heide *voget* (tyrant) mit *gewalt* ûf uns gezoget, hoert wi'er mit winde *broget* (blusters) 1, 193^a; des leiden Winters *überlast*, der sî verwâzen (be cursed) u. sîn *roup!* 2, 20^b. Winter has an *ingesinde*, retinuc, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 311; des Winters *wâfen* tragen (weapons carry), MsH. 1, 328^a. But May is armed too, and fights him: mein ros schrait (my steed strides) gên des Maien *schilt*, Wolkenst. 115; diu sunue dringet liehtem Meien dur den grüenen *schilt*, der von loubeschaten birt (brings leafy shade) den kleinen vogellîn, MsH. 1, 150^b. His fight with W. is descr. in detail in the Song of battle betw. Summer and W., Uhl. Volksl. p. 23. The AS. already has: þâ wæs W. *scacen*, fæger folden bearm, Beow. 2266 (yet see p. 779 n.); *brumalis est ferita rabies*, Archipoeta p. 76; Winder, wie ist nu dîn kraft worden gar *unsigehaft* (unvictorious), sît der Meie *sînen schaft* hât ûf dir verstoehen, MSH. 3, 195^b; fuort mich durch des Meien *her* (host), der mit ritterlîcher wer den W. hât *erslagen* (slain), Hätzl. 131, 51; winder ist *nider valt* (felled), Wiggert 37; hin sont wir den W. *jagen* (chase away), Conr. v. Ammenh. extr. W. p. 51; wol hin, her W., ir mûezt ie ze *rûme in bergen*, Frauenl. 369, 16; der sumerwünne den *strît lân* (drop the strife with), Flore 150. Haupt on Neidh. 45, 12 takes *Aucholf* to be for oukolf in the sense of krotolf (p. 206); yet also Goth. *auhjôn* = tumultuari might be brought in. The names *Maibôm*, *Meienrîs* (Closener 68) point back to old customs; the island *Meigen-ouwe*, now Meinau, perh. to an ancient site of the spring festival.

p. 762.] A sweet May-song in Wolkenst. no. 63, p. 173: liet,

dâ si mite *enpfâhen* den Meigen. To welcome the spring is in ON. 'þâ *fagna* þeir sumri,' Maurer 2, 232; alle die vogel froelîche den Sumer singende *enphânt*, MS. 1, 21^a; *entphâhen* die wuniglichen zît, Diut. 2, 92; *ontfaet* den Mei met bloemen, hi is so schone ghedaen, Uhl. Volksl. 178; sleust uns auf (unlock) die tür, u. *lest* den Sumer *herein*, Fastn. sp. p. 1103; ir sült den Sumer grüezen, u. al sîn ingesinde, MSH. 3, 202^a; Meie, bis (be) uns *willekomen*, MS. 1, 194^b; wis (be) *willekomen*, wunneclîcher Meie 1, 196^a. *May* and *Summer* are distinguished: sint willekomen *fró Sumerzit*, sint will. *der Meie* 1, 59^a; ich klage dir, *Meie*, ich klage dir, *Sumerwunne* 1, 3^b.

'In den Meien *riden*' was a real custom, Soester fehde p. 660. The men of Mistelgau near Baireuth sent envoys to Nürnberg. to fetch Spring. They were given a humblebee shut up in a box (Suppl. to 697); but curiosity led them to peep in, and the bee escaped. They shouted after it 'na Mistelgau!' and sure enough the long rain was followed by fine weather, Panz. Beitr. 2, 173; conf. Herod. 7, 162, where a country has the spring taken out of its year.

p. 763.] The coming of Summer is known by the opening of flowers, the arrival of birds: der sumer ist komen schône *über mer* hât uns ze lande brâht ein *wunniclîchez her*, MSH. 3, 226^a, as in Ssk. spring is called *kusumâkara*, *florum multitudinem habens*; dô man die sumerwunne bî der *vogel reise* erkande, dô lôste der Mei die *bluomen* ûz den tiefen banden 3, 229^b; der sumer ist mit *süezem sange* schône *erwecket* 3, 241^b; doch kam ich ûf ein heide, diu was liechter bluomen vol, dâran möht man schouwen wol, ob der *Mai* ze velde lac, Ls. 1, 199. Nîthart leads the Duchess, with pipers and fiddlers, to where he has thrown his hat over the (first) *viol*; kneels down and raises the hat, 'ir lât den sumer schînen,' MSH. 3, 202^b; 's *ersti veigerl* brock i' dir z'liab, Firmen. 2, 798, and Voss goes in search of the *first flowers* as spring-messengers, Goethe 33, 148; the *first buttercup* and *hwitsippa* used to be eaten, Dybeck '45, 68-9, conf. the *first* 3 *cornblossoms*, Superst. I, 695. 1018. *Tussilago*, coltsfoot, is called *sommer-thürlein* (-doorlet) and *Merzblume*, because it springs up immed. after the snow has thawed; also *filius ante patrem*, *filia ante matrem*, Nemnich 1515; Nethl. *zomer-zoetjes* (-sweetie) = *galanthus nivalis*. Clover too is called *summerflower*, visumarus, Kl. schr. 2, 159.

p. 763.] *Chelidonium*, celandine, so called because it comes with the swallow and withers at his going, Dioscor. 2, 211. A spring song in Lucian's *Tragopod.* 43—53 (ed. Bip. 10, 4) makes *blossom*, *swallow*, and *nightingale* heralds of spring; if you see the first ploughman ply, the *first swallow* fly, &c., Sup. I, 1086; usque ad adventum *hirundineum* vel *ciconinum*, Sidon. Apoll. 2, 14; *ciconia redeuntis anni* jugiter *nuntiatrice*, ejiciens tristitiam hiemis, laetitiam verni temporis introducens, magnum pietatis tradit exemplum, Cassiod. Var. 2, 14; *Maien-bule*, sommergeek, Dict. 2, 506 sub v. bühl: conf. 'kunden vogel rehte schouwen, sô lobten sie ze frouwen für die lichten sumerzît, MS. 1, 84^a.

p. 769.] Schwartz de Apoll. 33 compares *Apollo's* fight with the *dragon* to that betw. *Summer* and *Winter*. The song in Wiggert p. 37 says:

Winder ist *nider valt* (felled).

Winder, du bist swer sam ein blî (heavy as lead),

Sumer, du kaust den Winder *stillen* (bring to reason).

In the Nethl. song of battle betw. *S.* and *W.* (Hor. Belg. 6, 125—146) *Venus* comes and reconciles the 'brothers'; yet, at the very end, it says *Winter* has *had to be killed*—evidently the ending of an older song. Other pop. songs of summer in Firmen. 2, 15. 34. On the Eisenach *sommer-gewinn*, see Wolf's *Ztschr. f. myth.* 3, 157 and Hone's *Daybk* 1, 339 (conf. the *May* fetched by *May-boys* in Lyncker p. 35-6); the straw *Winter* is nailed to a wheel, *set on fire*, and *rolled downhill*, *Daybk* 1, 340. In *Francia* the girls who carry *Death* out are called *death-maidens*, *Schm.* 1, 464. In *Jever* they have the custom of '*meiboem setten*,' *Strackerjan* p. 75.*

p. 781.] By the side of *May* appears the *May-bride*, *Kuhn's Sag.* pp. 384. 513, otherw. called *bühli*, *fastenbühli*, *Stald.* 1, 240. The *plighted pair* are sought for, *Somm.* p. 151, conf. 180;

* Our people's *love of a forest-life*, which comes out esp. at the summer-holiday, is shown in the following passages: *ze walde gie*, *Kindh. Jesu* 101, 12; (dancing on the meadow before the wood) *reigen vür den walt* an eine wise lange, MS. 2, 55^b; *ze holze loufen*, *reigen* 2, 56^a; *daz dir ze walde stât der fuoz* (for a dance), *Winsbekin* 29, 4. Haupt p. 78. *Massm. Eracl.* p. 609; *wir suln vor disem fürholz ligen* durch der bluomen smae u. der vogel gesane, *Wigam.* 2472; *ich wil vor disem walde* ein hôchzît machen, u. herladen u. bitten frouwen u. ritter stolz an *diz grüne fürholz* 2477; *vor dem walde* in eime tal da sach man swenze blicken, die megde wurfen ouch den bal, MS. 2, 56^b; *vil schône ze walde*, an dem werde, *hebent sich die tenze* 2, 57^b.

the Swedes call her *midsummars-brud*, Wieselgr. 410. Dk. Potter's *Der minnen loep* 1, 30-1. Antonius de Arena (a Provence poet, d. 1644) de villa de Soleriis (Souliers), Lond. 1758 informs us: 'Cum igitur nunc se offerat hilarissimus mensis *Maïus*, quo tempore omnes populi voluptati et gaudio, laetitiae et omni solatio indulgere solent, ut inquit gloss. et ibi doctores in l. unica, C. de *mayauima*, lib. xi, tunc enim apparent herbae frondesque virentes et garritus avium, corda hominum laetificantes; *Bononiae*, et in nostra *Provincia*, ac hîc *Avenione*, in viis *reginas* pro solatio faciunt, *quas viri coguntur osculari*. Item in dicto mense *Maïo* amasii, in signum amoris et solatii causa amicarum, *altissimas arbores* plantare solent, *quas Maïos* appellant'; conf. Forcell. sub v. majuma.—At Lons le Saunier and St Amour the prettiest girl is chosen to be *nymphe du printemps*, is adorned, garlanded and carried round in triumph, while some collect gifts, and sing:

étrennez notre *épousée* !
voici le mois, le *joli mois de Mai*,
étrennez notre *épousée*
en bonne étrenne !
voici le mois, le *joli mois de Mai*,
qu'on vous amène !

In Bresse (now dept. Ain) the May-queen or May-bride, decked with ribbons and flowers, walks first, led by a young man, while a May-tree in blossom is carried in front. The words of the song are:

voici venir le *joli mois*,
l'alouette plante le Mai,
voici venir le *joli mois*,
l'alouette l'a planté.
le coq prend sa *volée*
et la volaille chante.

See Monnier's *Culte des esprits dans la Sequanie*. In Lorrain too he is called *joli Mâ*.

The Italians danced at the spring holiday, Dönnige's *Heinr. VII*, 191; conf. the May-feast as descr. in Machiav. *Stor. Fior.* 1, 109. 149. In ancient Italy, under stress of war or pestilence, they vowed a *ver sacrum*, i.e. everything begotten and born that spring,

Niebuhr 1, 102. The Servian Whitsun queen is called *kralitza*, Vuk sub v.

p. 782 n.] Vier *frone vasten*, Meinauer's Naturl. p. 8; in der *fronfasten*, in den *fronfasten*, Keisersb. Om. 42-3. Did they have a matron go about muffled at that season? Er. Alberus in Fab. 39 says of a disorderly dressed female: 'sio gieng gleichwie ein *fassenacht*'; die liebe *frau fastnacht* u. den *jungherrn von fronfasten*, Bienenk. 49^b.

p. 784.] Does an AS. riddle in Cod. Exon. 417-8 refer to the *flying summer*? 'spinneweppe, daz sumers zît im gras ûf grüenen wisen lît,' Albr. v. Halb. 124^b. An Ital. proverb traces the spring gossamer to three Marys (see p. 416 n.): 've' quant' hanno *filato* questa notte *le tre Marie!*' conf. Indiculus 19: 'de petendo (pendulo?) quod boni vocant sanctae Mariae,' and Nemn. sub v. *fila divae virginiis*. *Mädchen-* or *Mättchen-sommer* is supp. to mean Matthias' summer, from its appearing on that saint's day. Yet we read: *de metten* hebbt spinnen, Müllenh. p. 583. Now *Metje* is Matilda, Brem. wtb., and we actually find a 'Gobelinus de Rodenberg dictus *Mechtilde-sumer*,' Seibertz 2, 286 (yr 1338). Matthidia in Clemens' Recogn. becomes Mehthild in Ksrehr. 1245. Flying gossamer is called in India *maruddhvaġa*, Mârut's flag, Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 490.

p. 786.] In England on May 1 the *hobby-horse* is led about, and also a bear, Haupt 5, 474; conf. the *erbes-bär*, Somm. p. 155-6. *Pingster-bloemen*, *Pinkster-blomen*, Whitsun-flowers, is the name given to the merry processionists at Jever, Strackerj. p. 76, and in Westphalia, Firmen. 1, 359. The Whitsun sleeper is nicknamed *pfinst-lümmel* (-looby) also in Mone's Schausp. 2, 371; in Silesia *rauch-fihls*, Berl. jrb. 10, 224. In Russia the *lie-abad* on Palm Sunday is scourged with rods, Kohl's Russ. 2, 186. On *taudragil* see GDS. 509.

CHAPTER XXV.

TIME AND WORLD.

p. 791.] *Wile*, *stunde*, Graff 4, 1224, *zît*, *wile*, *stunde*, Uolr. 1554, and *stund*, *weil*, *zeit*, Wolkenst. 161 stand side by side; so our '*zeit* u. *weile* wird mir lang,' I feel dull. *Wile* occurs even

with a numeral: unz (until) *drîe wîle* kômen hin, Servat. 2652. As *Xpóvos* was a god, and *Kaipós* is called a graybeard, Tom-maseo 3, 15. so is diu *wîle* personified, conf. *wîl-sælde*, pp. 857 n. 863; 'der wîle *nîgen*,' bowing to w., MSH. 1, 358^a; *undanc* der wîle *sagen*, Kl. 274; *gêrt sî* (honoured be) *diu wîle* unde *dirre tac*, Parz. 801, 10; *saelic wîle*, *saelic zît*, MSH. 1, 296^a, conf. AS. *sael*=felicitas and tempus opportunum; *gistuont* thera *zîti quati*=instabat tempus, O. iv. 9, 1, conf. des Sumers *güete*, p. 760 n.—Above all, there is ascribed to Time a coming, going, striding, advancing, drawing nigh, entering. Ssk. *amasa* time, from *am* to go, Bopp, see Gramm. 491-2; Lith. *amžis*, Armor. *amzer*, Kymr. *amser*, Ir. *am*. The Lat. *seculum* is fr. *sec* to go, Ssk. *sac* fr. *sak*=sequi (or secare? Pott, 2, 588). The OHG. *dîhsmo*, conn. with Goth. *þeihis*, means processus, successus, advance, Graff 5, 111. M.Neth. *tiden*=ire, Lekensp. 622. Gramm. 1, 978; diu wîle hete sich *vergangen*, Osw. 3443; die tît *ghinc vort*, Maerl. 2, 364; þâ seo tîd *gewât ofer tiber seeacan*, Cædm. 9, 1; thô ward thiu tîd *cuman*, Hel. 3, 14. 23-4. 25, 22; ein paar stunden *kommen in's land*, Weise's Lustsp. 3, 198; es *giengen* nicht drei tage *in's land*, Jucundiss. 36; ehe zwei jahre *in's land gehen*, Pol. maulaffe 4; thiu tîd was *ginâhit*, Hel. 121, 21; *nâhtun sih* thio hôhun *gizîti*, O. iv. 8, 1; zît wart *givreisôt*, O. i. 4, 11; 'swie sich diu zît *huop*,' arose, Tit. 88, 4; die tît, die nooit noch *ghelae*, Rose 353; weil jetzt die zeit *beigeneigt*, Eichst. hexenpr. 85; thio zîti *sih bibrâhtun*, O. iii. 4, 1; thô *sih* thiu zît *bibrâhta*, O. iv. 1, 7; dô *sik* de tîd *brâchte*, Sachsenchr. 205; dô *sik brâchten* dusent u. twehundert jâr 226; forð baero (l. *baeron*) tîd, Cædm. 8. 31; nie sich diu zît alsô *getruoc*, Trist. 13, 34; *sik* hadde de tîd *gedragen*, Sachsenchr. 213; our 'what future time might bring with it,' Irrg. d. liebe 248; 'die zeit bringt's.'

p. 792.] *Stunde*, hour, often stands for time: 'jâ gie in diu *stunde* mit grôzer *kurz-wîle* hin,' their time went by with much pas-time, Nib. 740, 4; *nâch* des Merzen *stunden*, Gudr. 1217, 3. But the OS. *werolt-stunda*=mundus, Hel. 76, 5. 159, 11. The M.Neth. also expressed a moment by 'en *stic*,' Rose 1952, and by the phrases: 'biz man *geruorte* die brâ,' while one moved the eyelid, Servat. 342; biz ein brâ die andern ruorte 3459; alsô schiere (as fast as) diu ober brâ die nideren gerüeret, Hpt's Ztschr. 2, 213.

p. 793.] Voss in Luise p. m. 220 ingeniously derives *werlt*, world, fr. *werlen*, to whirl. The *World* is often apostrophized by Walther 37, 24. 38, 13. 122, 7. In Ssk. the ages of the world are *yuga*, the two last and corrupt ones being *Dvâpara's* and *Kali's*, Bopp's *Damay.* p. 266. The men of the golden age are themselves called *golden*, Lucian's Saturn. 8. 20 (ed. Bip. 3, 386); conf. our Schlaraffenland, Cockaign, GDS. 1. 2. So in Ssk. the plur. of *lôka* (mundus) = homines; and OHG. AS. *ferah*, *feorh* have 'mid' prefixed to them, answering to *mitil-gart*, *mid-dan-gæard*: OHG. *midfiri*, *mittiverihi*, AS. *midfeorwe*. *Manasêps* seems to corresp. to the Eddic *aldu ve iarðar*, Sæm. 23^b, *populorum habitaculum, terra ab hominibus inhabitata* (F. Magn. p. 255 n.), to which is opposed *ûtve* = *ûtgarðar*, *gigantum habitacula*. And the Gael. *siol*, seed, often stands for people, men.

p. 794.] Ssk. *lôka*, mundus, fr. *lôc*, lucere? conf. Lat. locus, Lith. *laukas* = campus; 'disa *scônûn werlt*' in Notk. Bth. 147 transl. pulcrum mundum. The Hindûs also held by three worlds: heaven, earth and hell, Holtzm. Ind. s. 3, 121; *madhyama lôka* = media terra, quippe quae *inter coelum et infernum*, Bopp's Gl. 256^b; or simply *Madhyama*, Pott 2, 354. The Greeks too divided the world into *οὐρανός, γαῖα, τάρταρος*, Hes. Theog. 720 (see Suppl. to 806). ON. *heimr* terra, *himinn* coelum, *heimir* infernus? *Heimr* is opposed to *hei*, Sæm. 94^b; *liggja î milli heims ok heljar*, Fornm. s. 3, 128 means to have lost consciousness. O. v. 25, 95. 103 puts all three in one sentence: 'in *erdu* joh in *himile*, in *abgrunde* ouh hiar nidare.' Distinct fr. *middjungards*, earth, is Goth. *miþgards* = median in the compound *miþgarda-vaddjus*, *μεσό-τοιχον*, Ephes. 2, 14. 'This *myddel-erde*,' *Alisaunder* p. 1; iz thisu *worolt* lêrta in *mittemo* iro *ringe*, O. iv. 19, 7; *ert-rinc*, Diemer 118, 23. 121, 1; der *irdiske ring*, Mar. 191, 16. Earth is called diu *gruntveste*, Rother 3651; OHG. *cruntfesti fundamentum*, Graff 3, 718. 'Daz *bû* vergieng,' the world perished, *Wolkenst.* 180. In the centre of the world lies an *old stone*, under it the measuring chain, *Temme's Altmark* p. 33; conf. *navel-stone* (p. 806). Other names: der *maere meregarde*, *Karajan* 22, 15; der *irdiske gibel*, Mar. 156, 40; daz *irdiske tal* 174, 34.

The *world-snake* has its head knocked off by a throw of *Thôr's* hammer, *Su.* 63. Even *Fischart* in *Gesch.* kl. 31^b says: 'When

Atlas wanted to shift the globe to his other shoulder, to see what the *great fish* was doing whereon the *world* is said to *stand* ;' conf. Leviathan (p. 998).

p. 795.] The world is called 'der *vróne sal*,' lordly hall, Diemer 297, 6, which usu. means heaven ; but 'der *sal*' 326, 7 seems to be temple. On the other hand : 'diz *jâmertal*,' vale of sorrow, Renn. 896 ; diz *âmertal*, Griesh. Pred. 2, 101 ; in ditze *chlageliche tal*, Mar. 148, 2. 198, 33 ; dieses *jammer* u. *kummerthal*, Schweinichen 1, 17 ; 'varen *ûz disem ellende*,' misery, Griesh. 2, 15 ; *ûz disem ubelen wóftale*, Diem. 301, 2 ; in disem *angst-hause*, Drei erzn. 270 ; von dirre *snoeden werlt*, Frib. Trist. 33.

p. 795.] There are several heavens : acc. to Diut. 3, 41 *ten* at first, but after Lucifer's fall only *nine*. The Finns too have *nine heavens*, taivahan yheksän an, Kal. 10, 190. 28, 308-9 ; vor froeide *zuo den himeln* (ad coelos) springen, MS. 2, 47^a.

p. 800.] The World-tree is called *askr Yggdrasil* in Sæm. 3^b, but *Yggdrasills askr* in 8^a. 44-5. 89^a ; conf. the Low Sax. legend of the ash (p. 960). Again : *miotviðr* kyndiz (is kindled), Sæm. 8^a ; *miotvið* maeran *fýrir mold neðan* 1^a ; which is rendered arbor centralis, for *miöt*=medium, says Magnusen. But Rask reads *myotviðr*, and other expositors *miötuðr*. Is *miötuðr* the tree the same as *miotuðr*, God (p. 22) ? Again : 'it *aldna tré*,' Sæm. 8^a ; perh. also the word *aldurnari*, seculum servans 9^b signifies the same world-tree.—The *snake* gnawing at the roots of the ash must mean mischief to it : well, Germ. superstition likewise places enmity between *snake* and *ash*, Panz. Beitr. 1, 251-2. 351-2. A somewhat doubtful legend tells of a world-old *druden-baum* on the top of the Harberg near Plankstellen in Franconia, that its leaves fr. time to time shed *golden drops*, *milk* oozed out of its roots, and under it lay a treasure guarded by a *dragon* ; on the tree sat a great black *bird*, who clashed his wings together and raised a storm when any one tried to lift the treasure (?)—Similar to the passage quoted from Otfried is another in iv. 27, 19 :

tho zeintun (pointed to) *worolt-enti* sînes selbes *henti*,
thaz *houbit himilisga* munt, thie *fuazi* ouh thesan *erdgrunt*,
thaz was sîn al in wâra umbiking in fiara
obana joh nidana.

But O. has nothing about *birds*. Neither has the legend on the

Wood of the Cross ; but it mentions the spring and the serpent. It makes Seth look in at the door of Paradise and spy a *spring*, which parted into the four rivers Pison, Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates ; at the source of the Euphr. stood a withered tree, with a great serpent coiled about it ; its root ran deep down into hell, on its crown lay a newborn babe in swaddling-bands. The *serpent* is he of the forbidden fruit-tree, but he answers to Níðhöggr, the four *rivers* or *springs* corresp. to the three of the Edda, the *child* on the tree-top to the eagle, and the *roots* of both trees reach down to *hell*. But the wood of the Cross only comes of three pips off this tree, which grow up into three other trees. Now where did this legend spring up ? and may some *heathen features* have been adopted into it ? The Leg. Aurea c. 64 is very brief.

With the Oriental fable of the mouse gnawing at the root of the bush in the well, ought to be conn. the Indian myth of the *thin stalk of grass* hanging over a *precipice*, and unceasingly gnawed by a mouse, Holtzm. 3, 114. The widely spread fable above has even been painted, Mone 8, 279 ; conf. Benfey's Pansch. 1, 80. 2, 528. Liebr. on Barlaam p. 330-1.

p. 801.] *Gehenna* is supposed to mean vale of sorrow ; pl. *gehennae*, Arnob. 2, 14. Arab. *iahennem*, Pers. *gehinnom* ; the Turks, too, retain it in the Koran as *jehenne*, the abode of *ebliis*, diabolus. Ἄδης, αἰδῆς is expl. as the invisible (god), fr. αἰδῆς. Hades is addressed as a person : ὄναξ Ἀΐδη, Soph. Trach. 1085 ; so is the Hebrew Sheol, שְׁאוֹל, שְׁאוֹל Gesen. 731^b [see Hosea 13, 14, and 1 Cor. 15, 55]. Lucian de luctu 2. 3 descr. Hades as a vast and dark subterranean abyss, encircled by the fearful streams of Cocytus and Pyriphlegethontes, and to be reached by sailing over the Acherusian bog.—Dietrich in Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 305, says *Niflhel* is a place of torment too ; yet höll in Fischart's Garg. 202^a, is still a mere dwelling place : das (wie dort geschriben steht) 'ein so weite hölle find man kaum, da *all die toden* hetten raum.' Did he take that fr. the passage in Widukind ? Simple dying is called faring to hell ; hence the Norse expressions *hel-veið* (e.g. Brynhildar), and *fara til Heljar* (p. 313). It sounds purely local in 'si ist *in der helle* begraben,' buried in hell, Kschr. 2530.

p. 801.] Leonidas at Thermopylae bids his men break their

fast, for they will sup in the realm of the dead: *hodie apud inferos coenabimus*. ‘Thorgerðr segir hátt: engan hefi ec nâtt-verð haft, ok engan mun ek fyrr enn at *Freyju*,’ not sup till I sup with F. (yr 945), Egilss. p. 603; ‘lifð heilir herra, ek man *hiá Oðni gista*,’ to-day guest with Oðin, Fornald. s. 2, 366; conf. the passage fr. Saxo in Suppl. to 818 (Kl. schr. 5, 354 seq.).

p. 802.] De olde *helweg*, Urk. of 1518 in Wigand’s Corv. güterb. 229; *hellewege*, *helleknochen* 241. Brückner derives the Henneberg ‘hälweg, hälwehr,’ boundary, fr. häl (for hagel). *Herweg* means also the Milky Way, Woeste 41; Hans *Helwagen*, MB. 25, 314 (yr 1469). 316. 384.

p. 803.] Hellia lies low. Beside the root of a tree of paradise Seth looks into *hell*, and sees his brother *Abel’s soul*. It is curious that Brynhild on her *hel-reið* drives through the *halls of a giantess*, Sæm. 227. *Diu tiefe helle*, MS. 2, 184^b. Hpt’s Ztschr. 2, 79. In the same sense death is called deep: an thene *diapun dôd*, Hel. 136, 1, and conversely ‘in der *bitteron hella*,’ Grieshaber 2, 33. 44. 65. 76. 97. 108. 122; and ‘*diu helle diu’st ein bitter hol*,’ MSH. 3, 468^c, when usu. it is death that is bitter. —The Greek underworld had an opening, through which Pluto descends when he has carried off Proserpine, Paus. ii. 36, 7, while Dionysus leads Semelē out of hades across the Aleyonian lake ii. 37, 5. The Teut. hell has likewise a gateway (mouth), which is closed up with a grating: *fyr nâ-grindr* neðan, Sæm. 68^a. 86^a; *hnigin er hel-grind*, when the grave-mound opens, Hervarars. p. 347. OS. *helli-porta*, Hel. 97, 17; *thiu helliporta*, O. iii. 12, 35; *antheftid fan hell-doron*, Hel. 71, 9; *de doir vanner hellen mot aupen wesen*, Slennerhinke, beginn. There is a *Höllthor-spitze* in Salzburg, M. Koch’s Reise 315. *Der helle invart* is a hole at which all the dead went in, En. 2906—15; *dringet in daz hellelor*, Hpt 2, 69; *diu riuwe (ruth) stêt für der helle tor*, Warnung 316.

p. 804.] OHG. *helli-stroum* = *rudens, torrens inferni*, Graff 6, 754; *Höll-haken*, hell-hook, was the name of a whirlpool in the Rhine; Fischart’s Glückh. schif 429.

p. 805.] Plainly Christian are the following notions: ‘*minne* hât ûf erde hûs, ze himel ist reine für Got ir geleite, *minne* ist allenthalben *wan ze helle*,’ love is everywhere but in hell, Tit. 51; *helle-viur*, -fire, Kehr. 1138; *daz winster viur*, MSH. 1, 298^b;

‘ich hân *fiwer* u. *vinster* zo der *zeswen* unt ze der *winster*,’ to right and left, Todes gehugede 661; der helle *fiwerstôt*, Warn. 72; in der helle *brinnen* u. *bräten*, Griesh. 2, 76. 108. 123. Yet the heathen fancy of fires darting out of opened grave-mounds, and of *hauga-eldr* in general (Fornald. s. 1, 437), seems conn. with hellfire. On the other hand we hear of *helle-vrost*, Tod. geh. 902. In pop. speech, hell is any dark hole or corner: the tailor throws pieces of cloth ‘in die *hölle*,’ the prentice jumps up ‘aus der *hölle*’ (fr. behind the chest), and makes for the door, Pol. maulaffe 4; kroch nach der *hölle* 6; geh *hinter’n ofen* in die *hell*, H. Sachs i. 5, 495^b.—The Christian hell has a pool of pitch and brimstone: *bech* unde *swebel*, Diemer 313, 9; von dem *bechen* 303, 22; *beh-welle* 298, 29. 303, 27; die *swarzen pech-velle* (l. *-welle*), Tod. geh. 686; die *bechwelligen bache* 899; mit *bechwelliger hitze* 929. In the märchen of Dame Holle the *gold-gate* and *pitch-gate* stand opposed, like heaven and hell. Again: in dem *swebel*, Warn. 260; in den *swebel-sêwen* (-lakes) baden, Servat. 3541; diu helle *stinchet* wirs danne der *fûle* hunt, Karajan 31, 8; infer le *puant*. Thib. de Nav. 150; *puafine*, Gaufrey p. xxx. The stench of hell may have been suggested by the noxious fumes that rise out of clefts in the earth.

p. 806.] Greek opinion placed Tartarus not inside the earth, but an immense way off it. A brass anvil (*χάλκεος ἄκμων*) falls *nine days and nights* fr. heaven, and touches earth on the tenth; it takes *nine more* to reach Tartarus, Hes. Theog. 722—5; but Homer makes Hephæstus fall fr. heaven in *one day*, Il. 1, 592. The Lat. Avernus is Gr. *ἄ-ορνος*, bird-less, ‘quia sunt avibus contraria cunetis,’ Lucr. 6, 742. An AS. word for hell is *scraef*, cavern, Cædm. 212, 10. MHG. *âbis*, Roth’s Dicht. pp. 10. 23; ‘daz *abgrunde*’ also occurs in Rother 4434; ‘in der *helle grunde* verbrunne ê ich,’ I’d sooner burn, MS. 1, 56^a; an *grund* grimmaro helliun, Hel. 164, 5; der fürste ûz *helle abgründe*, Walth. 3, 12; de *hellegrunt*, MB. 5, 138; der *bodengrunt* (bottom) der helle, MS. 2, 147^b. In Russ. however [beside the more usual *ад* fr. *ἄδης*] it is called *bez-dnâ*, bottom-less, like *ἄ-βυσσος*. Conf. der erde *volmünde* (fullamunt), Gute frau 2022; der erden *bunder* (ON. *pundari*), Hpt’s Ztschr. 2, 131.

p. 806.] On the Delphian *navel* as earth’s centre, see Pott’s Zählmeth. 267; Zeus ascertains it by sending out eagles or

ravens. To the Irish too *earth's navel* was a stone, Lappenb. in Allg. encycl. d. wiss., art. Irland 49^b. A stone in *helles-grunt* occurs in Uhl. Volksl. 1, 8; the *dille-stein* is the stone 'den kein hund überbal, kein wind überwelte, kein regen übersprehte,' p. 7; über *d'hellplata* springen, Vonbun p. 65. *Dillestein* means bottom-stone.

p. 807.] The underworld has its waters, streams: *sâ hon þar vaða þraunga strauma menn meinsvara*, Sæm. 7^b; *Vaðjelmi vaða* 181^a; in der helle *baden*, Engelh. 6050; *ze helle baden*, MSH. 2, 259^a. 260^b; in den swebel-sêwen (brimstone lakes) *baden*, Servat. 3541; *sêle besoufet* (drenched) in *hellepîne*, MS. 2, 150^b. Hell is a well, a *helle-puzze* (-pit), obene enge (narrow at top), *nidene wît*, Wernh. v. N. 41, 5; *dâ diu unerfulte butze des abgrundes ûz diezen*, Todes geh. 896; *helle-sôt*, MSH. 3, 463^b answers to the AS. *scáð* in the text; *Hellekessel*, -kettle, a family name at Bonn. *Susl* in *cwissusle* is appar. the ON. *sýsla*, negotium, cura, labor, passing over into supplicium, as verk into verkr, dolor; conf. *suslbona*, hell-foe, Cædm. 305, 1.

p. 807.] Hell is said in AS. to be *wyrmsæle* and *wyrmum bewunden*, Judith 134, 49. 57; *þær bið fýr and wyrm*, Cædm. 212, 9; *ûz diseme wurmgarten*, Diemer 295, 25. There also dwells the *hell-hound* (p. 996-7. Suppl. to 815) There were punishments in hell for heathen heroes too: Sigurðr Fâfnisbani has to *heat an oven*, and Starkaðr 'hefi *ökla-eld*,' Fornm. s. 3, 200; conf. St. Patrick's Purgatory by Th. Wright xi. and 192.

p. 809.] Leo in Hpt's Ztschr. 3, 226 has a Gael. *mudspuil*, mutatio, which I have not found in any dictionary. He only gets it out of *muth*, mutare, and *spuil*, spolium; but the OS. *mudspelles megin* (like *iarðar megin*) requires a material sense. That of wood, tree, is supported by Sæm. 9^b: 'geisar eimi við aldurnara,' the fire rages against aldurnari, *i.e.* Yggdrasill? (Suppl. to 800 beg.). Lapp. *muora*, *muorra* [Mong. *modo*] = arbor; but Syrianic and Permian *mu*, Votjak *muziern* = land, Rask's Afh. 1, 39. Finnic, beside *maa*, seems to have *moa*, *mua*, Castrén's Syriän. Gr. p. 149.

p. 810.] *Surtr* is a giant, not a god: S. oc in *sváso goð*, Sæm. 33^a; S. ok *aesir* 188^a; *Surta sefi* 8^a is supp. to mean fire. Domesday-bk has a man's name *Sortebrand*. With *Surtr* conf. Slav. *tchort*, *čert*, *czart* = devil [tchorny, czerny = black], p. 993.

Muspellz synir hafa einir ser fylkîng, er sâ *biört* miöc, Sn. 72 ; the field on which they encounter the gods is called *Vígríðr*, Sæm. 33^a. Sn. 75, and also *Oskopnir*, Sæm. 188^a.

p. 810.] The world is destroyed by fire. The Indians spoke of 'the *penal fire* of the Last Day,' Holtzm. Ind. s. 2, 90 : 'destructive as the L. D.' 2, 86. 99. An Ionic dance was called *κόσμου ἐκπύρωσις*, Athen. 5, 283. At Rome one foretold 'ignem de coelo lapsurum finemque mundi affore,' Capitolini M. Anton. 13. The Celts believed the end of the world would be by *fire* and *water* : *ἐπικρατήσκειν δέ ποτε καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ*, Strabo 4, 45. 198 : Gael. *brath*, ultimum orbis incendium ; *gu là bhruth*, in aeternum, unquam ; conf. Ossian 3, 433. AS. *oð baeles cyme*, till fire's coming=end of the world, Cod. Exon. 200, 28 : unz an die stunde dô allez sol *verbrinnen*, Karajan 50, 15 ; grôzer schal, als *al diu werlt dá brunne*, Wigal. 7262 : *dîn jámertac* wil schiere komen, u. *brennt dich* darumbo iedoch, Walth. 67, 19.

p. 812.] On *Antichrist*, conf. Griesh. Pred. p. 150-1 ; ich wêne nu ist *anticrist* den heiden cumen ze helpe, Gr. Rud. 14, 9 ; deable *antecris*, Méon 3, 250 ; l'ame emporteirent Pilate et *anticris*, Aspr. 9^b. Müllenhoff in Hpt's Ztschr. 11, 391 does not see so much affinity betw. the Muspilli and the Edda.

p. 814.] Beside *aldar rök*, *ragua rök*, we have *þiöðu rök*, Sæm. 28^b, *tíva rök* 36^{ab}, *fíra rök* 49^a, *forn rök* 63^a. AS. *racu* is Ssk. *rajani*, night (Suppl. to 737). To this Twilight of the gods O. Schade in his sixth thesis refers the saying : 'it is not yet the evening of all the days.'

p. 815.] The stars fall from heaven (Suppl. to 817), the rainbow breaks down. Atlas holds the vault of *heaven* on his shoulders, it must *fall* when he removes them : *quid si nunc coelum ruat?* Ter. Heaut. iv. 2. The Celts *ἔφασαν δεδιέναι μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι*, feared the sky would fall on them, Arrian's Anab. 1, 4. GDS. 459. 460. Germ. superstition tells of a little bird (tomtit) that holds his little claw over his head when he sleeps, to shield it in case the *sky fell* in the night.—The ship *Naglfur* is conn. with *Naglfari*, the husband of Nôtt, Sn. 11 ; it takes as long to build as the *iron-rock* to wear away, which the woman grazes with her veil once in 100 years ; conf. the *cow's hide* being picked clean by the giant (Suppl. to 514).—It was an AS. belief also that the *hellhound* was fought

with: 'sî he toren of *hellehundes tôðum*,' teeth, Kemble no. 715, yr 1006; *hellehunt*, MS. 2, 147^b (Suppl. to 807. p. 996-7). The *Last Judgment* is like the *tribunal of Minos* in the underworld, Lucian's *Jup. confut.* 18, and the *judgment of souls* of the Mongols, *Bergm.* 3, 35; *conf. Michael's balance* (p. 859). AS. notions about the end of the world are preserved in *Cod. Exon.* 445.

p. 817.] The Archipoeta's poem on the *fifteen signs* is in *Hpt's Ztschr.* 3, 523—5. The signs vary in the different accounts, see Sommer in *Hpt* 3, 525—530. Wiedeburg p. 139. Lekenasp. Deckers 2, 264. Diemer p. 283—7. Grieshaber p. 152. Mone's *Schausp.* 1, 315 seq. *MSH.* 3, 96^b. The 12th sign in the Latin poem above is: *fixae coeli penitus stellae sunt casurae* (the same in Griesb.); in the Asega-book the 13th: *sa fallath alle tha stera fon tha himule*; *conf. Sæm.* 9^b: *hverfa af himni heiður stiörnur*. The common folk held by other prognostics besides: when it strikes thirteen and the hens take to crowing, the Judgment-day will come, *Hpt* 3, 367.—The earth quaked, *ON.* *iörð dúsaði*, *Sæm.* 241^b. The Greeks ascr. the phenomenon to Poseidon, *Herod.* 7, 129, or some other god: *τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ σεισαντος*, *Paus.* i. 29, 7, elsewh. to Typhôeus, *Ov. Met.* 5, 356; its cause is discussed by *Agathias* 5, 8. The Lith. god of earthquake is *Drebkullys*, *Nesselm.* pp. 154. 208, fr. *drebeti*, quake, and *kulti*, strike. A New Zeal. story of earthquake in *Klemm* 4, 359; the earth is carried by a tortoise 2, 164.

p. 818.] The *valkyrs* conduct to heaven, as the Hours opened the cloud-gate to Olympus. So too the *angels* fetch away dying heroes: *la vos atendent li anges en chantant, contre vos ames vont grant joie menant*, *Asprem.* 22^b; *lame emporterent li ange en chantant* 28^a. A cliff in Blekingen is called *Valhall*, and at two places in Westgotland are *Valhall*, *Vählehall*: they are the hills fr. which *old men weary of life* threw themselves into the lake or brook running below, in which they were washed. Such water bears the name of *Odens-källa*: in taking possession of them, the god first washed or bathed them; *conf. Geijer* 1, 115 (Suppl. to 832).—Brave men go to *Valhöll*: *sâ var âtrûnaðr heiðinna manna, at allir þeir er af sárum andadisk, skyldu fara til Valhallar*, *Fagrsk.* p. 27. A servant goes not to V. except in attendance on his lord, *Fornald.* s. 3, 8. *Vápnabing* goes on in

V., for which a son fits out his father by burying his weapons with him, Nialss. c. 80; 'þú vart valkyrja at Alföðnr, mundo einherjar allir beriaz um sakar þínar,' were glad to be struck down for thy sake, Sæm. 154^b. When Hâkon died a heathen and was buried, his friends gathered round his grave, and in heathen fashion saw him off to Valhöll: *maelto þeir svâ fyrir grepti hans, sem heiðinna manna var siðr til, oc vísodðo honom til Valhallar*, Hâkonars. c. 32. *Inde vota nuncupat* (Ringo), *adjicitque precem uti Haraldus, eo vectore (equo suo) usus, fati consortes ad Tartara antecederet, atque apud præstitem Orci Plutonem sociis hostibusque placidas expeteret sedes*, Saxo Gr. 147; conf. the prayer of Waltharius 1167: *hos in coelesti mihi præstet sede videri*. Valhöll is also called *hâ höll*, high hall (though only the dat. occurs: *hâva höllo*, Sæm. 24^b. 30^b. Sn. 3); and *Hropts sigtoptir*, Sæm. 10^a.

p. 819.] The souls of kshatriyas slain in battle arrive at Indra's heaven, and are his guests, Bopp's Nalas 264; to warriors fallen in fight the gate of heaven is open, Holtzm. Ind. s. 2, 65; conf. 'en infer vont *li bel cavalier* qui sont morts as tornois et as rices guerres,' Aucassin in Méon 1, 355. Both AS., OHG. and MHG. phrases point to a heavenly castle: *Godes ealdorburg*, Dei palatium, Cod. Exon. 441, 8: *rodera ceaster*, coelorum urbs 441, 10. A minute description of the *himiliske Godes burg* (Hpt's Ztschr. 3, 443-4) says: *diu burg ist gestiftet mit aller tiuride meist ediler geist gimmon, der himel meregriezou, der burge fundamenta, die porte ioh die mure daz sint die tiuren steina der Gotes furst helido*. A similar house, glittering with gold and light, occurs in a vision, Greg. Tur. 7, 1; *ir erbe solde sîn der himelhof*, Lndw. d. fromme 2478.

p. 820.] Heaven is 'der *himelische sal*,' Todes gehng. 942; der *vrône sal*, Diemer 301, 3; der *freuden sal* besitzen (possess), Tit. 5788; conf. *freuden-tal* besitzen, in contrast with *riuwen-tal* 3773-4; it is true a castle is also called *freuden zil*, goal of joy, Wigal. 9238. 11615; *hverfa â mun-vega* (pleasure's path) = to die, Egilss. 622. The Mecklenburg noble, who reckons on a merry drinking-bout with Christ in heaven, is, by another account, fr. Pomerania, N. Pr. prov. bl. 3, 477; conf. 'im *samint in* (along with them) *drinchit er den wîn*,' Diemer 103, 5; *s'aurai mon chief em paradis flori*, ou *toz jors a joie, feste e deli*, Aspr. 18^a;

ἐν μακάρων νήσοις πίνειν μετὰ τῶν ἡρώων, ἐν τῷ Ἑλυσίῳ λειμῶνι κατακείμενος, Lucian's *Jup. confut.* 17.

p. 820 n.] The reading I proposed in *Parz.* 56, 18 is now verified by MS. d; *conf. berc ze Fámorgân* 496, 8, *ze Fámurgâne* 585, 14, and 'Fámorgân hiez daz laut,' *Türl. Wh.* 24^a, see 37^a.

De *glasenburg* upriden, *Uhl. Volksl.* p. 16. The *glass mountain* turns up in many legends and märchen: *Müllenh.* p. 386-7. *Ehrentraut's Fries. arch.* 2, 162. *Sommer's Märch.* 99 seq. *Bechstein's Sag.* p. 67. Akin to the glass castle is the cloud-castle: *mons Wolkinburg*, *Cæs. Heisterb.* 2, 318; *conf. Böhm. Cod. Francof.* 247 (yr. 1290). *Lacomblet's Arch.* 2, 11. 19. *Weisth.* 2, 713. The Vila builds a *castle on the cloud* with three gates, *Vuk, nov. ed.* p. 151. It says in *Kalev.* 2, 25: *tuulehenko teen tupani*, build rooms in the air; *conf. the air-castle on the rainbow* (p. 732-3).

p. 821.] Ssk. *děšas*, land, *Zend. paradašhas*, fairest land, *Benfey* 1, 438; τὸν παράδεισον = hortum, *Lucian's Somn.* 21; the garden of the Vandal king is called παράδεισος, *Procop.* 1, 382, *conf. 434.* Ir. *parrathas*, O.Sl. *poroda*. The earthly paradise is the *Rose-garden*, *conf. its descript. in a Pommersf. MS.* (Hpt 5, 369). *Roseng.* 1028. *Tit.* 6044. Another term is 'saltus *wunniló*,' *Lacombl. no. 65* (855); *conf. 'lust-wald,' pleasure-park.* *Weinhold. in Hpt 6*, 461 after all connects *neorxena* with *norna*.—The Slav. *rai*, paradise, *Miklosich* 73 would derive fr. *rad''*, glad, as *nai fr. nad''*. Boh. *raghrad* or *rai-grad*, paradise-garden, later *hradiště* (castle), a plot encircled by a round wall, in which the Slavs held feasts and games, and sang songs; so the *gral-höfe, grale*. *Herod.* 3, 26 calls Ὀασις a μακάρων νήσος, a green island in the sea of sand. 'A land flowing with *milk* and *honey*,' *Exod.* 3, 8. *Mar.* 160, 17, like *Cockaigne, Lubberland*, which even the Greeks knew of, *Athen.* 2, 526—533 [*Hor. Od. ii.* 19, 10: *vini fontem, lactis rivos, lapsa mella*]. *Conf. milk, honey and blood as food for gods and drink for poets* (pp. 317. 415 n.); *mellis lacus et flumina lactis erupisse solo*, *Claud. Stil.* 1, 85.

p. 823.] Ἑλύσια are places which lightning (the sun) has struck, *Benfey* 1, 457: ἐν τῷ Ἑλυσίῳ λειμῶνι, *Jup. confut.* 17; *conf. Plutarch* 4, 1154. OHG. *sunna-felt*, elysium, *Graff* 3, 516; *sunno-feld*, *helisios campos*, *Gl. Sletst.* 6, 271. AS. *heofen-feld*,

coelestis campus (p. 234); *Hefenfeld*, locus in agro Northumbrensi. On ἀσφοδελός, Rom. *albuscus*, see Dioscor. 2, 199, with whom Theophrastus agrees, while Galen descr. the plant very differently, see Sprengel on Diosc. 2, 481.

Like the children in our märchen, who fall through the well on Dame Holla's meadow, Psyche having jumped off the *high rock*, 'paulatim per devexa excelsae vallis subditae florentis cespitis gremio leniter delabitur,' and then finds herself in a *heavenly grove*, Apuleius lib. 4 in fine. Like the *gardens of the Hesperides* is the 'insula pomorum, quae fortunata vocatur,' v. Merlini p. 393; conf. the *sacred apple-wood*, Barzas breiz 1, 56-7. 90, and 'fortunatorum insulas, quo cuncti, qui aetatem egerunt caste suam, convenient,' Plaut. Trin. ii. 4, 148; ἐν μακάρων νήσοις ἠρώων, Lucian's Demosth. enc. 50. Jup. conf. 17. *Champ flory*, la tanra Diex son jugement, quand il viendra jugier la gent, O.Fr. life of Mary in Lassberg's Zoller p. 74; an der *maten* (prato beatorum), Flore 2326. AS. *gréne wongas*, Cod. Exon. 482, 21; þes *wang gréna* 426, 34; þone *grénan wong ofgifan* 130, 34. H. Sachs iii. 3, 84^d still speaks of paradise as *the green valley*. Welsh *gwynfa*, paradise, strictly white happy land. The dead shall go to *Helgafell*, Eyrb. c. 4; conf. the earthly paradise closed in by high mountains, Tod. gehug. 970-6. The 'goð-borinn *Goðmundr*' in the far off realm of paradise, Sæm. 153^b, is *Granmar* in the Völs. saga, conf. Granmars synir, Sæm. 155^b.

p. 823.] *Viðarr* would in OHG. be *Witheri*, Graff 4, 986; but *Viðarr*, *Witheri* is more correct, conf. Sæm. 42^a: hrîs, gras, við. There is a saying about him: *Viðarr*, er guð eun î Görðum, hann er líka î Grindarskörðum.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SOULS.

p. 826.] *Ψυχή* anima and *νοῦς* mens are distinct, Plutarch 4, 1154. Beside the fem. seele, we find a neut. *ferah* with much the same meaning: OHG. *ferah* = anima, Graff 3, 682 (but *smala firihî* = vulgus 683); that *ferah* was af them folke, Hel. 169, 28, i.e. departed fr. among men. Pers. *ferver*, spirits, souls,

Zend. *fravashayó*, Benfey's Monatsn. 63-4. 151. To the fem. soul stand opp. the masc. *ahma*, *átum*, *geist*=spiritus (p. 461, l. 7). At the same time the *animæ* as well as *animi* are *winds*, *ἀνεμοί*, as the Sl. *dukh* and *dushá* are fr. *dykh-áti*, *dú-nuti*, spirare. Hence: animam exhalare, Ov. Met. 6, 247, animam ebullire, Petron. 62. 42; den geist aufgeben, give up the ghost, Albr. v. Halb. 123^b; der *ádem* (breath) zuo den luften fuore, Kschr. 13400. It was feared that a *soul* passing away in a storm would be blown to pieces by the *wind*, Plato's Phædr. p. 77.—The soul fares, slips out: stirb lîb, *sêle var!* Herb. 14040; diu *sêl* waer im *entsliffen*, Tundal. 44, 31; diu *sêl* sich ûz den liden (limbs) zôch, als der *sluifet* ûz dem gwande (garment), Servat. 3464; sô sih diu *sêle enbindet* von mensesklîcher zarge, Mar. 153, 5 (Fundgr. 2, 153); 'nu breche Göt ir *sêlen bant!*' is inscr. on a tombstone, Wackern. W. v. Klingen p. 22; wenn mir die *sel fleuszt* (flows) von des leibes drauch, Wolkenst. 263; von mir wolde diu *sêle sîn endrunnen* (run away), MS. 2, 52^a; dren (fr. three) *genk* dei seile ut den *mund* (mouth), Soest. fehde p. 625. The soul escapes through the gaping wound: κατ' οὐραμένην ὀπειλήν, Il. 14, 518, conf. 17, 86; ψυχὴ λέλοιπε, Od. 14, 134; is seola was *gisendid* an *suothan weg*, Hel. 169, 27, and what is more striking: than im that lîf *scriði* (abiret), thiú seola *bisunki* (mergeretur, elaberetur), 169, 21; conf. Karajan 32, 15 of the eagle: im *sunkit* sîn gevidere (plumage, to renew itself?). Souls, like elves, sail over the water; and the Indian elves are dead men, Ssk. *marut*, Kuhn in Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 488-9; conf. Nâim, Dâimn (p. 453). The Lith. *wél's* f. are manes, and *welûkas* spectres, Nesselm. 61-2 (Suppl. to 913 end, 968).

p. 828.] Souls are of *three kinds*, those of angels, of men, of beasts, says Dietm. of Mersebg (Pertz 5, 739). Curiously, however, *each* man is credited with *three souls*, two of which perish with the body, but the third survives: *bustoque superstes evolat*, Claud. de 4 cons. Honor. 228—235. Men's *souls* (ψυχαί) go to the underworld, their bodies (αὐτοὺς, like *selb*=mîn lîp) become the prey of dogs and birds, Il. 1, 4. Of lovers it is thought, that *their souls intermarry*; the notion must be old, for we find it in H. v. Veldeke: wir sîn ein lîp und ein *geist*, En. 6533, and still more clearly in H. v. Morungen: *iuwer sêle* ist *meiner sêle frowe*, MS. 1, 57^b; conf. 'ich wolte nit, daz *mîn*

sêle ûz des *besten menschen munde füere,* i.e. pass out of his mouth, Berth. 298.—On the *worship of souls*, see p. 913. It is said of the soul: von im fuor ein *glast* (flash) sam ein brinnerender louc, Rol. 228, 21; the soul of Mary *shines* in passing out of her body, Haupt 5, 545; souls in parting are *seven times whiter than snow*, Myst. i. 136, 21; ez müegen wol zwô *sêle sîn*, den ist *ir wîze* her geleit, und klagent ein ander ir arbeit, Ls. 2, 270. In a Lett. song the dead call themselves *rashani*, beautiful, Büttner no. 89; conf. the meaning of *selig*, blessed. When the soul parts fr. the body, a *sweet scent* is perceived, Wh. 69, 12—15. *Flowers* grow on a virgin's grave, Athen. 5, 495, *lilies* out of dead men, Zappert pp. 29. 31. On lovers' graves *two trees* spring up: det växte tvenno träd uppâ deras graf, det ena tager det andra i faunn, Arvidss. 2, 11. *Vines* grow out of the mouths of the dead, Tit. 5790; *five roses* bloom out of a dead man's head, Maerl. 2, 308.

sîn tiost doch valte (felled) den edeln Môr,
daz er die blnomen mit bluot begôz (bedewed) :
die gote des valles *sêre verdrôz* (vexed the gods),
daz der minnære sus belac (lover so ill bestead) ;
und waen daz vür (I ween that from) den selben tac
nâch der âventiure sage
daz selbe velt niht wan (nothing but) *rôsen trage*,
sô grôz wart al der *gote klage*. Türl. Wh. 36^a.

Drops of blood turn into yellow flowers, as a herb grew out of Ajax's blood, Konst en letterb. '43, p. 76^b; *mannabod* (*sambucus ebulus*) near Kalmar sprang fr. the blood of slain heroes, Fries Bot. udf. 1, 110. The *wegewarte* is also called *wegetritt*, *Hänsel am weg*, *feldblume auf der wegscheide*, Meinert's Kuhl. p. 6; *wegeluoge* = *heliotropium*, Mone 8, 401.

p. 829.] Poles with *pigeons* on them were set up over Lombard graves, Paul. Diac. 5, 34 (Kl. schr. 5, 447); *sêle* alsam ein *tûbe* gestalt, Pass. 391, 37. Souls fly away in the shape of *doves*, Schönwerth 3, 37. Zappert p. 83. St Louis 60, 25. Baader iv. 32 ['When the Persian fleet was wrecked off Mt Athos, *white pigeons* were seen for the first time in Greece,' Charon of Lamps. in Athen. 9, 394; see Victor Hehn's Wanderings of Plants and Animals p. 258-9]. 'Det komno tvû *dufvar* af himmelen ned

(down); när de foro upp, så voro de *tre*,' when they flew up again, they were three, Sv. vis. 1, 312-5. 373.—A sennrin bleib ich ewiglich, und wann ich stirb, wird ich a *schwalbn*, Almer 1, 58. Souls fly about as *ravens*, Michelet 2, 15; they swarm as little *ducks*, Klemm 2, 165; *night-owls* rise from the brain of a murdered man 4, 220. The story of Madej is given more correctly in Wend. volksl. 2, 319, conf. Walach. märch. no. 15. In Egypt. hieroglyphs the sparrowhawk with a human head is a picture of the soul, Bunsen's Dingbilder 126. Every soul, after parting from the body, *hovers* for a time *betwixt the earth and the moon*, Plut. 4, 1154.

p. 829.] The soul is *winged*, Plato's Phædr. 246-7-8; it loses and then recovers its wings 248-9, conf. Gerhard's Eros, tab. 1 and 5; ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἀϊδόςδε βεβήκει, Il. 16, 856. 22, 361; ψυχὴ δ' ἡγύτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται, Od. 11, 222. Lucian's Encom. Demosth. c. 50 says of the dying orator: ἀπέπτη, evolavit.

The larva, the butterfly is called ὁ νεκύδαλος. Swed. *käring-själ*, old woman's soul=butterfly, Ihre 2, 529. Ir. *anamandé*, anima dei=butterfly; conf. the Faun as night-butterfly (Suppl. to 483 mid.). When a moth flutters round the candle, the Lithu. women say somebody's *dying*, and the *soul* is going hence, N. Pr. prov. bl. 5, 160.

p. 829.] The soul runs out of the sleeper as a *mouse, cat, weasel, snake, butterfly*. Yama draws the soul out of a dying man in the shape of a tiny *mannikin*, the man turns pale and sinks, and when the manikin comes back, he thinks he has been asleep, Holtzm. Ind. sag. 1, 65. The soul slips out of the mouth as a *little child*, Gefken's Beil. pp. 6. 15 and plates 11. 12. It was believed in Germany as well, that a dying man's *heart* could pass into a living man, who would then show twice as much pluck: so Egge's heart seems to have passed into Fasolt, Diether's into Dietrich (Ecke 197-8), each time into a *brother's* body; conf. the *exchange of hearts* betw. lovers, Wigal. 4439. 8813. MS. 1, 166^b, and the *marriage of souls* (Suppl. to 828). The exchange of figures, the *skipta litum oc hómum* (Suppl. to 1098 end) is another thing.—On the similar doctrine of *transmigration* taught by Pythagoras, see Plato's Phædr. 248-9. Phædo p. 82. Ov. Met. 15, 156 seq. O'Kearney 133. 160.

Gods, by way of punishment, are born again as *men* (Suppl. to 338), men are changed into *beasts* corresp. to their character, e.g. by the wand of Circe, RA. p. xiv. Claud. in Ruf. 2, 482 seq. Thorir hjörtr is pursued by a hunter and his hound; struck by a javelin, he falls to the ground, but *out of his body springs a stag*, which again is hunted down by the dog, and killed after a hard struggle, Maurer's Bekehr. 1, 295-6. Animals too have had many souls, like Lucian's cock.

p. 830.] Good souls for a time *hover on Hades' verdant mead*, Plut. 4, 1154. The soul feeds on the *field or meadow of truth*, ἀληθείας πεδίων, λειμών, Plat. Phædr. 248 (in the train of God, συμπορευθεῖσα θεῶ, it looks upon truth, *ibid.*). On the *green grass* the soul sits down, Feifalik Musp. p. 5. 'He is going to die' is expr. by 'he is just fluttering away.' Souls of the dead *hang over a precipice by a slender stalk*, Holtzm. Ind. sag. 3, 174. 'A medicine that sent her soul up to the *tip of her tongue*,' Rommel 4, 771. Vulgo dicitur, quod *triginta animæ super acumen acus* possunt *sedere*, Chmel's Notizenbl. 6, 386, fr. Nicol. v. Siegen's Chron. yr 1489, ed. Wegele '55, p. 344. How many souls can *sit on a nail*, Wigand's Arch. 4, 321.

p. 832.] Souls are *received, drawn on*, by Wuotan, Frouwa, Rân and Hel, by the watersprites, by angels and elves, by the devil (pp. 1001 beg. 1017). Near the places named *Vallhall* there is often an *Odens-källa* (Suppl. to 818 beg.), as if Oden, before admitting souls, should bathe them in the clear stream, as the Greeks thought souls were cleansed in the rivers of Hades, and took the draught of oblivion in Lethe. 'Oden som kom upp ur *Odens-kammare* eller *Asne-kåfve*, som ligger in *Asne-sjö* (*fordom Oden-sjö*), at välja de slagne på *Bråvallahed*, och föra dem *på ett gullskepp*' (Rääf); conf. the story of *Haki*, Ynglûnga-s. c. 27. Old sea-kings were supp. to be buried in a *golden ship*, Müllenh. no. 501.—A funeral pile is built up in a *ship*, Saxo Gr. (ed. Müller) p. 235; conf. the *ship-mounds* thrown up over the dead, Worsaae's Vorzeit p. 81-7. A death-ship in *Beow.* 34; a swan-ship carrying a corpse, Keller's Romv. 670. Jacob's body crosses the sea in a ship without sail or rudder, Pass. 220, 41 seq. Maerl. 2, 341-2, where note the phrase: *si bevalen Gode te siuo stierman*.—In Friesland souls are supp. to sail over in *eggshells*; people break their *empty shells*, for witches get into them and

plague the soul on her passage. Halbertsma reminds me verbally of the nail-parings (pp. 814. 1138-9 n.) and shoelace cuttings, Sn. 73; the breaking of eggshells is still enjoined by superstition. An angel leads a shipful of souls, Dante's *Purg.* 2, 40 seq. The boatman Tempulagy ferries souls over the lake, Klemm 2, 165. —On the Etruscan *Charun* (Gerh. p. 17) and the passage-money, see Lucian's *De luctu* 10. Boeckh's *Inscr.* 2, 103-4. GDS. 681. *Money* is placed under the *tongues* of the dead, three grains of corn under the dead *Adam's tongue*. In Germ. skeletons, coins are actually found in the mouth, *Mainzer Ztschr.* 1, 342-3. Lindenschmitt's *Todtenlager* pp. 16. 51. *Hæc Stygiæ referant munera ad undas, et calidos numerent igne trientes*, *Liudpr. Antop.* 2, 26. Green *apples* were also put in the hands of the dead, *Vuk* no. 137.

p. 834.] On Procopius's account of the passage of souls to Brittia, see Werlauff's *Procop.* p. 7, who himself on p. 10 seq. takes 'Brittia' to be Jutland, 'Britannia' Gt. Britain, and 'Thule' Scandinavia. —En passant *le lac de l'angoisse*, elle vit une bande de morts, vêtus de blanc, dans de petites barques, *Villemarqué's Barz. breiz.* 1, 169.

p. 835.] A sharp *bridge* leading across the Purgatorial fire, and the *souls* flying into it black and coming out white, are mentioned in *Walewein* 4958. 5825. 5840 (V. d. Bergh 102-3). Over de *lank-brugge* fard=he dies, *Narragonia* 123^b; conf. the *sword-bridge* (p. 1082). Angels conduct over the *rainbow-bridge*. The Arabian bridge of souls is named *Sirât*, *Rück. Hariri* 1, 229; the Chinese too have a *bridge of souls*, *Maltebrun's Précis* 3, 527. Old-Irish legends about it in *O'Donovan* p. 440-1. The cow driven across the bridge by the soul in the *Tundalus*-legend reminds of the *red cow* being led over a *certain bridge* before the great battle by the *Nortorf elder-tree*, *Müllenh.* no. 509. The Greenlanders believe the soul has to cross an abyss, where *turns* a narrow *wheel* as smooth as ice, *Klemm* 2, 317; this is like the wheel in *Wigalois* p. 250 seq.

p. 836.] On the *death-shoe*, see *Müller's Sagabibl.* 2, 171. *Mannhardt's Ztschr.* 4, 421; conf. *Vîðar's shoe*, Sn. 31. 73; 'säl ä den, i denne heimen *fatike gjeve sko*, han tar inkje (he need not) *barfött* gange in *kvasse tynnermo* (al. paa *kvasse keklebro*),' *Norweg. draumkvæe* 36. A dead woman 'walks,' until her shoe,

which they had forgotten to burn, is found and thrown in the fire, Lucian's Philops. 27; conf. Indicul. sup. 'de ligneis pedibus vel manibus, pagano ritu.' The Blackfoot Indians, like Lithuanians and Poles, believe the soul has to climb a steep mountain, Klemm 2, 166-7.

p. 838.] Anima de corpore exivit, et *paradisi januam* introivit, Vita Mathild. c. 16. 18. Prayers to St. Michael are said over the corpse: di reinen guzzen ir gebet *Sente Michahéle* zu *dróste* sîne sêle, Diut. 1, 426; Michael is 'tróst allir sêlen,' Roth. 4438: he brings the soul 'in Abraham's barm,' Hpt's Ztschr. 3, 522, conf. Pfeiffer's Wigal. p. 340. Other angels may come instead of Michael: venerunt *duo juvenes, candidis circumamicti stolis*, animam a corpore segregantes, vacuum ferentes per aërem, Jonas Bobb. in Vita Burgundofaræ (Mabillon 2, 421); conf. the Gemini (p. 366).

Got sante eine *engellische schar* (angelic band),
 die nâmen dô der *sêlen* war (care, charge);
 si empfiengen (received) an der selben stunde
 iegeliches (each one's) *sêle von sînem munde* (mouth),
 unde vuorten wirdeclîche (worshipfully)
 si in daz êwige himelrîche.

Oswalt 3097. 3455.

Out of an old man that is dying the *angels* take the *soul* as a young child (Suppl. to 876 end); ir *engel* vil wol wisten, war (well knew where) ir *sêle* solten kômen, Klage 922. Angels *rejoice* over Christians falling in fight, and devils over heathens, because they get their souls, Türl. Wh. 22-3; *two youths* (angels) and *two black devils* sit by the bedside of the dead, Griesh. 1, 93; angels and devils take the souls of *schâcher* (assassins?), Mone's Schansp. 2, 321-2. The soul first lodges with *St. Gerdrud*, then sails over the *leber-meer* (liver sea), Gryse Ee 1111^b; conf. Gefken's Catal. p. 54.

CHAPTER XXVII.

DEATH.

p. 840.] Death as messenger of Deity is called *der heilig tod*, H. Sachs i. 5, 528^d. 1, 447^b. Death receives, fetches, escorts : sâ in der tôt *entphienc*, Uolr. 1253 ; er hât *den tôt an der hant* (p. 848) ; her moste haven *den tôt*, Hpt's Ztschr. 2, 183. We still say 'du kannst dir *den tod* davon holen,' it may be the death of you, and 'mit *dem tode* abgehen,' but more commonly without the article : 'mit *tode* abgegangen ist,' Mohr's Reg. ii. no. 234 (yr 1365). MB. 25, 392. 453 (yr 1480) ; conf. *mit tod verscheiden*, H. Sachs (Göz 2, 16. 19), *mit tôte vallen*, Nib. 2219, 3. Yet again ; si *beliben mit dem grimmen tôte* 1555, 3. Er brâht ir (of them) vil manegen dahin, dâ er iemer wesen solde, Gudr. 889, 4 ; conf. 'si-ne kumt niht her-widere' 928, 2 ; 'der *tôt der hât die unzuht*, daz er nieman deheine fluht zuo sînen friunden haben lâht,' has the ill manners to allow no flight, Klage 1581.—Death is a departing ; the dead is in OS. called *gifaran*, Hel. 169, 27, in ON. *fram-genginn*, Sæm. 83^a ; AS. 'he *gewât*,' died, Homil. 1, 330, 'hæfde *forð-siðod*,' had gone off, Beow. 3105 ; than im that lîf *scriði*, Hel. 169, 20. Gr. *οἴχεσθαι* to be gone, *οἰχόμενος = θανάων*. Gl. sletst. 8, 35 renders moriebatur by 'towita, vel *hina-zôh*.' Ssk. *prêta*, gone=dead, Bopp 37^b. Dying is called *ûz varn*, faring out, Wels. gast 5436 ; (he is *daust, drauzen*, out=dead, Stelzhamer 166. 175) ; *vervarn*, Walth. 23, 23. MS. 2, 138^b ; '*forðfêrde*, obiit,' AS. chronol. ; er ist *an die vart* (journey), diu uns nâch in allen ist vil unverspart, Walth. 103, 6. In the Ludwigslied '*hina-vart*,' hence-faring, is opp. to 'hier-wist,' here-being ; ich red daz ûf mîn *hin-vart*, MSH. 3, 298^b ; er swuor ûf sîn *hinwart* 301^a ; bis auf mein *hinefart*, Bergreien 127 ; die *leste fart farn*, Suchenw. xxxiv. 105 ; zuo der *langen vart*, Lanz. 1949 ; up mine *langhe vaert*, Reinh. 2213 ; ON. *lông gânga*, Sæm. 222^b ; on *longne weg*, Cod. Exon. 173, 24 ; zuo der *langen hervart*, Ksrchr. 6304 ; des tôdes *hervart*, Mar. leg. 54, 14.—To join the great host (p. 847) ; conf. *οἱ πλείονες*, plures=mortui, 'quia ii majore numero sunt quam vivi' ; qui abierunt in *communem locum*, Pl. Casina, prol. 19 ; *verscheiden*, depart, Renn. 21093 ; our 'dranf gehen' ; *freude lân*, leave joy, Parz. 119, 15 ; swenn er *dise freude lâht*, Wels. gast 4908 ; *lâtaz*, Islend. sög. 2,

166. 174; *afgeben* gadulingo gimang, Hel. 17, 17; manno drôm *ageben* 103, 4; *forlêt* manno drôm 23, 7 (conf. *sôhte* im erlo gimang endi manno drôm 23, 33); die werlt er *begab*, Diut. 3, 89. 67; daz leben *begibt* den lîp, Maria 23; von *zîte gân*, Staufenb. 661; aer he *ou-weg hwurfe* gamol of geardum, Beow. 526; *hwearf* mon-dreánum from 3433; geendode eorðan dreámas, AS. chronol.; *lîf-wynna breccan*, Beow. 157.—Dying is also called staying, being left: *blivet* doot, Maerl. 3, 325; ‘*biliban*, mortuus,’ T. 135, 24. O. iii. 23, 55. Graff 2, 47; our ‘*gelieben*,’ left (dead on the field). Or it is descr. as perishing, *οὐδωλότες*, as going down to the dust, *χθόνα δύναι*, Il. 6, 411; *varen ounder moude* (mould), Maerl. 3, 61; *voer ter moude* 3, 152; *til iardar hníga* (bend), Alfskongs-s. cap. 13; conf. *bêt ter moude!* Lanc. 44032; manger la terre, mordre la poussière. The Greeks called the dead *δημητρείους*, gone home to Demeter (earth), Plut. 4, 1154; *heim-varn*, W. gast 5440; went, was gathered, unto his fathers.—*Fara til heljar*=mori (p. 802); *gen Tótenheim* faren, Braut 55, 6; *fara í dísar sal*, Fornald. sög. 1, 527 (conf. heingja sik í dísar sal 1, 454); *fara í lios annat*, to other light, Sæm. 262^a; *sôkien liocht ódar*, Hel. 17, 17; *de hac luce* transire, Lex Burg. 14, 3; Esth. *ilma minnema*, go to the other world; conf. *μηκέτι ὄντα ἐν φάει*, Soph. Philoct. 415. *An fridu* faran (go to peace), thar êr mîna fordron dêdun, Hel. 14, 22. For dying is a going to sleep: den *langen slâf slâfen*, Kolocz 285; daz in (hin) der *lange slâf* gevie (caught), Ring 246; conf. *ûf einem strô ligen*, MS. 1, 25^a.—The dead go to God: *Dryhten sêcean*, Beow. 373; si sîn *vor Gotes ougen* (eyes), Trist. 18668; *fore Meotudes encowum* (knees), Cod. Exon. 164, 19; ‘beholding God’s mouth and beard,’ Kalev. p. 34; *Gote hete geboten* über in, Ges. Abent. 1, 298; wenn der grim *tót* über in *gebiut*, Ls. 3, 124; ‘God came with his mercy,’ Schwein. 2, 167. 184. 252.—Various peculiar expressions: ‘er hât im den *namen* benomen,’ taken the name (life) fr. him, Nib. 1507, 4; *virwandelen* (change) disen *lîp*, Ksrehr. 6318; des *lebenes ferwandelen*, Diut. 2, 290; den lîp, daz leben, verwandeln, Cod. Vind. 428, no. 154; *’tyelach moeten betalen*, have to pay the piper, Maerl. 2, 238; er ist *verschlissen*, slit up, Vict. Jacobi 88; Esth. ‘lay down the breath.’ Life is expr. by ‘der *sêle walden*,’ Ben. Beitr. 86, and death by ‘he is tor *selen gedegen*,’ Michelsen Lub. oberh. 42;

seeltagen, Haupt 3, 91; our 'todes verbleichen,' turn pale of death. The word *spalten*, split, is often used in conn. with death: *sîn houbet ime endriu spielt* (split in 3), *enniuniu* (into 9) *sich sîn zunge vielt*, Reinh. 2243; *sîn houbet gar zespielt*, Lampr. Alex. 6922; *daz herze ir in dem lîbe spielt*, Herzmaere 520; *hans hoved brast udi ni stykker*, DV. 1, 157; we say the heart *breaks* in death, *bursts* with grief.

p. 841.] The Ind. *Yama* is god of justice, of death and of the underworld, Bopp's *Nalas* pp. 201. 264; in this last capacity he is named *Kâlu*, the black, Bopp's Gl. 74^b; he answers to the Pers. *Jemshit*, Zend. *Yimô*. *Yama* sends his *messengers*, who conduct to his dreary dwelling, *Kuruinge* 1296. 1360. 1643. Holtzm. Ind. s. 2, 101; conf. the *death-angels*, Rosenöl 1, 56-7, the *angel of death* and *destroying angel* (p. 1182). How the Tartars keep off the *angel of death* is told by K. Schlözer p. 32-3. *Hermes* with his wand drives the souls of the suitors to the asphodel mead, Od. 24, 1—14. 99—101. As *Hermes* is sent to men, so is *Iris* to women.—Death drags men away from their *houses*, their *buildings*: thus *Protesilaos* leaves his widow a half-finished house, *δόμος ἡμιτελής*, Il. 2, 701. *Apollo* and *Artemis* come regularly and kill off the old people with *painless darts*, *ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσι*, Od. 15, 410-1; *τὴν βάλεν Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα* 15, 478; *αἶδε μοι ὡς μαλακὸν θάνατον πόροι Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή* 18, 202. 20, 60-1. 80. *Charon* ferries over the water; so the *devil* is repres. with an *oar* in his hand, *Woeste* p. 49. 'Vallen in des *Tôdes wâge*,' balance, *Warn.* 1650; 'ûf des *Tôdes wâge* sweben,' be poised 3318.—Death is sent by God: *Got der sende an mînen leiden man den Tôt!* MS. 1, 81^a; 'sîn wîp diu schrîet wâfen ûf den Tôt, er sî *entslâfen* daz er'n niht welle bestân,' cries fie upon D., he must have gone to sleep, that he won't tackle the man, *Teichner* 75; *dô ergreif in der Tôt, dô er im sîn zuokunjt enbôt* (while he to him his arrival made known), *sô daz er in geleite*, *Greg.* 20. He knocks at the door: *bereite ze ûftuonne deme klopphaere*, *Uolr.* 1329; so in *Berno*, 'ut *pulsanti* posset aperire.' He comes as a young man: *der jûngelinc, der geheizen ist Tôt*, *Is.* 2, 373. The *Lapland Yabmen akka*, uxor vel avia mortis, sits in a *subterr. cave*, and was worshipped as a divine being, *Lindahl's Lex.* 82^b; *ich selbe sol hin in daz hol, Frauenl.* 114, 8; *des todes hôle* (p. 853, *Gossip Death's cavern*).

p. 842.] With *mors* conf. Zend. *merethyu*, Bopp's Comp. Gr. 46; *schmerz*, *smart* is expl. differently by Benfey 2, 39. A Norse word for dead is *dáinn* (p. 453 end); conf. Finn. *Tuoni*=*mors*, Pluto; *Tuonen koira*, death's dog=dragonfly; *Tuonela*=*orcus*. Pruss. *gallas*, *mors* (the Lith. *galas*, *finis*?). Esth. *surm*=*mors*, Finn. *surma*. Hung. *halál*, Finn. *kuolema*, Votjak *kulen*, Lapp. *yabmen*. Death is the brother of *Sleep*, who is also personified: the dead sleep. It is said of the dead *vala*: *sefruttu fyrri*, Sæm. 95^b; *κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον*, Il. 11, 241. As sleep is called the *sandman*, death is in Esth. called earthman, sandman, *liwa annus*, Sand-Jack, *liwa peter*, Sand-peter; conf. Alf. Maury's Du personnage de la mort, Revue Arch. 4th year, pp. 305—339.

p. 844.] Death comes *creeping*: *mors obrepit*, Pl. Pseud. ii. 3, 20; *mors imminet, et tacito clam venit illa pede*, Tib. i. 10, 34; *dâ kam der Tôt als ein diep, u. stal dem reinen wibe daz leben ûz ir libe*, Wigal. 8032; *der Tôt kumt geslichen als ein diep*, Cato 397 (mutspelli also *thiof ferit*, Hel. 133, 4); *der Tôt erslîchet*, wins by stealth, Warn. 3109; *der tôt hât mich erslichen*, Hugdietr. Fromm. 5; *er ist mir na' geslichen* (crept after), *der mich kan machen bla* (blue), Muskatbl. 18, 36; *der T. slicht vaste herein*, Steph. Stoffl. 174; *daz euch nicht ubersleiche der T. mit seim gereusch*, Wolkenst. 31. M. Nethl.: *êrt die Dôt belope*, Maerl. 3, 191. *Dir ist vil nâhe der Tôt*, Ksrchr. 5084. 11298; conf. AS. *nea-laecan* (Suppl. to 846 end); *swie mir der T. ûf dem rûcken waere, on my back*, MS. 2, 46^b.—Death is invoked by men weary of life: *er rief* (cried) *nâch dem tôde*, Ksrchr. 1724; *Tôt, kum u. toete mich!* Dioclet. 4732; *nun kum Tôt!* Hartm. 1, büchl. 292; *kum Dot!* Mar. kl., after Arnold 28. 440; conf. *ἐλθέτω μόρος*, Aesch. Suppl. 804; *O Yama, come, release me*, Holtzm. Kur. 723; *kom T.*, brich mir daz herz enzwei, Hagen's Ges. Abent. 1, 301; *wê dir T.*, *kum her*, u. *nim* uns alle *hin*, Mai 150, 12. 155, 4. 162, 4. 164, 13. 178, 27; *recipe me ad te, mors, amicum et benevolum*, Plaut. Cistell. iii. 9; *nu kum, grimmeclîcher T.*, u. *rihte Gote von uns beiden*, MS. 1, 17^b; *kum ein kleines tödelein*, u. *für mich balde von hinnen*, Bergreien 84; *wo bist so lang, du grimmer T.? komb!* H. Sachs iii. 1, 227^c; *O mors, cur mihi sera venis?* Prop. iii. 4, 34, conf. Soph. Philoct. 796; *riep om die dôt, dat si quame*, Lanc. 35711; *dat se den dôd beide schulden unde baden, dat he niht ensúmede* (delay),

wen dat he *quême*, unde ðn (fr. them) dat *levend* to hand *neme*, Everh. Gandersh. 487^a; weiz Got, *her Tôt*, ir *müezet her*, Apollon. 235; *nim* mich T., *brich* T. *mîn herze!* Altd. bl. 1, 288-9; *ôwê* T., wes *mîdest* (shunnest) du? Ls. 1, 99; *wê* T., *zwiu sparst* du mich? Mai 43, 10. W. v. Rheinau 190^a; *eia* T., *mohtes* du mich getoeten! Steph. Stoff. 181; wallan Daeð, *wela Daeð*, þat þu me n'elt fordemen, Kg Leir 160, 20; he dex, la mort *n'envoie!* Guitecl. 2, 148; T., nu *öuge* dich! Hag. Ges. Ab. 300.— Death comes to give warning; he may *come to terms* or *be put off* the first two times, but not the third. Similar to the tale in Straparola 4, 5 is that of *Pikollos*, Hanusch p. 218. Death *siht an*, looks at a man, Warn. 28; he *beckons* or *points*, Ruf's Adam, 1421.

Death takes men away, like Hild and Gund (p. 422): *diu kint füeret* hin des Tôdes *wint*, Warn. 1648; *daz in der T. hât hin genomen*, Ulr. Trist. 20. Frib. Trist. 32; *Secundillen het der T. genomen*, Parz. 822, 20; *der T. hât mich begriffen* (gripped), Hugdietr. Oechsle 10; *ê iz der T. begrîfe*, Diemer 348, 9; *dô ergreif* den vater ouch der T., Gregor. 19; *begrîft* iuch dâ der T. 413; *Den hât der T. verzimmert*, boxed up, Suchenw. 16, 167; *des Tôdes zimmer* 19, 17; *conf. diap dôdes dalu* (Suppl. to 803); *tôdes muor*, Türl. Wh. 16^a. Death, like the devil, has jaws, a throat, to devour with: *vallen in des Tôdes giel* (gullet), Karl 72^a; *si liefen dem Tôt in den rachen* (ran into the jaws, Theiln. der Serben (?) p. 23 (yr. 1685); *conf. 'ir welt in gewissen tôt,* certain death, Wigal. 6061; *in den tôt rîten* 6153; we say '*den in den tod gehn.*'

p. 845.] Death rides, as the dead lover fetches his bride away on horseback, Hpt's Altd. bl. 1, 177. Müllenh. no. 224; and so far back as Sæm. 168^b: *mâl er mer at rîðu roðnar brautiv*, âðr *salgofnir sigrþioð vek*i (ere the cock crows); *conf. des Tôdes wîp*, Engelh. 3402 n.; *ich gezîme dir* (I suit thee) *wol ze wîbe*, Er. 5896. Like the Schleswig Hel (Müllenh. no. 335), Wode also and the wild hunter ride on a *three-legged horse*; Wode catches the subterraneans, ties them together by their hairs, and lets them hang on each side of his horse, Müllenh. p. 373. On Bœotian tombstones the dead man stands beside the horse, with the inscription: *ἦπως χαίπε*, K. F. Hermann's Gottesd. alterth. § 16, 20. Charos ranges the babes on his saddle, see GDS. 140-1.

p. 846.] Death takes prisoners. Yama leads away the *man-
nikin* he has pulled out of the dying man, *tied to a rope* which he
carries about, Holtzm. Ind. s. 1, 64-5. Rochholz 1, 89; ob mich
der Tôt *enbindet*, Wh. 68, 22. Death throws his *net* over us,
Steph. Stoff. 174; in des Tôdes *vallen* (snares) beklemmet,
Mart. 11^b; kâmen zuo des Tôdes *valle*, Livl. 1808; in des Tôdes
lâge (ambush), Kl. 1356; der Tôt im daz leben *stal*, Ottoc. 86^a;
die in (fr. them) het der T. *verstolen*, Wigal. 9213; in het vil
nâch (well-nigh) der bitter T. mit sîner kraft *gezûcket hin* (tugged
away) 5956; sîn leben het *gezûcket* der T. 5129; der T. *zûcket*
(rhy. niderbücket), Wolkenst. 31; unz si der T. *ersnellet* (till
d. snaps her up), Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 331; der T. hât mich
ergangen, Ecke 58; do nu der T. *her drang*, St. Louis 60, 17;
thaz tôd uns sus *gi-angti*, sus nâher uns *gijiangi*, O. iii. 24, 14,
i.e. brought us to such straits, so nearly caught us; der Tod
rauscht her behend, *r. durch die hecken* her, B. Waldis 149^a. 163^a.
Death as conqueror stands over the prostrate dying man: des
Tôt *gestêt uber in selben*, Pfaffenleben 33; conf. Dietr. 1669: die
sîne (his men) *stuonden über in*. The dying have *fallen due* to
Death, become *his men*; hence we say 'ein *mann* (ein *kind*) des
Todes': sonst war er ein *mann* des Todes, Zehn ehen p. 226;
conf. Dôdis *vuoter* (food) werden, Fundgr. 2, 108; des Tôdes
spil (sport), Wigal. 10743, den Tôt *laben* (with fortifications),
ibid.—The dying man *wrestles* with D., Sanders p. 44; mit
dem grimmen Tôde *ranc*, Servat. 1771; mit dem T. hât sînen
geranc, Warn. 174 (the devil wrestles too: mit wem die tievel
haben *gerungen*, Renn. 10727); überwunden (vanquished) sich
dem Tôde *ergeben* (surrender), Wigal. 7662. Death is armed:
A.S. *wîga wælgifre*, Cod. Exon. 231, 8; *wîga nealaeceð* 164, 4;
deað nealaecte, stôp *stalgoncum* strong and hreðe 170, 17; wir
ligend auf des Todes *spiez* (spear), Ring 253. He shoots arrows,
like Charos (Kindt 1849 p. 17): *wæl-pîlum*, Cod. Exon. 171, 15,
wæl-straclum 179, 11; ûf in sleif des Tôdes *hagel* (hail), G. schm.
158; in hât benomen des Tôdes *schûr*, Wh. 256, 6. He is a
hunter, MSH. 3, 177^a. He is likened to a *thorn*: darinne der tôt
als ein *dorn in dem Meien blüete*, Wigal. 7623. He has a legal
claim upon man: galt der dôt haer *scout* (solvit morti debitum),
Maerl. I, 430; we say 'to pay the debt of nature.'

p. 847.] Death has an army: 'der Tôt fuort in die *gemeinen*

var,' the common journey, Ottoc. 86^a; 'der T. gebiutet sîne *her-
var*,' army's march, Barl. 397, 32. His badge, his *tâcen* (Suppl.
to 200), is the pallid hue: des Tôdes zeichen in *liechter varwe*,
Nib. 928, 3. 2006, 1; des T. z. wirt schîn (is displayed) in
swarz-gelber varwe, Warn. 128; des T. *gilwe* (yellow), MS. 2,
166^b. Those who are *veiq*, *fey*, may thus be known, Belg. mus.
5, 113. On the contrary, in Wigal. 6151, a *red* cloth tied to a
spear *betokens* that a man shall ride to his death that day:

An ein sper man im dô bant
einen samet der was *rôt* ;
daz *bezeichent* daz er in den *tôt*
des tages *rîten* solde.

Proserpine devotes the dying to Orcus by cutting a lock of hair
off them :

Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice *crinem*
abstulerat, Stygioque caput *damnaverat* Orco. Æu. 4, 698.

Iris is sent down to Dido :

Devolat, et supra caput asstitit: '*Hunc* [*crinem*] *ego Diti*
sacrum jussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.'
Sic ait, et dextra *crinem* *secat*, omnis et una
dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit. Æu. 4, 702.

p. 848.] Death *mows*, Lett. *nahwe plavj*, Bergm. 69; des
Tôdes *sichel*, Wolkenst. 278. He is a *sitheman*, Shah-nameh,
v. Görres 1, 105-6; conf. the 3 maidens that mow the people
down with their *sithes*, Kulda in D'Elv. 110.

p. 849.] Death is commonly called the *grim*, Diemer 87, 9.
14. Servat. 1771-92. Hahn's Stricker 11; der *Tôt* in mit
grimme suochte, Diut. 1, 407; 'der *grimme tôt*,' the name of a
sword, MSH. 3, 236^a; der *grimmeclîche tôt*, Hagen's Ges. Abent.
1, 300; der *arge tôt*, Ernst 1954; der *ûbel tod*, der *bitter*, Ring
6^a, 12. 54^b, 26. Fr. '*male mort*;' ez ist niht *wirsers* danne der
tôt, Er. 7935; der *leide dô*t, Hpt's Ztschr. 2, 197 (like the devil);
die *felle Dôt*, Maerl. 2, 133; der *gewisse Tôt*, Helbl. 1, 109.
Wigal. 6061. 6132; er was des *gewissen* Tôdes, Diemer 218, 14;
'*gewis* sam der Tôt,' sure as d., Lanz. 5881; *jâ weistu rehte alsam*
den T., Flore 3756; ich weiz ez *wârez* (true) als den T., Trist.

119. 17751. 19147. Ulr. Trist. 1964; der *gemeine* T., Halm 78, 20. 91, 48. Greg. 3769. Schwabensp. p. 179; der *gemeinliche* T., Klage 534; *θάνατος ὁμοῖος*, Od. 3, 236; qui omnes manet, conf. Etr. *Mantus* fr. manere, Gerh. pp. 17. 56.

p. 850.] *Dominus Blicero* is called *Bleker* in Coremans 109; dass euch der *blickars* reut! Garg. 134^b; der *blasse menschenfrass* (pale man-muncher), Fleming p. 142; our knöchler, knochenmann, Bony. Death was depicted with frightful aspect: an *sînem* schilde was der Tôt *gemält vil grüsenliche*, Wigal. 2998; conf. des Tôdes *schild-gemaele*, Tit. 2689, the Harii (p. 950), and the death's-head hussars. On the tomb near Cumae the skeletons are put in a dancing posture, Olfers in Abh. der Acad. '30, pp. 15. 19—22.

p. 852.] '*Friend Hain* is not so easy to buy off,' Hans Wurst doktor nolens volens, Frankf. and Leipz. 1779, p. 39; 'and there *Friend Häyn* did the sexton a kindness,' viz. his wife dies in childbed, Kindleben, Wilib. Schluterius, Halle 1779, p. 114. Jean Paul uses the word in Q. Fixlein p. 170, and Lessing 12, 505 (yr. 1778). But I now find in Egenolf's Sprichw. bl. 321^b (under 'sawr sehen'): 'he looks sour, he looks like *Henn* the devil.' The other phrases are all borrr. fr. Seb. Frank; this one is peculiar to Egenolf's collection. Conf. '*Heintze* Pik, de dood,' V. d. Bergh 155.—Death stretches the limbs: als sie der Tôt *gestracte*, Ernst 3011; *θάνατος τανηλερής*, laying out at length, Od. 3, 238. 11, 171 seq.; 'an deme *Strecke-foisze*,' a place, Arnsb. Urk. no. 493, yr. 1319. *Blekezahn* is also in Fleming p. 424.

p. 854.] Similar to the expression in H. Sachs, but not so figurative, is the phrase: 'der tôt uns *zucke* daz leben,' jerks the life fr. us, Renn. 20389. Hagen's Ges. Ab. 1, 299. On the *life-candle*, see Wackernagel in Haupt 6, 280—4; daz leben ist unstaete, wan ez *erleschet* der Tôt als ein *licht*, Altd. bl. 2, 122; the devil (here meaning death) is to come for a man when a *wax-taper* has burnt down, Müllenh. p. 180. On the *torch* of Eros (whose other attribute, like Death's, is the bow), and on his relation to Psyche, see Gerhard's Eros pp. 5. 15. 32. KM.³ 3, 70.—Death is a godfather; see also Phil. v. Sittew. 2, 673-4. In the same way the *hoberges-gubbe*, the *man of the mountain* (miner?) is asked to be godfather (p. 189), Müllenh. p. 289 [In

Shaksp. the jury who convict are godfathers]. As a godfather, it matters much whether you stand at the head or foot: *koppvadder, stertvadder*, Schütze 4, 194-5. The Slav. story of *Godmother Smrt* in Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 262-3 may be conf. with our märchen of *Gevatter Tod*, KM. no. 44 and note. On the life-or-death-giving look of the bird *charadrius*, see Plut. Sympos. v. 7, 2. Physiol. in Karajan p. 104.

p. 855.] On the märchen of *Death* and Jack Player, see Pref. xvi. xli. The Lith. Weluas is called in Lasicz 48 *vielona*, deus animarum. Beside the Finn. *Tuoni*, there is mentioned a death-god *Kalma*, Schott's Kullervo pp. 218. 235.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

DESTINY AND WELL-BEING.

p. 856 n.] The Gothic for *feige*, fey, is *daup-ublis* (ἐπιθανάτιος), conf. ON. *daud̄ yfli*, morticinium. *Faeges* forðsîð, moribundi decessus, Cod. Exon. 182, 34; *wyrd ne meakte in faegum leng feor gehealdan* 165, 18. Die *vêge dôt*, Karel 2, 733; *veige eben todt*, Klage 536-9. 1304; *sît lie man bî den veigen vil der pfaffen ûf dem sande* (left with the dying many priests), Gudr. 915, 4; *si was ze frûeje leider veige*, Flore 2163; *dâ vielen (fell) die veigen*, Ksrchr. 4909. 7078; *dâ gelâgen die veigen*, 5247. 7803; 'die *veghe* es, hie moet ter moude,' who fey is, must to mould, Walew. 3876; *ni sî man nihein sô feigi* (no mortal), O. i. 11, 10; *dâ was der veige vunden* (found, hit), Trist. 403, 8; conf. der *veige rise* 401, 18; *ir sît veige gewesen*, Wien. merfart 410. 438; *unz der man niht veige en-ist, sô erneret in vil kleiner list* (so long as he is not fey, a little skill will set him up), Iw. 1299.

p. 857.] Destiny rules over the highest of gods: ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς εἰσιν Ὠραι καὶ Μοῖραι, Paus. i. 40, 3. It is expr. by the following terms: ON. *sköp* lêt hon vaxa, Sæm. 249^b., OS. *giscapu* mahtig *gimanôdun*, Hel. 10, 18; *thiu berhtun giscapu gimanôdun* 11, 17; *regano-giscapu gimanôdun* 103, 3; conf. *torhtlico tîdi gimanôdun* 3, 11. Dan. den kranke *skjebne*, DV. 1, 123; conf. den kranke *lykke* 1, 195.—ON. *örlög*, OHG. *urlac*, MHG. *urlunge, urlouc*, Gramm. 2, 790; *voru nû endut þau âlög*, Hervarars. p. 488; and the Sax. compds *orlag-huila, orleg-*

hwil.—MHG. *wil-saelde*: diu *wilsaelde* ic muoz irgân, Ksrechr. 3493. 3535; conf. 3122-5. 3130. Lanz. 1602. Fundgr. 1, 398; ein ubel *wilsaelde*, Ksrechr. 1757. Also the uncompounded *wile*: sô hab diu *wile* undanc! Biter. 11933; sîn *wile* und sîn tac, Ksrechr. 3557; ‘*wile* u. stunde walzent al-umbe,’ fate and the hour roll round, 3660. 3587. We say ‘his *hour* has struck.’

p. 858.] The hour of birth and destiny is determined on by night: *nótt* var î boe, nornir qvâmo, þar er auðlíngi aldr umskôpo, Sæm. 149^a; diu mir wart bescheiden (she was destined for me) von den *nahtweiden*, dô si êrste wart geborn, Krone 4840.

Even in early times destiny is placed in the hands of gods:

*Ζεύς δ' αὐτὸς νέμει ὄλβον Ὀλύμπιος ἀνθρώποισιν
ἐσθλοῖς ἢ δὲ κακοῖσιν, ὅπως ἐθέλησιν, ἐκάστω.* Od. 6, 188.

κακῇ Διὸς αἴσα. Od. 9. 55.

ἀνέρος ᾧ τε Κρονίων

ὄλβον ἐπικλώσῃ γαμέοντί τε γιγνομένῳ τε. Od. 4, 207.

οὗ μοι τοιοῦτον ἐπέκλωσαν θεοὶ ὄλβον. Od. 3. 208.

ὡς γάρ οἱ ἐπέκλωσεν τὰ γε δαίμων. Od. 16, 64.

The last three passages have *ἐπικλώθω* (I spin for), the term gener. used of the Fates.

p. 859.] The weighing of destinies, performed by Zeus in the Iliad, is called ‘weighing of souls’ by Welcker, Cycl. 2, 189, just what Christian legend ascribes to St. Michael:

Sant Michel richtet ûf sîn wâge (holds up his balance),
und henket sich der vâlant dran (though the devil hangs on),
doch schaffet er niht, der swarze man,
wan sîn slecken ist umbsus (his trickery is in vain).

Cour. v. Dankrotsch. Namenb. 118. Berthold p. 17.

p. 860.] The *stars* have influence esp. on birth: *tam grave sidus habenti*, Ov. Trist. v. 10, 45; *vonar-stiarna* flaug. þâ var ec foeddr, burt frâ briosti mer. hâtt at hun flô, hvergi settiz, svâ hun maetti hvîld hafa, Sæm. 126^b; ‘because their star is *at heat*, or it has *cooled down* (versauset),’ Phil. v. Sittew. Soldatenl. p.m. 149. Other omens attending the conception and birth of a child are mentioned in Pref. xlv. xlv.

p. 862.] In the unavoidable-ness of fate there is something *cruel* and *grudging*. The luckiest and best men perish at last:

sît sturbens *jâmerliche* von zweier edelen frouwen nît (women's jealousy), Nib. 6, 4; wie liebe mit *leide ze jungest lônén kan* (love may reward with woe at last) 17, 3; als ie diu liebe *leide ze allerjungiste gît* (turn to woe) 2315; æ koma *mein* eptir munuð, Sæm. 129^a; conf. these views of the world's rewards, and Lehrs' Vom neide p. 149.—To the possession of *costly things* is attached *misfortune* and ruin. In the tale of Tyrffing it is the splendid *sword* that kills; conf. the fatal sword (p. 205). So the horse of Sejanus proved a *fatal steed*, Gellius 3, 9. Lehrs' Vom neide p. 154. To the same category belong the *Nibelung's hoard*, the *alraun* and *gallows-man* (p. 513 n.). And a union with goddesses and fays makes men unhappy (p. 393).

The Norse *fatalism* comes out in: 'ingen man är starkare än *sitt öde*,' no man is stronger than his fate, Sv. folks. 1, 228. In Vestergötland and Schonen they say: det var hanom *ödt*, GDS. 125-6. M. Neth. dat sîn *sal*, dat *moet* sîn, Karel 2, 1561. MHG. poets have: daz geschach u. *muose sîn*, Türl. Wh. 29^a; wan ez *solt et sîn*, Parz. 42, 6; ez *muoz alsô wesen*, Nib. 1482, 1; swaz *geschehen sol*, daz *geschiht*, Urstende 104, 48. Helnbr. 1683. OS. that it *scolda givverthan sô*, bethiu ni mahtun si is bemîthan (avoid), Hel. 150, 19. 152, 4. Fr. tot avenra ce quen *doit avenir*, Garin 2, 201.—AS. n'æs ic *fæge* þâ git (I was not fey yet), Beow. 4289; conf. 'ez sterbent wan (none but) die *veigen* die doch vil lîhte heime dâ muosen sterben, Tit. 1799; nieman sterben *mac* (can die), unz im kumt *sîn lester tac*, Kl. 103; nieman ersterben *mac*, ê im kumt *sîn endes-tac*, Lanz. 1613.—Ego vero nihil impossibile arbitrator, sed utcunque fata decreverunt ita cuncta mortalibus evenire, Apul. p. m. 87; mir geschihit niht, wan mir *geschaffen* ist, ez muoz nû sîn, MSH. 3, 80; ist ez dir *beschaffen*, Helnbr. 1297; muoz ez wesen, u. ist dir *beschaffen*, Laber p. 200; sei es uns mit heil *beschaffen*, Wolkenst. 178; *beschaffens* glück, Ambras. lied. p. 224-5-7.—Mir ist niht *beah*t, Flore 1184; diu ist dir *erahtôt* (intended), Griesh. 2, 18; dem si rehte *erahtôt* ist 2, 19.—Ih ward *giboran* zi thiú, O. iv. 21, 30; wer zuo *drîn helbling* ist geborn, Diut. 1, 325; ze *drîn scherphen* geborn, Renn. 15886; dur sanc (for song) bin ich *geborn*, MS. 1, 53^a; er wart zer fluht *nie geborn*, Wh. 463, 19; ich wart in *dine helfe* erborn, Tit. 72, 4; Christianchen ist nicht *für mich geboren*, Gellert 3, 168. We say: es ist mir *angeboren*.—Til lykke *lagt*, DV. 3, 5;

Dan. 'er det saa *luget*, saa faaer det saa blive'; ez gêt keinem anders dan im wirt *ûfgeleit*, Mich. Beham's Vom unglauben 4 [necessity is *laid upon me*, 1 Cor. 9, 16].—'Swaz dir *enteile* is getân, des enwirt dir niht benomen,' you can't fail to have, En. 82, 6. 87, 21. 117, 1; deme si *beschert* was, ê si wurde geborn, En. 3993: nieman gelouben sol an daz wort 'ez ist ime *beschert*,' Germania 3, 233^a; dem galgen *beschert*, Renn. 16815; êst iu *beschert*, u. en-mac niht anders sîn, Flore 4588; uns wirdet ennogiz *kespirre* ioh *peskerit* N. Arist., *beskerit* unde *beskîbet* 94; waz ist uns beiden *beschert* u. *bescheiden*, Herb. 14054. We say: es ist mir *beschieden*, *verhângt*, *bestimmt*, *geschickt*.—Lith. *lemtas*, ordained; was einem *geordnet* sei, dem entrinne man nicht, Gotthelf's Erz. 1, 292; es sei so *geordnet*, u. was sein muss, muss sein 1, 284; *zugeschrempt*, Keisersb. Von koufleuten 89^b. Geistl. lewe 50^c; ez ist mir sus *gewant*, Parz. 11, 8.—More antique are the phrases:

οὐ γάρ πως καταδυσόμεθ' ἀχνύμενοί περ
εἰς Αἴδαο δόμους, πρὶν μόρσιμον ἡμᾶρ ἐπέλθῃ. Od. 10, 174.
μοῖραν δ' οὐτινά φημι πεφνυμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν. Il. 6, 488.

AS. gæ þâ *wyrd* swâ hio *scel*, Beow. 905; sô habed im *wurd-giscapu* Metod *gimarcod*, Hel. 4, 13, conf. 18, 10. 45, 14.

p. 863.] *Weal* and *luck* are all but personified in the phrases: kum, *glück*, u. schlag' mit *haufen drein*, Docen's Misc. 1, 279; ein garten, den *glück* u. heil *buwet*, Mohr reg. v. Frauenbr. no. 386, yr. 1434; heil, *walde iz!* Diut. 1, 353; des *helfe* mir *gelücke!* Nib. 1094, 4; mine *helpe* God ende *goet geval!* Walew. 286; *an's* mi God ende *goed geval!* Karel 2, 3609; mîn heil, nu *linge* (prosper)! Altsw. 14, 31. 96, 4; Silvio *volgete* grôz heil, En. 13138; die wîle (meanwhile) sîn heil *vor giene*, 7251; to snatch the luck that *was going* to another, Unw. dokt. 358; those that luck *pipes to* may dance, Docen's Misc. 1, 282; when God and good luck *greet* him, Simpl. 1, 536; daz in daz heil *verfluochet* (curses him), Hartm. 1, büchl. 782.—Without personification: si liczen die vart *an ein heil*, 3297; waere daz *an* mînem heile, MS. 1, 193^b; vart iuwer strâze (go your way) *mit quotem heile*, Iw. 832; ze heile *komen*, MS. 1, 75^a; heiles *vurt waten* (wade the ford of), Suchenw. xxxiii. 35; *quotes mannes heil*, Hpt's Ztschr. 2, 179; ich *troue* mîme heile, Nib. 2102, 4; mîme heile

ich gar *verteile*, MS. 1, 83^a; du maht mîn heil *erwenden* (canst thwart), Walth. 60, 18; ich *danke* 's mîme heile, Nib. 1938, 4; conf. mîn saelde sî *verwâzen* (cursed be), Mai 174, 4; mîn saelde ich *verfluoche*, Flore 1182; ich *ziuhe ez uf* (I lay it all upon) die s. mîn, Lanz. 3162; doch *zûrn ich* an die s. mîn 4300.—More peculiar are: 'wünschet daz mir ein heil *gevalle*,' befall, Walth. 115, 5; conf. M. Neth. *gheval*, luck, Huyd. sub. v., and our Veldeke's 'daz si mêre (increase) min *geval*' 1, 21^a; des heiles *slüzzel* (key) in verspart freude, Altd. bl. 2, 236; *verlor* het er daz heil, Alex. 3389. 'Wünschen *heiles vunt*,' a find of luck, Altd. bl. 1, 339. MS. 2, 190^a. MSH. 1, 357^b. Mai 64, 10. Haupt 7, 117; *heile* bruoder, *fröiden vunt*, Dietr. drach. 303^b; der *Saelden vunt*, MSH. 1, 359^a; *glückes vunt* 351^b.—Glück, heil and saelde are named side by side: doch sô was *gelücke* u. Sîfrides *heil*, Nib. 569, 2; *heili* joh *sâlida*, O. Ludw. 5; man saget von *glucke* u. von *sâlden*, Herb. 6770; sô möht ime *gelücke* u. *heil* u. *saelde* u. *ére* ûfrîsen, Walth. 29, 31; *gelücke* iuch müeze *saelden* wern (may fortune grant), Parz. 431, 15. *Gelücke* is distinguished fr. *heil*, Herb. 3238. 15465; conf. *τύχη, μοῖρα, εἰμαρμένη*, Lucian 3, 276; *dea Fortuna*, Pl. Pseud. ii. 3, 13.

There is a *white* fortune and a *black*, a *bright* and a *dark*: thiū *berhtun giscapu*, Hel. 11, 16. 23, 17; þâ *beorhtan gesceft*, Cædm. 273, 20.

Eia, glücke! eia, heil!

nu hâst du mir daz *swarze teil* (black side)
allenthalben zuo gekart (toward me turned);
mir sint die *wîzen wege* verspart (barred),
dâ ich wîlen ane ginc (whereon I whilom went).

Herb. 15465—69.

Frommann p. 321 understands this of the moon's light or dark disc, and seems to derive the 'wheel of fortune' altogether fr. the lunar orb. Conf. Lett. 'ak mannu *baltu deenu!*' my white day, Bergm. 76 (see p. 1138).

p. 864.] Of *Saelde's* vigilance I have some more examples [Omitted]: mîn S. *erwachet*, Ls. 2, 509; swer si nu solde schouwen, des S. was *nicht entslâfen*, Türl. Wh. 46^a. And the same of Luck and Unluck: hadde mi *mîn gheluc ghewaect*, Marg. v. Limbg 1, 1226; our *unluck wakes*, Günther 1014; my *luck* is

fast *asleep* 212 (conf. Dan. 'den kranke *lykke*,' DV. 1, 195; den kranke *skjebne* 1, 123). M. Neth. die *Aventure wacht* (p. 911); *erwachtet sîn planet*, Chron. in Senkenb. 3, 459; *fortunam ejus in malis tantum civilibus vigilasse*, Amm. Marc. 14, 10, conf. 'at vos *Salus servassit*, Plant. Cist. iv. 2, 76. The *Laima* (Suppl. to 877) also *sleeps and wakes up*, Büttner no. 761. Luck is coaxed: *sê, gelücke, sê*, Walth. 90, 18.—Similar phrases: *mîn weinender schade* (hurt) *wachtet*, MSH. 1, 102^a; *skade vaker*, Aasen's Ordspr. 210; 'to *wake a sleeping sorrow*,' Oedip. Colon. 510. ON. *vekja Nauð*, Sæm. 194^b (var.), like *vekja víg* 105^a. *Vreule diu ist erwachtet*, diu ie verborgen lac (lay hid), MS. 2, 99^a; conf. *wach auf, fried*, Fastn. 39, 1; *bî werden man* (to noble-minded men) *sô wachent wîbes güete*, MS. 1, 190^a; ir güete u. bescheidenheit ist *gên mir entslâfen* 1, 26^b; ir *genâde* (favour) mir *muoz wachen* 1, 33^a; wil ir diu (*minne*) ze herzen nâhen *wachen*, MSH. 1, 316^b. Nemesis, vengeance, sleeps and wakes. 'A place where a certain *danger waked*,' Serb. u. Kroat. 10.

p. 866.] *Fortuna*, like *Ver Sælde* (Hagen's Ges. Ab. 1, 409), waits long *at the door*, and is not admitted, Dio Cass. 64, 1; mir ist *verspart* (barred) der *Saelden tor*, Walth. 20, 31; der *S. tor* *entsliezen* (unlock), Dietr. drach. 179^a; conf. Hpt's Ztschr. 2, 535 and dream-gate (Suppl. to 1146 beg.). In the same way: 'sluz mir *ûf der vröuden tor*,' unlock me the gates of joy, MSH. 1, 356^a; *gein dem süezen Meien stênt offen fröiden tor*, MS. 2, 108^a; der *fröiden tor* ist *zuo getân* (shut) 2, 198^b: thro' *portals wide* poured joy into her house, Gotthelf 2, 203; thy luck comes in *at every gate*, Fabricius's Haustafel (V. f. Hamb. gesch. 4, 486); der *genâden tor*, Hpt 4, 526.—*Exulatum abiit salus*, Plaut. Merc. iii. 4, 6; 'des solt in *Saelde wîchen*,' quit them, Albr. Tit. 2344; diu *S. mir entwîche*, MS. 2, 20^a; conf. 'da unse heil *von uns trat*,' Pass. 40, 80; 'heill er *horfiu*,' gone, Völs. c. 11; 'la *Fortune passa*, elle part à ces mots,' Lafont. 5, 11; conversely: 'zuo *gienc daz unheil*,' on came mischief (Suppl. to 879). *Saelde von uns vonit*, Athis F, 20; *S. wout im bî, u. vont*, Heimr. Krone 56^d; dar *Saelden ane genge*, Hpt 4, 525; daz dich daz *gelücke angê*, Diocl. 4376. 8759; alles *glück wehete* (blew) dich an, Unw. doct. 617.—Luck approaches one who *sleeps* at the well-side, Babr. 49, 2; predestined luck comes *overnight*, Ambras. 247; conf. 'falling *asleep* betw. two lucks, Altd. bl. 2, 175;

an Saelden wunsches *arm entslâfen*, Tit. 1248. Ipsa, si vellet, *Salus* his circumfusa, ut *vulgo loquimur*, eos salvare non posset, Liutpr. Legatio 13. Er was ûf der *Saelden wege*, Ernst 1843; conf. 'sô verst ûf *gelückes ban*,' MS. 1, 88^b; *hóhe getrat* ze Saelden, Mar. 164, 30; ich kan si wol *erjagen* (hunt her down): si-ne welle sich mir *mê versagen* (refuse me more) dan si sich deheime (any one) *versagte*, der si ze rehte *jagte*, Greg. 1529. 'Ir Saelde diu *sach* sie an,' looked on her, Mar. 187, 20; we say 'smiled upon,' conf. *τὴν τύχην προσμειδιῶσαν*, Lucian's Asin. 47, *Fortuna arridet*. 'Ich muoz *ir gruo*z verdienen,' earn Fortune's greeting, Greg. 1527; Got u. das glück *grüszet*, Simpl. 1, 536; daz mich vrô Saelde *erkande* (recognised), MS. 2, 99^a; sô *volgt* dir S. *nâch*, MSH. 3, 224^b; *mîn frô* S., wie sie *mîn vergáz* (forgot me), Walth. 43, 5. 'Einer gelücke *erslîchet*, daz der ander niht wol kan *erloufen*,' one *creeps* up to her, another can't *run* her down, MSH. 3, 297^a; das glück *erschleichen*, Fischart's Gesch. kl. 95^b. Uhl. Volksl. 584. Ambras. 102; 'luck wants to be boldly *galloped up to*,' Polit. stockf. p. 240.—'Gelücke ist uns *verswunden*,' vanished, Altd. bl. 2, 150; 'wie in gelücke *floch*,' fled, Ottoc. 713^a; 'vrou Saelde *kêret* mir den *nac*,' turns her neck (back), Frauenl. 447, 22; *fortuna malefida*, Rudl. 1, 11; *fortuna vetus*, 1, 66; vrou S. ist *wilder* dan ein *rêch* (roe), MSH. 2, 315^a, conf. 'gelücke *lieft entwerhes*,' ran athwart, Troj. 12598; S. wird *pflücke*, Kolocz 100; daz *wiltwilde* gelücke *springt*, MS. 2, 147^b. 'In der Saelden *huote varn*,' travel in her keeping 1, 88^a; wîsen ûz vrou S. *huote*, MSH. 1, 339^a; conf. 'cum fortuna ludere,' be her playmate, favourite, Pertz 2, 79.—'Der Saelden *stabe*, dâ sult ir iuch an *stiuren*,' staff whereon ye shall lean, MSH. 3, 462^a; sitzen ûf der S. *kûr* 1, 93^a (MS. 1, 36^a); daz iuch vrô Saelde *lâze widerkêren* (send you back), Troj. 9359; wie dich diu S. *fuorte* (led), Hpt 4, 524. 'Diu S. mich *an sich nam*, si *riet* mir,' advised me, Wigam. 4119; 'den *ir S.* daz *geriet*,' for so her luck advised, Wh. 451, 4; 'daz sie diu S. *tuon hiez*,' what S. bade her do, Eracl. 54; 'dar *sîn S.* hât erdaht,' wherever his luck thought good, Parz. 827, 17. 'Diu S. ir mit *flîze pflac*,' carefully tended her, Wigal. 8950; vrou S. ir *stiure gap* *sîner ammen* (bestowed her gifts on his nurse), diu *sîn phlac*, dô er in der wiegen (cradle) lac,' Er. 9898; von der Saelden *gebe*, Altd. bl. 2, 218; nû het diu *vroue Saelikheit* allen-wîs an in geleit (on him set) *ir vil staetigez*

marc, Greg. 1063; der Saelden *gundes teil*, Krone 4883.—Er sitzt in *S. vogel-hûse*, Renn. 19512; kaeme ich ûf der *S. stuol*, Partenop. 93; der *S. dach* (roof), MS. 1, 191^b; daz uns decke diner *S. van* (flag), MSH. 1, 339^b; entsliezen ûf (unlock) der *S. schrîn*, Dietr. drach. 94^b; aller *S. grunt* 105^a. 303^b; der *S. seil* (rope) 239^b. 257^a; der *S. vaz* (cask), Hag. Ges. Ab. 1, 461; sich daz (beware lest) diu muot iht trunken gê von des gelückes *stoufe* (bowl), Frauenl. 116, 19; von gold ein *S. vingerlîn* (ring), Lanz. 4940; daz *golt* der *S.*, Tit. 4914. 5028; *Saelldenbere*, Mone 1, 346. 7, 319.—Der *S. zwîe* (twig, Suppl. to 977); ein *zwî* daran diu Saelde *blüejet*, Hpt 4, 527; sîn *S. blüete*, Wh. 463, 9; ez grüenet mîner Saelden *rîs* (twig), Winsbekin 6, 4; wo sein *glücksgrast graint*, Stelzhamer 36; gelücke ist *wîten* hie *gesût* (widely sown), Dietr. drach. 187^a. It is prettily said: das glück *abblaten* (disleaf), Fastn. sp. 1143, as if to pluck off the flower of luck; 'luck brings roses,' Ldrb. of 1582, 225; grozmechtig *krut-korb voll glück* (huge hamperfuls), Fastn. sp. 884, 24, conf. 'gelück in einem *kreben* (korb, basket) finden,' Hätzl. 85^b; der Saelden *stücke* (pieces, items?), Parz. 734, 24; hât-er darzuo der *S. swert*, Altd. bl. 2, 229; der *S. slac* (blow), Iw. 4141, conf. 'ne nos Fortuna *sinistro cum pede* prosternat,' Gesta Witigowonis 477; 'at first she can't take in her luck, by and by she'll snap at its *fists*,' Schoch's Stud. D 3^b; der *S. swanz* (tail) hât dich umbevangen, Hpt 4, 520. 'Der *S. tou* sîn herze hât genetzt,' *S.*'s dew has drenched his heart, MSH. 3, 173^b; 'bliss comes *dewing* down,' Goethe 14, 74, conf. 'alles heils ein *lûter bach*,' limpid stream, Altsw. 98, 23; 'luck *snows* upon us in large flakes,' Phil. v. Sittew. 2, 665.—Observe the plur. *saelden*, like 'heillir horfnar' (p. 864-5 n.): thên *sâlidon* intfallan, O. ii. 4, 89; er mohte *sînen saelden* immer sagen danc, Nib. 300, 2; waere 'z *anden s. min*, Reinh. 436. In Tyrol (15th cent.) a *frau Selga* rides at the head of the nightly host, Germania 2, 438, but she may be the selige, blissful, not our Saelde. Conf. the Indian goddess of prosperity *Śri*, Holtzm. 3, 150, the *ἀγαθὴ Τύχη*, the *bona Fortuna*, Gerh. in Acad. ber. '47, p. 203-4.

p. 869.] On *fortune's wheel* see Wackernagel in Hpt 6, 134 seq. Cupid also has a wheel: vorsor in *Amoris rota* miser, Plaut. Cist. ii. 1, 4. *Fortunae sinistrorsum sibi rotam* volvere sentit, Pertz 8, 235, conf. the image in Carm. burana p. 1;

volubilis rota transeuntis mundi, Kemble no. 761 (yr 1038); *rota fatalis* in Hemmerlin, Reber p. 236; *videns fortunam, ut solet, ludicra rota reciprocare*, Eckehardi casus S. Galli (Pertz 2, 88). The mere turning of the wheel denotes the mutability of fate, Fauriel's *Poésie Prov.* 3, 509. Serb. *märch.* no. 42, p. 198. Meghadûta ed. Schütz p. 41 str. 107, and the passage fr. Plutarch, *ibid.* p. 109.

Gelücke ist *sinewel* (spherical), Wh. 246, 28; *der liute heil ist ungewegen u. sinwel*, Bit. 12440. Fortune rises and falls, like a *wheel* in motion, Meghad. 108; *daz rat der frô Fortûne*, Turlin's *Krone* 7; *Marê, du heiles u. gelückes rat*, Hpt 4, 523; *dat rat van avonturen*, Rein. ed. Will. 6183; *mir gêt der Saelden schîbe* (wheel), Engelh. 4400; *dô unser schîbe ensamt gie* (together went), Warn. 3048; *wil mir der S. schîbe gân, als si dicke* (oft) *hât getân*, Dietr. drach. 12; *gelückes rat umbe trîben*, Troj. 13322; *als sich kêret* (turns) *des gelückes rat*, Pass. 32, 62; *in bezôch der werlde gelückes rat* 356, 15; *si vuoren* (rode) *ûf gelückes rade*, Flore 845, conf. 'auf *gelukes choken varen*,' Suchenw. 27, 115; *ich lige iemer under glückes rade*, MS. 2, 194^a; *ic was te hoghe gheseten* (sat too high) *op dat rat der avonturen*, Marg. v. Limb. 1, 185; *Woldemares schive* in groten lukken hadde lopen (run), Detm. 1, 99; *gelückes balle*, Tit. 2368; *unglücke daz gê si an* (befall them), *darzuo der laster* (infamy's) *schîbe mûeze in allen gên in hant!* Dietr. dr. 143^b.

Saelde is sometimes called *blind*: *sprich niht 'Saelde sî blind,'* des si niht ist, Cato 442; *sia mâletôn* (her they painted) *plinda*, Notk. Boëth. 42; and *avonture* is blind, Rose 5067, or blindfolded 5858. Notker in Boëth. 43 translates 'deprehendisti *coeci* numinis ambiguos vultus' by 'nû bechennest tû daz analutte des *sich pergenten* (skulking) *truge-tievels.*' To Gotfrid's '*glesîn glücke*' add the '*fortuna vitrea*' of the Archipoeta p. m. 237.

p. 869.] *Der Saelden kint*, Freid. 134, 2; *Gabriel salutes Mary as such*, MSH. 3, 18^a; *frou Saelde und Heil, ir kint*, *Krone* 15827. 23094, conf. 'sit in the middle of God's lap,' *Drei kl. leute* 159; *mignon*, Lafont. 5, 5; *frou S. ir stiure gap sîner ammen, diu sîn phlac, dô er in der wiegen lac* (in his cradle lay), Er. 9898. '*Der Saelden bote*,' messenger, *Pantal.* 172; *Seldenbut*, Urk. of Hanover; *des sî mân Saelde gein im bote*, Parz. 416, 4. Like *Saelden bote* are also: *Triuwen bote*, Engelh. 6332;

Eren bote, honour's m., *Fraend.* 487, 13. 479, 28; *der E. holde*, *Athis C* 82. *Er.* 9962; *der E. kneht*, *Engelh.* 4152; *der S. holde*, *Lanz.* 1996; *der S. hūs-geuôz*, housemate, *Wh.* 3, 125^a; *der S. schol*, *Er.* 2401; *der Unsaelden kneht*, *Hartm.* 2, büchl. 626; *der fürste selden herre*, *Heldenb.* (1590), 110^b, et passim.

p. 873.] Of *frau Fortuna*, a kind of *Venus*, there is a legend in *Altd.* bl. 1, 297. With *Fortunatus* conf. *Flunustus*. The *wishing-hat* carved out of a finger-nail, *Schiefner* on *Kalewipoeg* pp. 146. 154, resembles *Nagl-far* (p. 814). On the miraculous making of *cloths*, see *Rommel* 2, 342 fr. the *Ann. Erf.* in *Menken* 3. There is frequent mention of a *girdle* that gives strength (*Suppl.* to 182), the strength of 12 men, *Laurin* 1966. 2441, or allays hunger, *Ferabr.* 2752. 2800; *ON.* *hūngurband*, our *schmachtenrieme*. *Saxo* ed. *Müller* 114 mentions an '*armilla* possessoris opes augere solita,' a '*tunica ferrum sperneus*' 118, an '*insecabilis vestis*' 122; conf. the *growing mantle* in *Lanz.* 5812, the *seamless coat*, the *κρήδεμνον* of *Ino*, *Od.* 5, the *breast-net broden*, *Beow.* 3095, the *bread-pocket* in *Wigal.* 4469. 5843.—*Discordia* makes herself invisible by a *ring*, *Troj.* 1303-24, and the like magic lies in the ring with a *nightingale* in it, *Morolt* 1305; conf. the ring of *Gyges*, *Plato's Rep.* 359. 360. *Seven-league boots*, *bottes de sept lieues*, *Perrault* 167. *Aulnoy* 367. *St. Columban* has a *wishing-staff* (p. 976).—If *Amalthea* (*Athen.* 4, 345. 371) and *Fortuna* have a *horn-of-plenty*, '*Fortuna cum cornu pomis, ficis aut frugibus pleno*,' *Arnob.* 6, 25 (conf. '*nam haec allata cornucopiae est, ubi inest quicquid volo*,' *Plaut. Pseud.* ii. 3, 5); so has our old *Otfrid* i. 10, 5 a *horn heiles*, and *Wolkenst.* p. 61 a *Saeldenhorn*, conf. *Gif-horn*. It is an odd thing to speak of sitting down on the *bull's horns*, i.e. pillars, of *wealth*, *Pentam.* *Liebr.* 2, 112.—To make a *wishing-net*, you burn a small boat, and sow flax in the ashes, which shoots up in two days, is picked, baked and braked in two days more, and spun, knitted and stitched in another two days, *Kalev.* 26, 188; conf. *Schröter* p. 19. *Wishing-dice* in *H. Sachs* ii. 4, 114^c. On the *stone of victory*, see p. 1220. *Indra's spear* that never misses, that of itself comes back to the hand, and even when he lends it to others, returns to his hand (*Holtzm. Ind.* s. 2, 137-8. 155), and the *javelin* that flies back of its own accord (*Ov. Met.* 7, 684), are like *Thôr's hammer*, like the *sword that gives victory* in *Saxo* ed. *Müll.* 115, like the one

that *brandishes itself* in Dybeek ii. 28, and *l'arc qui ne faut* in the O. Fr. Trist. 1716-45.—The Ssk. *manoratha*, wheel of thought, may be the same as the wheel in Wigalois, conf. Saelde's wheel and her glove, Krone 22855. 23093. Similar to *Skíðblaðnir*, the *navis plicatilis* (p. 216), is a *tent* in Lanz. 4898 seq., which folds up, and can with ease be carried by a maiden. In the land of the Æthiops 'est locus apparatus epulis semper refertus, et quia ut libet vesci volentibus licet, ἡλίου τράπεζαν appellant, et quae passim apposita sunt affirmant innasci subinde divinitus,' Pomp. Mela 3, 9; see Herod. 3, 17-8, where the earth itself covers the table with meats overnight; conf. the city wherein the *blessing should abide*, Gellert 1, 194; before the *Gral* all manner of meats and drinks stood ready, Parz. 238, 10. 239, 1 (the *Gral* suffers no vermin in Salvaterra, Tit. 5198; the name *Graalanz* as early as 10th cent., Irmino 49^b).—A *wishing-tree* that bears clothes, trinkets, etc., and wine, Meghadhûta ed. Schütz p. 25-7; like the tree in our fairy-tale, fr. which the child shakes *dresses* down. The *wishing-cow* *Kâma-dûh* means 'milkable at will,' Bopp's Gl. 70^b. Weber 5, 442; acc. to Hirzel's Sakunt. 153 *Nandini* is the lucky cow that grants all wishes; add the ass that utters gold, *peau d'âne*, and the hen that lays golden eggs. On the *contest for wishing-gear*, see Pref. p. xxxiii.

p. 874 n.] On *lucky children* and their *cauls*, see Rösler 2, xcvi. xcvi. and 337. KM.³ 3, 57; wir bringen allesamen ein *rot wammesch* uff erden (pellem secundinam), das müß darnach der man (husband) unter die stegen vergraben, Keisersp. Wannenkremer 109^d. In AS. the caul is *heafela*, *hafela*, Andr. p. 127-8 n.; MHG. *hüetelîn*, *batwât*, Hpt 1, 136-7, *kindbülgel*, Mone 8, 495, *westerhûfe* in the Ritterpreis poem, *westerhuot*, Karaj. 27, 6; conf. the *westerwât* preserved in churches, N. Cap. 83, and the baptismal shirt of healing power, Dresd. Wolfdietr. 160-1-2; stera, *vaselborse*, pellicula in qua puer in utero matris involvitur, Hoffm. Hor. Belg. 7, 19^b. Lith. *namai kudikio*, child's house, Nesselm. 414. ON. Hlöðr is born with *helmet* and *sword* (p. 389). GDS. 121.

p. 876.] Every man has an *angel of his own*, but so have some beasts, Keisersp. Brosäml. 19^c. Agreeing with Cæsar Heisterb., the Pass. 337, 46 says: daz einer iegelichen menscheit *zwêne engel* sint bescheiden: einen *quoten*, einen *leiden* iegelich

mensche bî im hât. Every man has *his candle in the sky*, Hpt 4, 390 (see Suppl. to 722 end). Dô sprach der engel wol-getân : 'ich was ie mit dir, unt woldest nie *gevolgen* mir (obey me); von ubele ich dich chêrte (turned), daz beste ich dich lêrte,' Tund. 46, 60; ich bin der engel, der *dîn pfliget*, Ges. Abent. 2, 255; wil du *dînem engel* schenken (win), Griesh. 2, 50; *anglens Domini* te semper praecedat, comitetur ac subsequatur, Vita Mahthild. c. 20.—In Otrf. v. 4, 40 the angel says to the women: jâ birun wir in wâra in *eigenê giburâ*=your servants. The angel is called *wîsaere*, director, Helbl. 7, 249. 331, an invisible voice 7, 263. 293. 355; dû hât gehôrt ein stimme, die *sîn engel* sprach, Pass. 158, 79; (der werlde vluot) manigen hin verdrücket, ob in dar-ûz niht zücket (plucks him out) *sîn engil* mit voller kraft, 337, 41. The angel *rejoices* over his protégé, MSH. 3, 174^b.—The heathen think an old Christian has a young one inside him, and when he is dying the *angels take a baby* out of his mouth, Ottoc. 440-1 [see a mosaic in the cath. of San Michele Maggiore, Pavia]. On English guardian-angels, see Stewart's Pop. superst. 4, 16-7; on Indian, Somadeva 2, 117. Hermes is an escort, *πομπαιος*, to men, Aesch. Eum. 91.

p. 877.] Biarki's *bear-fylgja* is in Petersen's Hedenold 1, 210-3; a similar *bear* in Fornald. sög. 1, 102-5; Gunnar's fylgja, the *biarndyr*, in Nialss. c. 23. As swans are guardian-angels, *ravens* are a kind of attendant spirits to heathens: Haraldr ver fylgðom (p. 671). On 'gefa nafn ok fylgja lâta,' see GDS. 153-4.—*Hamíngja* means luck, Fornm. sög. 4, 44; *gæfa ok h.* 4, 26; *í hamíngju tauti*, in the riot, full swing, of luck, Biörn sub v. taut; *ef hamíngja fylgír*, 7, 280; *fylgjor hans höfðo vitiað* Heðins, Sæm. 147^a. Glúm's dream of his father-in-law's *h.* appearing as a dís, who towered above the hills, is in Vîgagl. sag. c. 9.—Engl. *fetch*: 'I had seen *her fetch*,' Hone's Daybk. 2, 1011-3-6-7; in some parts of Scotl. *fye* for fetch 1019; 'to see his *double* 1012; *wíff*, *wajff*, *wraith*, *swarth* 1019-20. Ir. *taise*, Conan 105; conf. Wilh. Meister, where some one *sees himself* sitting; the *white lady*, the *banshie*.

p. 877.] The Slav. *dóbra srétia*, Vuk 3, 444, *srétia*=luck 788, looks very like Ssk. *Šri*, Bopp 356^b [but s-ret-ati=convenire, ob-ret-ati=invenire, etc.]; *srétia* is bestowed by *U-súd*, destiny. 'I am *thy luck*, *thy brother's luck*,' Serb. mǎrch. no. 13. The

Lettic *Laima*, Nesselm. 351, is distinct fr. Laume 353; Lith. also *Laima* = Gk. *Λαιμό*, Lat. *Lamia* (p. 500 n. Suppl. to 864 mid.): *Laima lēme* sauluzēš dienate, Rhesa dain. p. 10. She is comp. in Bopp's Gl. 296^a to *Lakshmi*, abundantiae et felicitatis dea.

p. 879.] Misfortune comes, goes: *chumet ein unheil*, Karajan 5, 2. 19, 15; *zuo gienc in beiden daz unheil*, Diut. 2, 51, conf. *daz leit gieng ire zuo 2, 50*; *hie trat mîn ungelücke für*, Parz. 688, 29; *unglück* wechst über nacht, u. hat ser ein breiten fusz, Mathesius (1562) 279^a; Swed. quick som en *o-lycka*. Trouble does not come alone; *nulla calamitas sola*; *das unglück* was mit gewalt da, Herbenst. 330; *t' on-geval* dat es mi bi, Karel 1, 699; *on-spoet* (unspeed) comt gheresen, Rose 8780; *unheil* unsir rāmit (creams, thickens), Athis F 21; 'where has *misfortune* had you, that you look so gory?' *Reise avant*. (1748) p. 107; *unheil* habe, der iz haben wil! En. 12859; si hat des *ungelucks jeger* mit seinen henden umbfangen gar (U.'s hunter has her tight), Keller's Erz. 157, 10; sie reitet *ungelücke* (rides her), Beham in Wien.forsch. p. 47^a; *unfal* reitet mich, Ambras. lied. 92, 9; conf. Death riding on one's back (Suppl. to 844 beg.); was euch *unfal* geit, Murner 2832; *Unfalo* in Theuerdk; *un-gevelle*, Flore 6152; *unheil* mich fuorte an sînen zöumen (reins), Engelh. 5502; riet mir *mîn unheil* (advised me), Er. 4794; uudanc begunde er sagen ('gan curse) sîme grôzen *unheile*, Kl. 403 L.; sîn *ungelücke* schalt, Lanz. 1951; *mîn Unselde*, Nib. 2258, 1; *Unselde* sî verwâzen! Helmbr. 838; *Unselden-brunne*, Mone's Anz. 6, 228; *Unselde* ist heiles vîent (foe), Flore 6158; '*misf.* is at the door, in blossom,' Fromm. 4, 142; *ungelückes zwîc* (twig), Cod. pal. 355, 116^a [the oppos. of *Saelden-zwîc*, wishing-rod, Suppl. to 977 beg.]; *ung. winde*, MS. 1, 84^b; thut ein *ungelück* sich aufdrehen (turn up), H. Sachs iii. 3, 8^a. The *shutting misf. up* in an 'eicher' is like fencing-in the Plague and spectres, Müllenh. p. 196; the devil too gets wedged in a beech-tree, Bechst. Märch. 42; si haben *unglück* in der kisten (trunk), Fastn. sp. 510, 8.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PERSONIFICATIONS.

p. 880.] Like the Gr. *πρόσωπον* is the Goth. *ludja*, Matth. 6, 17, conf. Gal. 4, 19. I have found MHG. *schîn* = εἶδος in two more places: des lewen *schîn*, Bon. 67, 42; *sînen schîn* (image), Lanz. 4926. Personification does not give rise immed. to *proper* names, for these tolerate no article (Gramm. 4, 405. 595), but to such names as 'der Wunsch, diu Sælde, der Hunger.'

p. 884.] To personified *elements* I have to add the Slav. *Pogóda* (p. 637), conf. Byr; *Ignis, Aqua, Aër, Veritus* in Scherz u. Ernst (1522-50) cap. 4, (1555) c. 354. H. Sachs i. 255; *Frosti, Logi, Skiâlf* (tremor), Yngl. sag. c. 22. We say of *Snow*, 'there's a *new neighbour* moved in overnight' (pp. 532. 761). '*Hrîm* and *Forst, hâre hildstapan* lucon leoda gesetu,' Andr. 1258 and Pref. p. xxxv. The Esths worship Cold (*kûlm*) as a higher being, Peterson p. 46. Finn. *Hyttö, Hyttämöinen* = gelu; *Aeryämöinen* is the wrathful genius of severe cold. MHG. *Rîfe* (p. 761).—Was 'die *Heide*,' the heath, thought of as a person? she blushes for shame, Walth. 42, 21. Men blessed the *Way*, and bowed to it (p. 31 n.). The name of *Hlîn* the âsynja is echoed back in AS. *hlîn*, Cod. Exon. 437, 17, as the name of a tree. The George in Reinbot's allegory is a child of *der Sunne* and *diu Rôse*, and is called *Rôsen-kint*. On *Nÿji* and *Niði*, see above (p. 700). With the two femin. names of months in AS., *Hrede* and *Eástre*, conf. the Roman *Maia, Flora, Aprilis*, who are goddesses in spite of the months *Mains* and *Aprilis* being masc.

p. 887.] The *sword*, the biter, is often made a person of. Ssk. *asi-putrí* = culter, lit. Sword's daughter; conf. ON. *sulfr* (p. 888). KM.³ 3, 223. The ON. *alr*, awl, is brother to the dwarf or the *knîfr*, Sn. 133. Does '*helm* ne gemunde *byrnna sîðe*' in Beow. 2581 mean 'the helmet forgot the coat of mail'? On *rhedo*, see GDS. 606. Strange that a warrior's garb is in Beow. 903 *Hræðlan* láf, but in 4378 [*Hre*]ðles lâte; conf. hergewäte, RA. 568. A *ship* on touching land is addressed as a living creature (p. 1229 ?).—It is a confirmation of *Brisinga men*, that the OS. *Throt-manni*, monile gutturis, is the name of the town Dortmund, and *Holttes-meni*, monile silvæ, Trad. Corb. no.

321, afterwards called *Holtes-minne* 384, is the present Holzminden. With *Hnoss* is perh. to be conn. the OHG. female name *Neosta*, Förstemann 1, 960; ON. *kvenna hnoss*=mint. *Mann-gersinar* occurs in Thidr. saga p. 153. What means the M. Neth. 'want haer met *gersemen* doeken'? Rose 11001; is *gärs-uma* the truer division of the word? Gramm. 2, 151. Light is thrown on the maiden *Spange* by *auð-spaung* *úngri*, *feminae juvenulae*, Kormakss. p. 186; conf. *mouwe*=maiden and sleeve, fetter (Kl. schr. 5, 441), *evenberga*, both shirt and Eremberga, *schilt-vezzel* (-fetter)=scutiger, squire, Oswalt 3225. In the same way as *Hreda*, *Hnoss*, *Gersemi*, *Menja* (p. 306-7) and the Rom. *Carna*, *dea cardinis* (Ov. Fasti 6, 101—168), are to be expl. the gods' names *Loki* and *Grentil*. A beautiful woman was often compared to some goddess of female ornament: *hodda Sif*, *hodda Freyja*, *hrínga Hlín* in Kormakss. 26 means simply a lady adorned with rings. On the same footing as the goddesses of nuts, bees, dough, etc. cited by Lasicz p. 48-9 stand the *Puta*, *Peta*, *Patellana*, *Viabilia*, *Orbona*, *Ossilago*, *Mellonia* in Arnob. 4, 7, 8, and the goddesses of grains in Augustine's *De Civ. D.* 4, 8 (Rhein. jrb. 8, 184) and many more in the same author; conf. *Robigo*, *Rubigo* (p. 477 end).

p. 887.] Men greeted the player's die, bowed to it, Jüngl. 389. On *Decius*, see Méon 4, 486-7. *Hazart* geta arriere main, Ren. 18599; *Hasars*, *Myst. de Jubinal* 2, 388-9. *Dvápara* et *Kali* sunt nomina tertiae et quartae mundi aetatis, et daemones harum aetatum, Nalus p. 213, conf. Holtzm. 3, 23-9 and Pref. xi.; the dice-playing of *Yuzisithira* and *Sakuni* was celebr., also that of *Nala* and *Pushkara*, Holtzm. 2, 1—11. 3, 23-9. MHG. 'her Pfenninge,' MS. 2, 148^a.

p. 888.] Victory is personified in the AS. phrase: *Sigor eft áhwearf asc-tír wera*, *Cædm.* 124, 25. Similarly: 'deme *Orloge* den hals breken,' break the neck of battle, *Detmar* 2, 555; '*Hederlein* brother to *zenklein*' (hader, zank = quarrel), *H. Sachs* i. 5, 538^a; 'der *Rewel* beiszt,' repentance bites, *Luther* 9, 472^b; 'der *Zorn* tritt,' anger steps, *Pantal.* 86. On *Φόβος*, *Pavor* and the like, see above (p. 207-8).—Goth. *snau ana ins Hatis*, *ἔφθασεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργή*, 1 *Thess.* 2, 16; 'an dem *hât Haz* bî *Níde* ein kint,' in him hate had a child by envy, MS. 1, 75^a; *kâmen úf des Nídes* trift, *Pantal.* 754. Envy, like *Φθόνος*, is a

dæmon; there was a form of prayer to keep him off, Lehr's *Vom neide* 144 seq.; Finn. *Kati*, genius invidiae; we say 'Envy looks, peeps, out of him.' The OHG. *Inwiz*, masc., may be the same, though the Roman *Invidia* is feminine. ON. *Topi* oc *Opi*, *Tvösull* oc *Ópoli* vaxi þer tår með trega, Sæm. 85^a.—*Πλοῦτος*, the god of wealth, is blind; the Ssk. *Kuvēra* is ugly, with three legs and eight teeth, Bopp 78^a; *Rtcheit*, Er. 1584.—*Hunger*, se þeod-sceaða hreow ricsode, Andr. 1116, conf. our 'hunger reigns'; *Hunger* is the best cook, Freid. 124, 17; der *H.* was ir beider koch, Wigam. 1070; *Honghers* cameriere, Rose 4356; der *H.* koch, der *Mangel* küchen-meister, Simpl. 25; we say '*Schmalhans* is head-cook here'; bald legt sich *Schm.* in das zimmer, Günther 1050, conf. '*her Bigenot* von *Darbion*, *her Dünne-habe*, MS. 2, 179^a; dô lag er ûf daz *hunger-tuoch* (-cloth), Fragm. 22^a; am *hunger-tuch* neen (sew), H. Sachs ii. 2, 80^c, etc. (Göz 1, 192. 2, 52); der *Hunger* spilt (gambols), Suchenw. 18, 125; dô vât *Frost* u. *Durst* den *H.* in daz hâr, u. ziehent (clutch *H.* by the hair, and drag) gar oft in al dur daz hûs, MS. 2, 189^a; il est *Herbot* (affamé), Trist. 3938; ther *Scado* flichê in gâhe! O. ii. 24, 37.—Sleep, as well as death, is called *Sandmann* (Supp. to 842): can it possibly mean one who is *sent*? conf. 'dô *sant* er in den *slûf* an,' Anegenge 15, 47; but the other is called *Pechmann* (pitch-man) as well, Schm. sub v., and *Hermann*, Wend. volksl. 2, 269^a. Sleep, a brother of Death, comes in the shape of a bird (p. 331), and sits on a fir-tree (see Klausen p. 30), like the sun sitting on the birch as a bird, and lulling to sleep, Kalev. rune 3. A saint says to Sleep: 'com, *quaet knecht*, com hare dan! Maerl. 3, 197. *Sleep* looks in at the window, Kanteletar 2, no. 175; he walks quietly round the cottages, and all at once he has you, Hebel p. 223; den *Schlaf* nicht austragen, i.e. not spoil one's peace, Höfer 3, 89. Deus *Risus*, Apul. p. m. 105. 111. *Selp-hart*, Wackern. lb. 902. Renn. 270. *Virwitz* (Suppl. to 635 beg.).

p. 890.] Attributes of gods come to be regarded as separate beings, and then personified (Lehrs' *Vom neid* p. 152), esp. as females. *Copia* was set before the eyes in a 'simulacrum aeneum, *cornu copiae Fortunae* retinens,' Marcellini comitis Chron. p. m. 51. *Care* is a neighbour: *γείτορες καρδίας μέριμναι*, Aesch. Septem 271; conf. 'ist *zuwivel* (doubt) herzen nächgebûr.' *Necessity* (diu

Nôt) parts, *Nauðr* skildi, Kl. schr. 112-3; si vâhten als den liuten touc (as became men), die ez diu *grîmme Nôt* bat, Er. 837; conf. 'als in mîn wâriu sculde bat,' as my just right bade him do 1246. Der *Rât* (advice), masc., has children by *Scham*, *Treue*, *Wahrheit*, all fem., Helbl. 7, 50. A host of such personifications (Fides, Patientia, Humilitas, Superbia, Luxuria, Sobrietas, etc.) we find already in Prudentius (circ. 400), esp. in his *Psychomachia*, with due epic embellishment; conf. Arnob. 4, 1: Pietas, Concordia, Salus, Honor, Virtus, Felicitas, Victoria, Pax, Aequitas. The Zendic has two female genii, *Haurvatât* and *Ameretât* (wholeness and immortality), often used in the dual number, Bopp's Comp. Gr. pp. 238—240. The *World* is freq. personified (pp. 792n. 850), and even called 'frau *Spothilt*,' Gramm. 2, 499.

Otrf. iii. 9, 11 says: 'sô wer sô nan biruarta, er *fruma* thana *fuarta*,' whoso touched, carried off benefit, as we talk of carrying off the bride; *frum* n. *êre*, Hpt's Ztschr. 7, 343-9. Cervantes in D. Quix. 1, 11 says finely of Hope, that she shews the *hem of her garment*: la Esperanza muestra la orilla de su vestido. OHG. *Otiķepa*, MB. 13, 44. 46. 51 *Otegebe*, *Outgebe*; conf. *Borg-gabe* (Suppl. to 274).

Such phrases as 'he is goodness *itself*' rest on personification too: vous êtes la *bonté même*. Avec la biauté fu *largesce sa suer* et *honors sa cousine*, Guitecl. 1, 116.

p. 892.] Personifications have hands and feet given them, they dwell, come and go. The Athenians have the goddesses Πειθώ and Αναγκαίη (persuasion, compulsion), while in Andros dwell Πενίη and Ἀμηχανίη (poverty, helplessness), Herod. 8, 111. Ἀλήθεια (truth) has *fled* alone into the wilderness, Babr. 127. Aesop 364. Another name for *Nemesis* was Ἀδράστεια, unescapableness. Exulatum abiit *Salus*, Plaut. Merc. iii. 4, 6; terras *Astraea* reliquit, Ov. Met. 1, 150; fugere *Pudor Verumque Fidesque* 1, 129; paulatim deinde ad superos *Astraea* recessit *hac comite*, atque duae pariter fugere *sorores*, Juv. 6, 19; *Virtue* goes, and leads *Luck* away with her, Procop. vol. 2, 407.

Aller *Freuden fûeze* kêren (turn) in den helle-grunt, Warn. 1206; gewonnen si der *Fröiden stap*, Dietr. dr. 200^b; diu mac mir wol ze *Froeyden hûse* geschragen (var., mich wol ze Fr. h. geladen), MS. 1, 9^a; conf. *Fr. tor* (Suppl. 866 beg.). *Krutchina*, affliction, jumps out of the oven, Dietr. Russ. mährch. no. 9.

Carrying Frô-muot on the hands resembles the *levatio imperatoris et novae nuptiae*, RA. 433. 'Fromut-loh cum feris ibi nutritis' must be a bear-garden, Dronke's Trad. Fuld. p. 63. Haupt in Neidh. 135 thinks Frômuot is simply Cheerfulness.—*Gherechticheit*, die sware was, *vlo* tachterst, Rose 5143; conf. Frauenlob's poem on *Gerechtigkeit*, Hpt's Zeitschr. 6, 29. *Minne, Trouwe* es ghevloen, Rose 5141; diu *Triuwe* ist erslagen, Tôd. gehugde 268; *Treu* ein wildbret (head of game), Schweinichen 1, 13; *ver Triuwe, ver Wârheit*, Helbl. 7, 38; der Trinwen *klûse* (cell), Engelh. 6295; der *Tr. bote* 6332; in *Tr. pflege* (care), Winsb. 8, 8, conf. 'der Zûhte sal' good breeding's hall 8, 7; St. *Getruwe* (trusty) and *Kûmmernis* (sorrow), Mone 7, 581—4; nieman wil die *Wârheit* herbergen, Müllenh. no. 210; *Pax terras ingreditur habitu venusto*, Archipoeta ix. 29, 3.

p. 893.] Der *Eren bote* and *E. holde* (Suppl. to 869); *frouwen E. amis*, Frib. Trist. 61; daz *Ere sîn geverte* sî, Türl. Wh. 125^b; frô *E. und ir kint*, MS. 2, 151^b; an *Eren strâze* gestîgen, Pass. 47, 80; *Ere ûz pfude* gedringen, Ben. 450; in der *Eren tor* komen 551, 26; sîn lop (praise) was in der *E. tor*, Frauend. 81, 14; sitzen ûf der *E. banke*, Gr. Rud. 11, 20; saz ûf der *E. steine*, Lanz. 5178, conf. Er. 1198. Wigal. 1475; der *E. bûne* hât überdaht, Engelh. 230; der *E. dach, kranz*, Rauch 1, 319; verzieret nû der *E. sal*, Walth. 24, 3; ûz *frou E. kamer* varn, MS. 2, 151^a; der *E. tisch*, Suchenw. 4, 152; der *E. pfliège*, Amgb. 2^a; in der *E. forste*, Gold. schm. 1874, conf. 'in der *Sorgen forste*,' Engelh. 1941; der *E. krône* treit (wears), Roseng. 908; treit der *E. schilt* 914; der *E. zwî* (bough), Hpt 4, 546; er ist der *E. wirt* (host), MS. 2, 59^a; *mantel*, da frou *Ere* hât ir brüste mit bedeket, Amgb. 18^b; *ver Ere*, Wapenmartin 6, 55.

Vrô Minne, MS. 1, 16^a. The girl's question about Minne is in Winsbekin 34, 8; der *Minnen bode*, Partenop. 80-4-6. 101; der *M. kraft*, Ulr. v. Lichtenst. 35, 15; diu *Minne* stiez ûf in ir *krejste rîs* (thrust at him her wand of power), Parz. 290, 30; der *Minnen stricke* (toils), MS. 1, 61^a; *Minne u. Wîsheit*, Flore 3740; *frau M.* presents herself to two maidens as *teacher* of love, with a rod (einem tosten) in her hand, and gives one of them blows, Hätzl. 165; a woman appears as *M.'s stewardess* 159^a. Can Lichtenstein's progress as *queen Venus* be conn. with a mythical custom (p. 259)?—'Vrou Mate (moderation) is ên edel vorstinne,'

Potter 1, 1870; *Máz*, aller tugende vrouwe, Pantal. 120; *Maezicheit* bint ûf die spen (to teach the baby temperance?), Suchenw. xl. 144; *Zuht*, *Máze*, *Bescheidenheit*, Mai 176, 13; *Zucht* u. *Schame* stânt an der porte, u. huotent, Hpt 2, 229; ze hant begreif sie diu *Scham*, Anegenge 17, 31. 18, 22; diu *Riuwe* was sîn frouwe, Parz. 80, 8; der *Riwe tor* 649, 28; diu *Vuoge*, *Füegel* (p. 311 n.). A fairy castle under charge of *Tugent*, its 8 chambers with allegoric names painted by *Scelde*, is descr. in Geo. 5716 seq.

p. 895.] The entire Roman de la Rose is founded on allegories; and in such there often lies a mythic meaning. *Before sunrise on Easter morn*, appears the maid beside the *fountain* mid the flowers, Hätzl. 160^a; the lady that appears is approached but *once in ten years* 143. 376; under a limetree in the wild wood, the *fair lady washes* her hands 143^b; a *dwarf* in the forest leads to the *three Fates*, H. Sachs v. 333^b, or the *wild lady* leads one about 1, 272^{cd}. —In the Trobadors a singing bird allures the poet into a wood, where he finds three maidens chanting a threnody, Diez's Leb. d. troub. p. 145. Frau *Wildecheit* leads the bard by her bridle-rein to a level ground beside a brook, where Dame *Justice*, *Mercy* etc. sit judging, Conr. Klage der kunst; in his Schwanritter, Conrad says *wilde aventure*. A poet snatches up his staff, comes upon a fair flówery field, where he meets the *Minne-queen*, Hagen's Grundriss p. 438, or to a lovely child by a forest-fountain 442. There is a similar description in Helbl. 7, 28: the poet in the morning reaches a wild rocky waste, sees two ladies in white veils, *Joy* and *Chivalry*, *wailing and wringing their hands*; he helps them to their feet when they faint, but now the Duchess of Kärnten is dead, they will go *among men no more*, they live thenceforward in the wild. Again, in Ls. 2, 269: on a green field the poet finds *Dame Honour* fallen to the ground in a faint, also *Manhood* and *Minne*: they lament Count Wernher of Honberg. Or take the Dream of *seven sorrowing dames* in MSH. 3, 171—3: *Fidelity*, *Modesty*, *Courtesy*, *Chastity*, *Bounty*, *Honour* and *Mercy* bewail the Düringer and Henneberger; conf. the 'siben übelen wîbe, *Vrâzheit*, *Unkiusche*, *Grîtekeit*, *Zorn*, *Nît*, *Trâcheit*, *Hoffart*,' Diut. 1, 294—6. The *ladies lamenting* the death of kings and heroes remind us of the *klage-frauen*, *klage-mütter* (p. 432), and the *wood-wives* ill-content with the world (p. 484). At the end of Euripides's Rhesus the *muse* mourns the prince's death;

in Od. 24, 60 the *nine muses* come round the corpse of Achilles, and bewail his end. The lonely tower as the habitation of such beings occurs elsewh. too, as '*turris Alethiae*' in the Archipoeta; conf. '*Mens bona, si qua deus, tu me in sacraria dono,*' Prop. iv. 24, 19.

p. 896.] *Diu Schande* (disgrace) vert al über daz lant, MSH. 3, 448^b; *sô hât diu S.* von ir vlucht, Kolocz. 129; *ver S.*, Renn. 122:31; *swa vrô Ere* wol gevert, daz ist *vrô Schanden* leit, MS. 2, 172; in *S. hol* verklûset 2, 147^b. *Unêre* laden (invite dishonour) in daz hûs, Uebel wîp 815; *Untriuwen* bant, Wigal. 10043; *Unminne*, MS., 1, 102^a; *Ungenâde* (ill-will) hât mich enpfangen ze ingesinde (for inmate) 2, 51^b; *Unbill* (injustice) knocks at the door, Fischart in Vilmar p. 4; *diu Werre* (p. 273 n).—*Wendelmuot* (Suppl. to 273 n.); conf. '*frowe Armuot* (poverty) muose entwîchen, von ir hûse si flôch,' fled, Er. 1578; ez het diu *grôze A.* zuo im *gehûset* in den glet, diu *A.* mit jâmer lît, Wigal. 5691; sît mich diu *A.* alsô jaget, Pass. 352, 89; das uns schon *reit* (rode us) *frau Armut*, H. Sachs i. 5, 523^a; conf. '*reit* mich gross *Ungedult,*' impatience 524^c; *frau Elend*, Hätzl. 157-8 (there is a Fr. chapbook about *bonhomme Misère*). *Missewende* von ir sprach, daz ir teil dâ niht en-waere, MS. 1, 84^a; *Missewende* diu im niht genâhen mac 1, 85^a. *Wê*, wer wil nu *Sorgen* walten? diu was mîn sinde (housemate) nu vil manegen tac 1, 163^b.

p. 898.] *Φήμη θεός*, Hes. Op. 761-2; *Φάμα* carries rumours to Zeus's throne, Theocr. 7, 93. There is a Lat. phrase: scit *Fama*, scit cura deûm, Forcell. sub v. scio. *Famaque nigrantes succincta pavoribus alus*, Claud. B. Get. 201; *volat fama Caesaris velut velox equus*, Archipo. ix. 30, 1. Rumour is to the Indian the song of a *by-flown bird*, Klemm 2, 132; a species of *Angang* therefore (p. 1128). Another phrase is: *fama emanavit*, Cic. Verr. ii. 1, 1; *manat tota urbe rumor*, Livy 2, 49. So in German: daz *maere* wît *erbrach*, Pass. 285, 20. 71, 41; daz *m.* was *erschollen*, Mai 228, 22. Lanz. 9195; von dem uns disiu *m.* *erschellent* (these rumours ring), Ecke 18; daz *m.* *erschalt* in diu lant überal, ez en-wart niht alsô *begruben*, Kolocz. 85; daz *m.* *ûz schal* (rang out), *ûz quam*, Herb. 14372-4; dese *mare ute schôt*, Maerl. 2, 203. 3, 340; also die *mare* dus (abroad) *ût sprang*, Hpt 1, 108; daz *maere* *breite* sich (spread), Herb. 502. 1320. 17037, or:

wart *breit* 2460. 13708; daz *m. nû wîten* began, Türl. Wh. 28^a; die *mare ghinc* harentare, Maerl. 3, 190. Kästn. 2, 1768; daz *maere wîten kreis* (circulated), Servat. 1856; die *niemare liep* (ran), Walewein 9513. 11067. Lanc. 35489; *nymare lópt*, Lanc. 26165; doe *liep* die *niemare* dor al dit lant 25380. 47053; die *mare liep* verre ende sere, Maerl. 3, 193; es komen neue maer *gerant*, Wolkenst. 63; daz *m. wîten umme trat*, sich *umme truoc*, Pass. 221, 93. 169, 32.—In the same way: *word is gone*, Minstr. 3, 92; *sprang þæt word*, Homil. 384; dat *word lep*, Detm. 2, 348. 358. 392, dat *ruchte lep*. 2, 378. 391. We say the rumour goes, is noised. Viel schiere *vlouc* (quickly flew) daz *maere*, Ksrchr. 957. 8415; *sîn m. vlouc wîten* in diu lant, Pass. 204, 24; von ir *vlouc* ein *m.*, Trist. 7292; daz *m. vlouc* dahin, Troj. 13389; schiere *vlouc* ein *m. erschollen*, Türl. Krone 68; dô *fluoc* daz *m.* über mer, Herb. 13704; harte snel u. balt *fluoc* daz *m.* ze Rôme, Pilat. 398; diu starken *m. wîten vlugen*, Servat. 459; diu *m.* vor in heim *flugen*, 2393; dô *flugen* diu *m.* von hûse ze hûse, Wigal. 34, 3. So: der *scal* (sound) *fluoc* in diu lant, Rol. 215, 7; des *vlouc sîn lop* (praise) über velt, Hpt 6, 497; daz *wort* von uns *flinget* über lant, Herzmaere 169; ON. *sû frequ flýgr*. More striking is the phrase: diu *maere* man dô *vuorte* (led) in ander kûnege lant, Nib. 28, 3. Instead of *maere*: *frou Melde*, Frauend. 47, 29. Ksrchr. 17524; *Melde* kumt, diu selten ie gelac (lay still), MS. 2, 167^a; *M.*, diu nie gelac, MSH. 1, 166^a; *M.*, de noch nie en-lac, Karln. 159, 43; drî jâr sô lac diu *M.*, Tit. 824; vermârt in *M.*, Lanz. 3346; *M.* brach aus, Schweini. 2, 262. Der wilde *liumet* was vür geflogen, Troj. 24664; nu *fluoc* dirre *liumt* gelîche über al daz kûnecrîche, Walth. v. Rh. 136, 43. *Rumor* = *maere*, Rudl. 1, 128. 2, 80. 121. 173; *Rumour* speaks the Prol. to 2 King Henry IV. Lastly: ‘*quidi* managa bigunnun *wahsan*’ reminds one of the growth of *maere*.

CHAPTER XXX.

POETRY.

p. 900.] On the connexion of the idea of *composing* with those of *weaving*, *spinning*, *stringing*, *binding*, *tacking*, see my Kl. schr. 3, 128-9.¹ The poet was called a *smith*, *songsmith*; in

¹ *Deilen* unde *snoren*, Sassenchr. p. 3; die leier *schnüren* (to string) in Spee 299.

Rigveda 94, 1: huncce hymnum Agni venerabili, *currum velut tuber*, paramus mente, Bopp's Gl. 260^b.—With *scuof*, *scóp*, *poëta*, conf. OHG. *scoph-sane*, *poësis*, Graff 6, 253; *schopfpûch* (-book), Karaj. 86, 6; in den *schopf-buochen*, Ernst 103; conf. Lachm. on Singing p. 12; *marrêr scopf* Israhel, egregius psaltes Isr., Dint. 1, 512^a.—With ON. *skâld-skapr* should be mentioned an OHG. *scaldo*, sacer, Graff 6, 484; conf. Gramm. 2, 997. Holtzm. Nib. 170. The Neth. *schouden* is M. Neth. *scouden*.—With the Romance terminology agrees 'poësis=*findinge*,' Dint. 2, 227^b; *daz vand* er (indited), Helmb. 959; *die vinden* *conste*, *ende maken vërse*, Franc. 1919; *de makere*, *die de rime vant* (invented) 1943; *er vant* *dise rede*, Mone '39, p. 53.—AS. *gidða*, *poëta*, can be traced in other Aryan tongues: Ssk. *gad*, *dicere*, *loqui*, *gai*, *canere*, *gatha*, *gîta*, *cantus*; Lith. *giedôti*, *sing*, *gîesme*, *song*, Lett. *dzeedaht*, *dzeesma*; Slav. *gudû*, *cano fidibus*, *gûsli*, *psaltery*, Dobrowsky p. 102.—On the Celtic *bard*, see Diefenb. Celt. 1, 187; *bardi*, *vates druidae*, Strabo p. 197; Bret. *bardal*, *nightingale*. Ir. *searthon*, *chief bard*.

p. 901.] On the effects of song we read: *þær wæs hæleda dreám*, Beow. 987; *huop ein liet an*, n. *wart fró*, Hartm. 2, büchl. 554; *einen frölich geigen* (fiddle him into mirth), Wigal. p. 312, conf. 332. We often meet with AS. 'giedd *wrecan*,' Cod. Exon. 441, 18; *sôð gied wrecan* 306, 2. 314, 17; *þæt gyd áwræc* 316 20; *þe þis gied wræce* 285, 25; conf. *vroude wecken*, Türl. Wh. 116^b.

p. 905.] The poet or prophet is *νυμφόληπτος*, seized by the nymphs (muses), Lat. *lymphatus*. He is *god-málugr*, *god-inspired*, Sæm. 57^b; *Gylfi gaf einni farandi konu at launum skemtúnar sinnar*. . . . *en sú kona var ein af Asa aett*; *hon er nefnd Gefjun*, Sn. 1. *Gandharva* is a name for the musical spirits who live in Indra's heaven, Bopp 100^b. God sends three angels into the world as *musicians*; and *angel-fiddlers* were a favourite subject in pictures. We have the phrase: 'der himmel hängt voll geigen.'

Kvâsir = *anhelitus creber*, Sn. 69; see Biörn sub v. *qvâsir*.

Inditing is also expr. by *fügen* (to mortise), *richten* (righten), Hpt 6, 497; *richtere*, Roth. 4853 and concl.; *berichten*, Freid. 1, 3; *eines mezzen*, Dietr. 190; *wirken*, Herb. 641; *daz liet ich anhefte* (tack on) *uf dine gnâde volle*, Mar. 148, 5; *der diz maere anschreip* (jotted down), Bit. 2006. The M. Neth. *ontbinden* = *translate*, Maerl. 3, 73, 48; in *dietsce wort ontb.* 352; in *dietsch onbende* 228; in *dietsche ontb.*, Rose 29. Walew. 6; conf. AS. *onband beado-rûne*, Beow. 996.

Oðin's *spittle* makes beer ferment (p. 1025 n.); '*spittle* that speaks *drops of blood*,' KM. no. 56, note. Lisch in Meckl. jrb. 5, 82; a door, when *spat upon*, answers, Müllenh. p. 399, conf. *jugls hráki* (p. 682 beg.). On 'blood and snow,' see Dybeck '45, p. 69: som *blod* på *snö*. The entire Mid. Age had a story running in its head, with a playful turn to it, about a child made of snow or ice. The 10th cent. already had its 'modus *Liebine*'; an O. Fr. poem of the same import is in Méon 3, 215, a MHG. in Ls. 3, 513 and Hpt 7, 377; in Scherz u. Ernst c. 251 (1550, 183) the child is called *eis-schmarre*, scrap of ice, conf. Burc. Waldis 4, 71 and Weise's Erznarren p. 23. Franciscus makes himself a wife and child of snow, Pfeiffer's Myst. 1, 215. Whoever drank of the *dýri miöðr* (precious mead), the honey mixt with Kvásir's blood, became a *skáld*: thus the poet prays for a single *tráhen* (tear) out of the Camênæ's *fountain*, Trist. 123, 38.

Oðinn gains Oðhroerir fr. Suttúng, who then pursues him; so Wäinämöinen, after winning Sampo, was chased by Louhi in eagle's shape (p. 873). Oðinn himself says in Hávamâl 23^b: 'Oðhroerir er nu uppkominn á alda ves iarðar,' and in 24^a it is said of him: '*Suttúng* svikinn hann lét *sumbli frá*, ok graetta Gunnlöðu. Other names for the drink: *Yggs full*, Egilss. 656; *Ygqjar miöðr* 657; *Viðris full* 665; *Viðris þýfi* 608. With *arnar leir* (eagle's dung) conf. *leir-skáld*, muck-poet, Dan. *skarns-poet*, Olafsen's Prize essay p. 5. Like the mead, Player Jack's soul is distrib. among gamesters.

Like *wóð-bora* is *sóð-bora*, also vates. The *d* in Goth. *veitvóds*, testis, seems to exclude it, yet *d* and *þ* are sometimes confounded. F. Magnusen transl. *Oðhroeri ingenii excitator*; Biörn makes *hræri obturaculum lebetis*. On the relation of Oðr to Oðinn, see Suppl. to 306.

Oðinn bestows the gift of poesy on Starkaðr. '*Apes Platonis infantuli mel labiis inferebant*,' John of Salisb. de Nug. cur. 1, 13. When St. Ambrose lay in his cradle, a *swarm of bees* settled on his *mouth*. The Muse drops *nectar* into the shepherd Komatas's mouth, and *bees* bring *juice of flowers* to it, Theocr. 7, 60—89. Whom the Muses *look upon* at birth, he hath power of pleasant speech, Hes. Theog. 81—84. The gods *breathe upon* the poet, Ov. Met. 1, 2-3-4.

p. 906.] To Hesiod *tending lambs*, the Muses hand a spray of laurel, and with it the gift of song, Theog. 22—30. In Lucian's Rhet. praec. 4 he being a *shepherd* plucks leaves on Helicon, and there and then becomes a *poet*. The muses come at early morn :

Mirabar, quidnam misissent *mane Camenae*,
ante meum stantes sole rubente torum ;
natalis nostrae signum misere puellae,
et manibus faustos ter crepuere sonos. Prop. iv. 9, 1.

Conf. the story of the Kalmuk poet, Klemm 3, 209. 210, and *poor shepherds'* visions of churches to be built (Suppl. to 86). GDS. 821.

p. 908.] The first lay in Kanteletar relates the invention of the five-stringed harp (*kantelo*) of the Finns. Kalev. 29 describes how Wäinämöinen makes a harp of various materials. Kullervo fashions a horn of cow's bone, a pipe of bull's horn, a flute of calves' foot, Kal. Castr. 2, 58. When Wäinämöinen plays, the birds come flying in heaps, Kalev. 29, 217, the eagle forgets the young in her nest 221. When Wipunen sings, the *sun* stops to hear him, the *moon* to listen, *Charles's wain* to gather wisdom, *wave* and *billow* and *tide* stand still, Kalev. 10, 449—457 ; conf. Petersb. extr. p. 11. In the Germ. folksong the *water* stops, to list the tale of love, Uhl. 1, 223-4.

Den ene begyndte en vise at qvæde,
saa faart over alle qvinder,
striden ström den stiltes derved,
som förre vor vant at rinde. D V. 1, 235.

A song makes tables and benches *dance*, Fornald. sög. 3, 222. KM. no. 111. Sv. fornvis. 1, 73. Stolts Karin with her singing makes men *sleep* or *wake*, Sv. vis. 1, 389 or *dance* 394-6. For the power of song over birds and beasts, see DV. 1, 232. Sv. vis. 1, 33. On Orpheus, see Hor. Od. i. 12, 7 seq. ; conf. the Span. romance of Conde *Arnaldos*.

p. 909.] Poets assemble on *hills* (as men did for sacrifice or magic), e.g. on the Wartburg : an *puî*, où on corone les bians dis, Conron. Renart 1676. Does the poet wear garlands and flowers, because he was orig. a god's friend, a priest ? The jeux floraux offer *flowers* as *prizes for song* : violeta, aiglantina, flor

dal gauch (solsequium). The rederijkers too name their rooms after *flowers*; is it a relic of druidic, bardic usage?

p. 911.] The ON. *Saga* reminds one of the Gr. *Φήμη*, of whom Hes. Opp. 762 declares: *θεὸς γὰρ τίς ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτή*. She converses with Oðinn, as *Φάμα* conveys rumours to Zeus (Suppl. to 898 beg.). *Musa* is rendered *sängerin*, Barl. 252, 7; 'ladete musas, daz wâren *sengêren* (rhy. eren),' Herb. 17865; but again, 'musé' 17876.—*Aventure* answers to *bona fortuna* (bonne aventure), *bona dea*, *bonus eventus*, Pliny 36, 5. Varro RR. 1, 1; *vrouwe Aventure*, Lanc. 18838; in the Rose the *goddess Aventure*=*Fortuna* 5634, who has a wheel 3933. 4719. 5629. 5864; *t' hûs der Aventure* 5786. 5810-39; *jonste de Avonture*, Stoke 1, 39; *maer d' Aventure* was hem *gram*, Maerl. 3, 134; *den stouten es hout d' Aventure* 2, 46, like 'audaces fortuna juvat'; also di die Av. es *hout* 2, 93; *der Aventure* *vrient*, *ibid.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

SPECTRES.

p. 913.] In Mone 6, 467 men are divided into living, *hovering*, *doubtful* and dead. Souls that cannot find rest in Hades and returning wander about the grave, are mentioned in Plato's *Phædo* p. 81. The dead were worshipped: *sanctos sibi fingunt quoslibet mortuos*, Concil. Liptin. Feasts were held in honour of them, as the Pers. *ferver-feast*, Benfey's Monats-n. 151, the Russ. corpse and soul feasts, Lasicz 58. Souls were prayed for, Benf. Mon. 168-9, conf. soul-masses, Nib. 1221, 2.—To near (not to remote) ancestors the Indians offered up *food* and *drink*, Bopp's Gl. p. 143^b n. 198^a. 79^b; conf. Weber on Malavik 103. One of these sacrifices was *udaka-karman*, water-libation for the dead, Böhtl. and Roth's Wtb. 1, 908; so *χοὴν χεῖσθαι πᾶσι νεκύεσσι*, viz. meal, wine and water were poured into a hole, Od. 10, 517—520. 11, 25—29. The souls eagerly *drink up* the *blood* of victims, which restores them to their senses, Od. 11, 50. 89. 96-8. 148. 153. 228. 390. The shades live on these libations, Luc. de luctu 9. The Lith. *wêles* fem. means the figures of the dead, Mielcke 1, 321; to the Samogitian goddess *Vielona* a particular kind of

cake was offered: cum mortui pascuntur, Lasicz 48. 50. *Food and drink* is laid on the grave for the souls, Pass. 166, 84—93.

On *manes*, *Mania*, see Gerh. Etr. g. 16; 'in sede Manium' = in the bosom of the earth, Pliny 33, 1. On *lares*, see Lessing 8, 251; *domesticus lar*, *hamingia*, Saxo Gram. 74.

p. 915.] *Geheuer*, not haunted, is also expr. by *dicht*, tight, Sup. I, 768: nu bin ich *ungehiure*, Wigal. 5831; I asked mine host, was he sure no *ungeheuer* walked the stable, Simplic. K. 1028; it is *unclean* in that house, Nürnberger 11. In Notker 'manes' is transl. by *unholdou*, in AS. by *hell-waran* (*habitantes tartarum*).

Spuken (haunt, be haunted) is also called *wafeln*, Kosegarten in Höfer 1, 377; AS. *wajian*, ON. *vufra*, *vofra*, *vofu*, MHG. *waberen*. ON. *vofu* = spectrum; AS. *wæfer-syne*, OHG. *wabarsioni* = spectaculum, Graff 6, 129. Kl. schr. 5, 437. The dead lie '*heilir i haugi*,' at peace in the cairn, Hervar. p. 442; svâ lâti âss þik (God leave thee) *heilan i haugi* 437. They appear in churches at *night* or in the *dawn*, and perform services, wedding, burial, etc.; the sight betokens an approaching death. Dietmar (Pertz 5, 737-8) gives several such stories with the remark: ut dies vivis, sic nox est concessa defunctis; conf. the story in Altd. bl. 1, 160, a Norweg. tale in Asbiörnscn's Huldre-ev. 1, 122 and Schelling's Last words of the vicar of Drottning. As Wolfdietrich lies *on the bier at night*, the ghosts of all whom he has killed come and fight him, Wolfd. 2328—34; conf. Ecke 23 (differ. told in Dresd. Wolfd. 327—330); also the tale of the *ruined church* with the coffin, Altd. bl. 1, 158. KM.² no. 4. In the Irrgarten der Liebe the cavalier sees at last the ghosts of all his lovers, p. 610. Such apparitions are said to announce themselves, *sich melden*, *anmelden*, Schm. 2, 570. Schönleithner 16. Conf. Dict. sub. v. 'sich unzeigen.'

p. 915.] To ON. *aptra-gânga* add *aptr-göngr*, reditus, Eyrb. 174. 314; *gonger*, Müllenh. p. 183. For 'es geht um' they say in Bavaria '*es weizt dort*,' Panz. Beitr. 1, 98. Schm. 4, 205-6; in Hesse '*es wandert*,' in the Wetterau '*es wannert*,' conf. *wanken*, Reineke 934; Neth. *waren*, *rondwaren*, conf. 'in that room it won't let you rest,' Bange's Thür. chron. 27^b. The ON. *draugr* is unconn. with Zend. *drucs*, daemon, Bopp's Comp. Gr. p. 46.

p. 916.] Instead of *talamasca*, we also find the simple *dalu*,

larva, monstrum, Graff 5, 397; *talmasche*, De Klerk 2, 3474. The Finn. *talma* (limus), *talmasca* (mucedo in lingua), has only an accid. resembl. in sound. AS. *dwimeru*, spectra, lemures, larvae nocturnae, *gedwimor*, praestigiator, *gedwomeres*, nebulonis, *gedwomere*, necromantia, Hpt 9, 514-5. The MHG. *getwás* agrees (better than with Lith. *dwase*) with AS. *dwaes*, stultus, for *getwás* means stultus too, Eilh. Trist. 7144. 7200. 7300. An ON. *skráveifa*, fr. *veifa*, vapor, and *skrá* obliquus? *Vampires* are dead men come back, who *suck blood*, as the Erinnyes suck the *blood of corpses*, Aesch. Eum. 174 [or the ghosts in the Odyssey]; conf. the story of the brown man, Ir. mǎrch. 2, 15.

p. 918.] The Insel Felsenb. 3, 232 says of *will o' wisps*: 'from the *God's acre* rise yon flames, the *dead* call me to join their rest, they long for my company.' ON. *hræ-lios*, corpse-light, *hrævar-lios*, *hrævar-eld*. *Vafr-logi*, flickering flame, is seen about graves and treasures in graves (pp. 602. 971); conf. Sigurd's and Skirni's 'marr, er mic um *myrquan* beri *vísun vafrloga*,' Sæm. 82^a.—Wandering lights are called 'das *irreding*' = ghost, Schelmufsky 1, 151; der *feuer-mann*, Pomer. story in Balt. stud. xi. 1, 74; *brünniger mann*, Stald. 1, 235; *laufende fackel*, Etn. Unw. doctor p. 747. AS. *dwás-liht*. M. Neth. *dwaes-fier*, Verwijs p. 15; *lochter-mane*, Müllenh. p. 246. Wend. *bludnik*, Wend. volksl. 2, 266^b; Lith. *baltwykszlé*, Lett. *leeks uguns*, false fire; Lapp. *tjolonjes*, Lindahl 475^b; conf. KM.³ 3, 196.—On *girregar*, conf. Beham (Vienna) 377, 21; 'einen *girren-garren* enbor-richten, einen teuflischen schragen mit langem kragen,' Hag. Ges. Ab. 3, 82. The kobold's name *Iskrzyeki* is fr. Sl. *iskra*, spark; and in Hpt 4, 394 the *lächtemännchen* behave just like kobolds. In the Wetterau *feurig gehn* means, to be a will o' wisp.

Unbaptized children are cast into the *fire*, Anegenge 2, 13. 11, '5. 12, 12; they go to *Nobis-kratten*, Stald. 2, 240; they shall not be buried in the holy isle (p. 600 n.); vile si dâ vunden *lûterlicher kinde* vor der helle an einem ende, dâ die muder wâren mite tôt, En. 99, 12, whereas '*osten* (ab oriente) schulen diu *westir-barn* in daz himilrîche varn,' Karaj. 28, 12. Unchristened babes become *pilweisse* (p. 475), as untimely births become *elbe* (p. 1073); the unbaptized become white *létiches*, Bosquet 214, or *kaukas*, Nesselm. 187^b.

p. 920.] The Lat. *furia* is fr. *furere*, OHG. *purjan*, Diet. 2, 534; it is rendered *helliwinna*, Graff 1, 881; *hell-wüeterin*, Schade's Pasq. 100, 9. 103, 25. 117, 79 with evident reference to *Wuotan* and *wüten* to rage. Uns ist der tiuvel nâhen bî, oder *daz wüetende her*, Maurit. 1559; erst hub sich ein scharnnutzeln (arose a scrimmage), wie in eim *wilden heer*, Ambras. lied. p. 151. Uhl. 1, 657. Other names for the Wild Host: die *wilde fahrt*, Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 292-3; in Styria, das *wilde gjoaid* (hunt) 2, 32-3; in Bavaria, das *gjoaid, wilde gjoaid*, Panzer 1, 9. 16. 29. 37. 63. 85. 133; in Vorarlberg, das *nacht-volk* or *wüethas*, Vonbun p. 83; der *wilde jäger mit dem wüthis heer*, Gotthelf's Erz. 1, 221; in the Eifel, *Wudes* or *Wodes heer*, Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 316. Firmen. 3, 244^b; *joejagd, jöjagd*, Osnabr. mitth. 3, 238—240.

p. 924.] Als im der *tiuvel jayete nâch*, Livl. reimchr. 7274. The devil is called a *weideman*, hunter, Merwund. 2, 22, and in return the wild-hunter in the Altmark is a *hell-jeger*, Hpt 4, 391. 'Hark, the *wild hunter*, passing right over us! The hounds bark, the whips crack, the huntsmen cry holla ho!' Goethe's Götz v. B. 8, 149, conf. 42, 175. Fischart in Lob der laute p. 100 had already made an adj. of the hunter's name: *Heckelbergisch* geschrei, büffen u. blasen des jägerhorns; conf. supra (p. 924, l. 2) and *Hachelberg* in the Rheinharts-wald, Landau's Jagd p. 190.—Another version of the *Hackelberg* legend is given by Kuhn in Hpt's Ztschr. 5, 379; conf. supra (p. 146-7). Can this be alluded to in a stone sculpture let into the wall of Diesdorf church (Magdeburg country), representing a man whose left leg is appar. being wounded by a sow? Thüring. mitth. vi. 2, 13 and plate 7 no. 5. Somewhat different is the story of the one-eyed wild-sow, whose head laid on the dish gives the master of the hunt a mortal wound, Winkler's Edelm. 371. The whole myth resembles that of Adonis, and the Irish story of *Diarmuid na mban* p. 193. H. D. Müller (Myth. der Gr. stämme ii. 1, 113) compares it to that of Actæon.—*Dreaming of the boar*, Rudl. 16, 90. Waltharius 623; a boar wounds the Sun in her cave, Rudbeck quoted in Tenzel and Mannling p. 205. *Hackelberg* must hunt for ever: alhie der lîb, diu *sêle* dort sol *jagen* mit *Harren* (his hound) êwîclîchen, Laber 568. Of him who hunts till the Judgment-day, Firmenich 1, 344. Müllenh. p. 584. In a Westph. folktale picked up orally by Kuhu, giants call to

Hackelberg for help, he raises a storm, and removes a mill into the *Milky-way*, which after that is called the *Mill-way*. In Catalonia they speak of 'el viento del cazador,' Wolf's Ztschr. 4, 191. In Frommann 3, 271 *Holla* and *Hackelbernd* are associated in the wild hunt, unless Waldbrühl stole the names out of the Mythology; in 3, 273 a 'Geckenbehrnden' of Cologne is brought in. *Tut-ose* is fr. *tuten*, bo-äre, Diut. 2, 203^b; τυτώ ή γλαύξ, a sono tu tu, Lobeck's Rhemat. 320.

p. 927.] The wild hunter rides through the air on a *schimmel*, white horse, Somm. p. 7; conf. *schimmel-reiter* p. 160. *Filling a boot with gold* occurs also in a Hessian märchen, Hess. Ztschr. 4, 117, conf. Garg. 241^a; *shoes* are filled with gold, Roth. 21^b; a shoe-full of money, Panzer p. 13.

The wild hunter is called *Goi*, Kuhn's Westf. sag. 1, 8, and the *dürst* in Switz. is sometimes *gäuthier*, Stald. 2, 517; do they stand for *Goden*? Dame Gauden's *carriage* and *dog* resemble the Nethl. tale of the hound by the hell-car, Wolf p. 527.

p. 930.] A man went and stood under a tree in the wood through which the *wild hunter* rode. One of the party in passing dealt him a blow in the back with his axe, saying, 'I will *plant my axe* in this tree;' and fr. that time the man had a hump. He waited till a year had passed, then went and stood under the tree again. The same person stepped out of the procession, and said, 'Now I'll take my axe out of the tree;' and the man was rid of his hump, Kuhn's Nordd. sag. no. 69; conf. *Berhta's blowing* (p. 276-7), a witch-story in Somm. p. 56. Schambach pp. 179. 359. Vonbun p. 29 the *schnärzerli* (36 in ed. 2). Wolf's D. sag. no. 348-9. Panzer 1, 17. 63.

In the Fichtel-gebirge the *wild hunter* rides *without a head*, Fromm. 2, 554; so does the *wölen-jäger*, *jolen-jäger*, Osnab. mitth. 3, 238—240; also the *wild h.* in the Wetterau, Firmen. 2, 101; he walks headless in the wood betw. 11 and 12 at noon, Somm. p. 7; the wild h. halts at one place to feed horses and hounds, p. 9. In Tirol he chases the *Salg-fräulein*, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 60. 35; he baits the *loh-jungfer*, Somm. pp. 7. 167; so giant *Fasolt* hunts the *little wild woman*, Eckenl. 167. 173.

p. 931.] Houses with their *front and back doors* exactly opposite are *exposed* to the passage of the *Furious Host* (Meiningen), Hpt 3, 366; conf. the open house-door (p. 926-7), the

sitting over the door (p. 945 end). The *hell-jäger's* cry 'Wil ji mit jagen (hunt with us)?' is also French: '*part en la chasse!*' Bosq. 69. The story fr. W. Preussen is like a Samland one in Reusch no. 70.

In Swabia the wild hunt is also called the *mutige heer*, Schwab's Schwäb. Alp p. 312. Leader of the *Muthes-heer* is Linkenbold, who in the Harz is called *Leinbold*, *ibid.*; there is a *Linkenbolds-löchle* (-hole) there. However, in a Swabian poem of 1486 beginning 'Got mercurius,' the wild hunt is called 'das wilde wütiss-her.' A frau *Motte* roams in Thuringia.

At Ottobeuern *lovely music* used to be heard at Christmas time. If any one put his head out of window to listen, and to view the march of *Wucte*, his head swelled to such a size that he could not pull it in again. The full *delicious enjoyment* was had by those who kept snugly behind closed doors. The procession passed along the fron-weg up the Guggenberg, or into the devil's hole at the Buschel, where a treasure lies guarded by the poodle. On this *delicious music* of the night-folk, see Vonbun p. 35.

p. 933.] *Unchristened infants* are the same as the subterraneans and moss-folk, whom Wode pursues and catches, *conf.* p. 483 and Müllenh. p. 373. The child's exclamation, 'Oh how warm are a mother's hands!' is like those of the gipsy-woman's child, 'There's nothing so soft as a mother's lap' and 'there's nothing so sweet as a mother's love,' Müllenh. no. 331; Lith. *motinós rankos szwelnos*, mother's hands soft, Mielcke 1, 284. Kraszewski's Litva 1, 389. In Germ. fairy-tales the dead mother comes in the night to nurse her children, KM.³ 3, 21; *conf.* Melusine, Simr. p. 80. Müllenh. no. 195-6-7; *hvert fell blóðugt á briost gramí*, Sæm: 167^b; a similar passage in Laxd. saga p. 328.

The wild host, like the dwarfs, get *ferried over*; the last that lags behind is girded with a rope of straw, Panz. 1, 164.

p. 935.] De la *danza aérea* á que están condenadas las *Herodiadas* por la muerte del bautista, Wolf's Ztschr. 4, 191. In Wallachia *Dina* (Zina) = Diana with a large following hunts in the clouds, and you see where she has danced on the grass; she can strike one lame, deaf or blind, and is esp. powerful at Whitsuntide, Wal. märch. 296.

p. 936.] An *Eckehart* occurs also in Dietr. 9791. On the

Venusberg, see Simr. Amelungen-l. 2, 315. We find even in Altswert 82: dirre berc was fro *Venus*, conf. 80, 9. 83, 7. H. Sachs has *Venusberg* iii. 3, 3^b (yr 1517). 6^b (1518). 18^b (1550). A witch-trial of 1620 says: auf *Venesberg* oder *Paradies* faren, Mone 7, 426. There is a *Venusbg* by Reichmannsdorf in Grä-fenthal distr. (Meiningen), near Saalfeld. A M.Neth. poem by Limb. 3, 1250. 1316 says Venus dwells in the *forest*. The earliest descript. of the *Horselberg* is by Eoban Hessus in Bucol. idyl. 5, at the beginn. of the 16th cent. :

Aspicis aërio sublatum vertice montem,
 qua levis occidui deflectitur aura Favoni,
Horrisonum Latio vicinus nomine dicit (by a Latin name),
 qui Nessum bibit undosum Verarimque propinquum.
 Isthoc ante duas messes cum saepe venirem,
 ignarus nemorum vidi discurrere *larvas*
 saxa per et montes, tanquam nocturna vagantes
 terriculamenta, et pueros terrere paventes,
 quas *lamias* dicunt quibus est *exemptile lumen*,
 quas *vigiles* aiunt *extra sua limina lynceas*
 esse, *domi talpas*, nec quenquam cernere nec se. •

Conf. Victor Perillus's poem on the *Hörselberg*, yr 1592 (Jrb. d. Berl. spr. ges. 2, 352-8); it is called *Haselberg* and *Hörselbg* in Bange's Thür. chron. 1599, p. 57-8. Songs about *Tanhäuser* in Uhl. no. 297, and Mone's Anz. 5, 169—174; a lay of *Danhäuser* is mentioned by Fel. Faber 3, 221.

p. 937.] At the death of our Henry 6, *Dietrich von Bern* appears on horseback, rides through the Mosel, and disappears, HS. p. 49. In the Wend. volksl. 2, 267^b the wild hunter is called *Dyter-bernat*, *Dyter-benada*, *Dyke-bernak*, *Dyke-ljudnat*. In one story 2, 185 he is like the Theodericus Veronensis whom the devil carries off. *Diter Bernhard* in Dasent's Theophilus 80; *brand-adern* (barren streaks) on the plains are called by the Wends *Dyter-bernatowy puć*, D.'s path. Yet, acc. to Panzer 1, 67 it is a *fruitful season* when the wilde gjai has been; and where the Rodensteiner has passed, the *corn stands higher*, Wolf p. 20. The wild host goes clean *through the barn*, Panz. 1, 133.

p. 939.] As early as the First Crusade (1096) it was asserted that *Carl* had woke up again: Karolus resuscitatus, Pertz 8,

215; conf. the kaiser in the Guckenbergr near Gemünd, Bader no. 434, and the Karlsberg at Nürnberg, no. 481.

p. 940.] On *Schnellerts*, see Panzer 1, 194 and the *everlasting hunter of Winendael*, Kunst en letterblad '41, p. 68. Reiffenb. Renseign. 214. The setting-out of a *carriage with three wheels* and a *long-nosed driver* is descr. in the story of the monks crossing the Rhine at Spire, Meland. 1, no. 664 (p. 832). *Copiae equestres* are seen near Worms in 1098, Meland. 2, no. 59; battalions sweeping through the air in 1096, Pertz 8, 214; conf. Dionys. Halic. 10, 2; higher up in the clouds, two great armies marching, H. Sachs iii. 1, 227^a.

p. 943.] Something like Herne the Hunter is *Horne the Hunter*, otherwise called *Harry-ca-nab*, who with the devil hunts the boar near Bromsgrove, Worcest. (Athenæum). The story of the *Wunderer* chasing Frau Saelde is in Keller's Erz. p. 6; conf. Fastn. sp. 547. Schimpf u. ernst (1522) 229. (1550) 268.

p. 946.] Where Oden's lake (Ou-sjö) now lies, a stately mansion stood (herre-gård), whose lord one *Sunday went a hunting* with his hounds, having provided himself with wine out of the church, to load his gun with, and be the surer of hitting. At the first shot his mansion sank out of sight, Runa '44, 33. Here the huntsman is evid. *Oden* himself.—Among the train of *Guro rysserova* (= Gudron the horse-tailed, Landstad pp. 121. 131-2) is Sigurd Snaresvend riding his Grani (Faye 62). The members of the troop go and sit over the door: the like is told of devils, who lie down *in front of lit-hiuser* where drinking, gaming, murdering goes on, Berthold p. 357; and of the Devil, who sits during the dance, H. Sachs 1, 342^{ab}; 'setz nur die seel auft überthür' iii. 1, 261; sein seel setz er uff über thür, lats mit dem teufel beissen, Simpl. pilgram 3, 85.—Northern names for the spectral procession are: *oskareia*, *hauskualreia*, *juleskreia*, *skreia*, Asb. og Moe in the Univ. annaler pp. 7. 41-2; *julaskrei'i*, *julaskreid'i*, *oskerei*, *oskorrei*, *aalgarei*, *jolareia*, Aasen's Prøver 27-8. 31; conf. Thorsreið (p. 166) and *husprei*, *hesprei*, thunder. Lapp. *julheer*, Klemm 3, 90.

p. 949 n.] The very same is told of *Örvarodd* as of Oleg, Fornald. s. 2, 168-9. 300; conf. a Transylv. tale in Haltrich's Progr. p. 73.

p. 950.] On Holda's sameness with Fricka, see Kl. schr. 5,

416 seq. The Gauls too sacrificed to *Artemis*, Arrian de Venat. c. 23. 32. *Hecate* triviorum praeses, Athen. 3, 196; men took a sop with them for fear of the *cross-roads* 2, 83, for *Hecate's* hounds 7, 499; *Ἐκάτης δειπνον* means the bread laid down where three roads met, Luc. Dial. mort. 1 and 22 (note on Lucian 2, 397); feros *Hecatæ* perdomuisse *canes*, Tibull. i. 2, 54.

p. 950.] The appalling guise of the *Harii* (GDS. 714) recalls our death's-head cavaliers. At the outset of the Thirty-years War there were Bavarian troopers called Invincibles, with black horses, black clothing, and on their black helmets a white death's-head; their leader was Kronberger, and fortune favoured them till Swedish Baner met them in Mecklenburg, March 1631. Frederick the Great had a regiment of Death's-head Hussars. In recent times we have had Lützow's Volunteers, the Black Jägers, the Brunswick Hussars. Does a coat-of-arms with a death's-head occur in the days of chivalry? We read in Wigal. 80, 14: an *sînem schilde* was der *Tôt gemâlt vil grûsenliche* (Suppl. to 850). Remember too the terror-striking name of the legio fulminatrix, *κεραυνοβόλος*. Secret societies use the symbol of a death's-head; apothecaries mark their poison-boxes with the same.

CHAPTER XXXII.

TRANSLATION.

p. 952.] *Verwünschen* is also *exsecrari*, *abominari*. OS. *farwâtan*, *devovere*, OHG. *farwâzan*, *withar-huâzan*, *recusare*, Graff 1, 1087. As *abominari* comes fr. *omen*, so *far-huâtan* fr. *hvât*, *omen* (Suppl. to 1105 n.). Beside the Fr. *souhait* (which Génin Récr. 1, 201 would derive fr. *sonhait*, as *couvent* fr. *convent*, etc.) we have also *ahait* in Thib. de N., and the simple *hait*=*luck*, *wish*. For its root, instead of OHG. *heiz*, ON. *heit*, we might take the Bret. *het*, Gael. *aiteas*=*pleasure*. De *sohait*, de *dehait*, Guitecl. 1, 169.

Disappearing (*verschwinden*) and *appearing again* are *ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι* and *φανερὸν γενέσθαι*, Plato's Rep. 360. Frequent is the phrase 'to vanish under one's hand'; conf. the clapping of hands in cases of enchantment (p. 1026): *thaz thu hiar irwunti*

mir *untar theru henti*, O. i. 22, 44; *verswant* den luten *under den handen*, Griesh. Sprachd. 26 [Late examples omitted]; *ze hant* *verswant* der kleine, Ortnit 141, 4; vile schiere her *verswant von sînen ougen zehant*, daz her en-weste, war her bequam, En. 2621; *vor iren ougen* er *virswant*, Hpt 5, 533; *verswant vor sînen ougen*, Krone 29606 [Simil. ex. om.]. — Der engel *sâ vor im* *verswant*, Wh. 49, 27; *dô der tiuvel hin* *verswant*, Barl. 3027; *dô der winder gar* *verswant*, Frauend. 409, 17; *solde ein wîp vor leide sîn* *verswunden* MS. 1, 81^a; der hirz *vorswant*, Myst. 1, 233; in den *wint gâhes* (suddenly) *verswunden*, Mar. 159, 7; daz *verswant mit der luft*, Pass. 369, 91; der engel *mit der rede* *verswant*, Hpt 8, 171; the devil says ‘ich *muoz* *verswinden*,’ MSH. 3, 174^a: ‘*von hinnan stêt mîn begirde* (desire), Got *müeze* dich in *huote lân!*’ alsus *swein* diu *gezierde*, Diut. 2, 251-2; Sant. *Servace dô verswein*, Servat. 3317 [Ex. om.]. — *Voer* ute haren *ogen*, Karel 2, 990; de *duvel voer dane* also *ên rôc* (smoke) te *souwene ane*, Maerl. 2, 237; *Var-in-d’wand*, N. pr. ring 33^b, 30. 36^c, 28. 36. To *begone* = OHG. *huerban*, ON. *hverfa*: Oðinn *hvarf þâ*, Sæm. 47; *oe nu hverfur þessi alfur sô sem skuggi*, (as a shadow), Vilk. c. 150; *brottu horfinn*, *ibid.*; *fló þâ burt*, Fornald. s. 1, 488, conf. *seykvaz*, sink away, Sæm. 10^b. 229^b. — The translated *sleep*, like Kronos p. 833 n.; Gawan falls asleep on a table in the Grals-halle, and awakes next morning in a moss, Keller’s Romvart 660. Vanishing is often preceded by thunder: ein *grózer slac*, Heinr. u. Kun. 4215. Erf. mârch. 84. 160; ‘there came a *crash* (rassler), and all was sunk and gone,’ Panz. 1, 30; Gangleri hears a *thunder*, and *Valhöll* has vanished, he stands in the fields, Sn. 77.

p. 953.] The shepherd Gyges steps into a *crack of the earth* made during storm and earthquake, finds a giant’s corpse inside a brazen horse, and draws a ring off its hand, Plato’s Rep. p. 369. *Translation* is imprecated or invoked in the following phrases: in te *ruant montes mali*, Plaut. Epid. i. 1, 78; *κατὰ τῆς γῆς δῦναι ἠὺχόμεν*, Lucian 3, 156. 5, 202; *χανεῖν μοι τὴν γῆν ἠὺχόμεν* 9, 68. 8, 18. — Oedipus is swallowed up by the earth, Oed. Col. 1662. 1752; conf. ‘*slipping in* like the *schwick*’ (p. 450 n.); die *luft* mich *verslunden*, Hpt 5, 540; *λάαν ἔθηκε*, Il. 2, 319; *λίθος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γεγονέναι*, Lucian’s Imag. 1; der *werde z’einem steine!* MS. 1, 6^a; hon (Goðrun) var buin til at *springa* af harmi,

Sæm. 211; du-ne hetest ditz gesprochen, dû waerst benamen *zebrochen*, Iw. 153. We talk of bursting with rage (p. 552 n.), i.e., in order to jump out of our skin: er wolte aus der haut fahren, Salinde 13.

p. 958.] A *translated hero* is spoken of as early as 1096: *Inde fabulosum illud confictum de Carolo magno, quasi de mortuis in id ipsum resuscitato, et alio nescio quo nihilominus redivivo* (before Frederick I. therefore), Pertz 8, 215 (Suppl. to 939). *Frederick* is supposed to lie at Trifels in the Palatinate also, where his bed is made for him every night, Schlegel's Mus. 1, 293. Then the folktales make *Otto Redbeard* also live in the Kifhäuser, and give him frau *Holle* for housekeeper and errandwoman, Sommer pp. 1. 6. 104; he gives away a *green twig*, which turns into gold, p. 2; in the mountain there is *skittle-playing* and 'schmaräkeln,' p. 4. A legend of *Fredk Redbeard* in *Firmen*. 2, 201^a. A giant has *slept at the stone-table in the mountain* these 700 years, Dyb. Runa '47, 34-5. Not unlike the Swed. folktale of a blind giant banished to an island are the stories in Runa '44, pp. 30. 43. 59. 60: in every case the *belt* given is strapped *round a tree* (conf. Panzer 1, 17. 71. 367), but the other incidents differ. Such giants call churches *de lwita klock-märrarna* 4, 37, and the bell *bjelleko*, Dyb. '45, 48. '44, 59; the blind grey old man reminds one of Oden. Acc. to Praetor. Alectr. p. 69, Kaiser Frederick seems to have cursed himself into the 'Kiphäuser.'—On the Frederick legend, see Hpt 5, 250—293. Closener p. 30-1 (yr 1285). Böhmer's Reg., yr 1285, no. 830, conf. 824-6. Kopp's Rudolf pp. 736—749. Detmar 1, 130 (yr 1250). Of *Fredk the Second*, the Regow. chron. (Massm. 711) says straight out: 'bî den tîden sege-men dat *storre* keiser Vrederic; en dêl volkes segede, he *levede*; de twivel warede lange tît;' conf. *ibid.* 714. Another name for the auricula is *berg-kaiserlein*; does it mean the wonder-flower that shows the treasure?—Fischart's *Geschicht-kl.* 22^b says: *auff dem keyser Friderich stan*; Schiller 120^b (?): und nebenher hatten unsere kerle noch das gefundene fressen *über den alten kaiser zu plündern*. Phil. v. Sittew. Soldatenl. 232: fressen, saufen, prassen *auf den alten keyser hinein*. Albertini's *Narrenh.* p. 264; heuraten *auf d. a. k. hinein*. Schmeller 2, 335-6: immer zu *in d. a. kaiser hinein* sündigen, *auf d. a. k. hinauf* sündigen, zechen, i.e. without thinking of paying.

p. 961.] The sleeping Fredk reminds one of *Kronos sleeping* in a cave, and *birds* bringing him *ambrosia*, Plut. De facie in orbe lunae 4, 1152-3 (see p. 833 n.). *Arthur* too and the knights of the Grail are shut up in a mountain, Lohengr. 179. Lanz. 6909. Garin de L. 1, 238; si jehent (they say) er lebe noch hiute, Iw. 14. Raynouard sub v. Artus. Caesarius heisterb. 12, 12 speaks of *rex Arcturus in Monte Giber* (It. monte Gibello); conf. Kaufm. p. 51 and the magnet-mountain 'ze *Girers*,' Gudr. 1135-8. 564 (KM.³ 3, 274). Other instances: *könig Dan*, Müllenh. no. 505; the *count of Flanders*, Raynouard 1, 130^a; *Marko* lives yet in the wooded mountains, Talvj 1, xxvi.; so does the horse Bayard. On the search for Svatopluk, *Svatopluka hledati*, see Schafarik p. 804.

p. 968.] The *white lady's bunch of keys* is snake-bound, Panzer 1, 2. A *white maiden with keys* in Firmen. 2, 117; *drei witte jumfern*, Hpt 4, 392; *three white ladies* in the enchanted castle, Arnim's Märch. no. 18; conf. the Slav. *vilas* and *villy*, spirits of brides who died before the wedding-day, who hold ring-dances at midnight, and dance men to death, Hanusch pp. 305. 415; dancing *willis*, Mailath's Ungr. märch. 1, 9; Lith. *wéles*, figures of the dead.

p. 969.] A certain general plants an *acorn* to make his *coffin* of, Etnn. Chymicus 879. There is some likeness betw. the story of Release and that of the Wood of the Cross, which grows out of three pips laid under Adam's tongue when dead. That the pip must be brought by a little bird, agrees with the rowan sapling fit for a wishing-rod, whose seed must have dropt out of a bird's bill (Suppl. to 977 beg.), and with the viscum per alvum avium redditum (p. 1206); conf. the legend of the Schalksburg, Schwab's Alb. p. 32. You must fell a tree, and make a cradle out of it; the first time a baby cries in that cradle, the spell is loosed, the treasure is lifted, H. Meyer's Züricher ortsn. p. 98; conf. the tale in Panzer 2, 200. 159. Other conditions of release: to draw a waggon up a hill the wrong way, to buy a piece of linen, to hold the white lady's hand in silence, Reusch p. 437; with your mouth to take the key out of the snake's mouth, Firmen. 1, 332; to kiss the worm, or the toad, or the frog, wolf and snake, Müllenh. p. 580. Somm. Sagen p. 21. Meyer's Züricher ortsn. p. 97.

p. 971.] Men do bury *treasures in the ground*: the Kozácks

are said to keep all their money underground; thieves and robbers bury their booty, dogs and wolves pieces of meat. The Marsians buried the Roman eagle they had captured in a grove, whence the Romans dug it out again, Tac. Ann. 2, 25.—The treasure is called *leger-hort*, Renn. 17687. 2505; ON. *taurar* = thesauri, opes reconditae. ‘*Shogs* not the treasure *up* toward me, That *shining* there behind I see?’ Goethe 12, 193. The treasure *blooms*, Panzer 1, 1; ‘for buried gold will often *shift about*,’ Irrgart. d. liebe 503; the cauldrons *sink* three ells a year, Dybeck 4, 45. Once in 100 years the stones off the heath go down to the sea to drink, and then all treasures of the earth lie open, so that one need only reach them out; but in a few winters they come back, and crush those who don’t get out of the way in time, Bret. märch. 88—93. The treasure *suns* itself, Panzer 2, 16. 30. It *cools* (glüht aus), Müllenh. p. 203-4. Treasure-gold turns to *coal*, Lucian’s Timon 1, 110. Philops. 7, 284; conf. the legends of Holla, Berhta, Fredk Barbarossa and Rübetal. The *coals* of a glowing treasure turn to gold, Reusch no. 25-6-7. *Glimmering fire* and *coals* of a treasure, Dieffenb. Wetterau p. 275.—*Signs* of a treasure: when a hazel bears mistletoe, and a white snake *suns* himself, and treasure-fire burns, Reusch no. 15. Where treasures lie, a blue fire burns (Hofmannswaldau), or light finds its way out of the earth, Leipz. avent. 2, 40; it *swarms* with insects, etc. (pp. 692-4).—The treasure-lifter is stript and plunged up to his neck in water in a tub, and is left till midnight to watch for the coming of the treasure, Cervant. Nov. de la gitanilla p. m. 106. A beshouted treasure *sinks*, Wetterau tale in Firmen. 2, 100; conf. AS. *sinc* = thesaurus, opes. Some good stories of treasure-lifting in Asbiörnsen’s Huldr. 1, 142-3-4. Ghosts have to give up buried weapons: saemir ei draugum dýrt vâpn bera, Fornald. s. 1, 436. A connexion subsists betw. treasures and graves: the *hauga eldar*, grave-fires, indicate money, Egilss. 767. The hoard does *not diminish*: sîn wart doch niht minre, swie vil man von dem schatze truoc, Nib. 475, 12.

p. 972.] The *wonder-flower* is said to blossom either on Midsummer night alone, or only *once in 100 years*. If any one, having spied it, hesitates to pluck it, it suddenly vanishes amid thunder and lightning; conf. britannica (p. 1195-6), fern (p. 1211). Preusker 1, 91-2. Before the eyes of the shepherd’s

man a *wonder-flower* grows up suddenly out of the ground; he pulls it, and sticks it in his hat; as quick as you can turn your hand, a *grey mannikin* stands there, and beckons him to follow; or else, the moment the flower is stuck in the hat, the *white lady* appears, Firmen. 2, 175. The wonder-flower gets caught in the shoe-buckle, Somm. p. 4, as feruseed falls into the shoes (p. 1210), and also ripens or blossoms on Midsum. night, pp. 4. 165. —It is called *schlüsselblume*, Panzer 1, 883, *wunderblume*, Wetterau. sag. p. 284. Phil. v. Steinau p. 77; Pol. *dziwaczek*, Boh. *diwnjk*, wonderflower. The three *blue* flowers effect the release, Firmen. 2, 201^a. A Schleswig story makes it the *yellow* flower, and the cry is: *Forget not the best*, Müllenh. p. 351. Another formula is: 'wia meh as da verzötariest (squanderest), om sa minder host,' Vonbun p. 5.—As early as the 15th cent. *vergisse min nit* occurs as the name of a flower, Altd. w. 1, 151; a gloss of the time has: *vergiss-mein-nicht* alleluja, Mone 8, 103; *vergiss-man-nicht* gamandria, *ibid.* *Vergiss nit mein* is a blue flower, Uhl. 1, 60. 108. 114-6. 129; blümlein *vergiss nit mein*, Ambras. liedb. pp. 18. 251. Bergr. 37. 70; blümelain *vergiss ni main*, Meinert 34; *vergiss mein nicht*, Menante's Gal. welt p. 70. Swed. *förgät-mig-ej*, Dybeck '48, 28; Boh. *ne-zapoměnka*, Pol. *nie-zapominka*, Russ. *ne-zubúdka*, conf. Weim. jrb. 4, 108; das blümlein wunderscön, Goethe 1, 189.—The *heel cut off* him that hurries away, Firmen. 2, 176. In a story in Wächter's Statist. p. 175-6 the wounded heel never heals. A proverb says: 'Tis what comes after, hurts your heel.

p. 974.] The *spring-wurzel* is in OHG. *spring-wurzel*, lactarida, lactaria herba, Graff 1, 1051, or simply *springa* 6, 397. Does *piderit*, *diderit* (usu. diterich, picklock) also mean a spring-wurzel? Firmen. 1, 271. The springw. or wonderflower is sometimes called *bird's nest*, Fr. *nid d'oiseau*, plante apéritive, vulnéraire, qui croît au pied des sapins; it opens boxes (folktale in Mone 8, 539), and makes invisible, DS. no. 85. Again, it is called *zweiblatt*, *bifoglio*, and is picked off the point of bifurcation in a tree; does it mean a parasite-plant like the misletoe? It must have been regarded as the nest of a sacred bird: thus of the *siskin's nest* it is believed that the bird lays in it a small precious stone to make it invisible, Hpt 3, 361; conf. Vonbun's Vorarlbg 63; Boh. *hnjzdujnk*, opluys nidus avis, ragwort, Pol.

gniazdo ptasze (see Linde 1, 728^b).—On the *green-pecker*, Fr. *pievert*, see Am. Bosq. p. 217-8, and *baum-heckel*, Musäus 2, 108; *picos divitiis, qui aureos montes colunt, ego solus supero*, Plaut. Aulul. iv. 8, 1. On the legend of the *shamir*, conf. Hammer's Rosenöl 1, 251. Altd. w. 2, 93. Pineda's Salomon (Diemer p. 44), *samir*. Diem. 109, 19; *thanir*, Gerv. Tilb. Ot. imp. ed. Leibn. p. 1000; *thamur*, Vinc. Bellovac. 20, 170; *tamin*, Maerl. in Kästner 29^a. In Griesh. Predigt. p. xxv. is the story of the *ostrich* 2, 122.

p. 977.] The Swed. *slag-ruta* is cut off the *flyg-rönn*, bird's rowan (or service) tree, whose seed has fallen fr. the beak of a bird, Dybeck '45, 63; it must be cut on Midsummer eve out of *mistletoe boughs*, Runa '44, 22. '45, 80. Dan. *önske-qvist*, Engl. divining-rod, *finding-stick*. Germ. names: *der Saelden zwïc*, Altsw. 119. 127, conf. *ungelückes zwïc* (Suppl. to 879 end); *glücks-ruthe*, Lisch in Meckl. jrb. 5, 84; *wünschel-ruote* sunder *zwisel* (without cleft), MSH. 2, 339^b; *wunschel-rís*, Tit. 2509. 5960-82, *w. über alle küneginne*, 1242, *wünschel-berndez rís* 1728; *alles heiles wünschel-rís*, Troj. 2217; *mîns heils wünschel-ruote*, Altsw. 118; *der wünschel-ruoten hort*, Dietr. drach. 310^a. *Nu hát gegangen mîner künste ruote*, MSH. 3, 81^a.—The idea of the wishing-rod was not borrowed fr. Aaron's magic wand; on the contrary, our poet of the 12th cent. borrows of the former to give to the latter: *Nim die gerte in dîne hant, wurchen zeichen manikvalt; ze allen dingen ist sie guot, swes sô wunsget dîn muot*. Not a word of all this in Exod. 7, 9; the wishing-rod however did not serve the purposes of harmful magic. Conf. the *virgula divina*, Forcell. sub v.; Esth. *pilda*, GDS. 159.—The wishing-rod must have been cut at a fitting time and by clean hands, *Kippe die wippe* 1688, D 4^b: it is a hazel-rod, and holy, *Voubun* pp. 6. 7. 64; a hazel-bough, *Fromm*. 3, 210; a white *somer-laden heslin stub*, *Weisth*. 3, 411. 461. Stories of the wishing-rod in *Kuhn* p. 330. *Müllenh.* p. 204; of the old *wünschel-stock*, *ib.* no. 283. On the manner of holding it, see *Hone's Yearbk* 1589. It is called *schlag-ruthe* because it *anschlägt*, hits [the nail on the head]; hence *slegel*, cudgel? conf. *Parz.* 180, 10—14, and the hazel-rod that *cudgels* the absent (Suppl. to 651 end).

p. 977.] One must drive a *white he-goat* through the stable, to lift a treasure that lies there, *Hpt's Ztschr.* 3, 315.

p. 980.] The *devil* is by the treasure, and he is blind too, like Plutus (Suppl. to 993). The Ssk. *Kuvéra*, a hideous being, is god of wealth. *Dit-* is the same as *divit-*, Pott 1, 101. When money is buried, the *devil* is appointed *watchman*, Müllenh. p. 202-3, or a *grey man* on a *three-legged* white horse guards it 102. Finn. *aurni* or *kratti* is genius thesauri, conf. *mammelainen* below. AS. *wyrn hordes hyrde*, Beow. 1767. Fâfnir says: er ek á arfi lá (on the heritage lay) miklom mîns föðor, Sæm. 188^b; meðan ek um menjom lag, *ibid.* 'Lanuvium annosi vetus est tutela draconis;' maidens bring him food:

Si fuerint castae, redeunt in colla parentum,
clamantque agricolae 'Fertilis annus erit!' Prop. v. 8, 3.

Dragons *sun* their gold in fine weather, Runa '44, 44, like the white maidens. Some good stories of the roving dragon in Müllenh. p. 206; conf. the dragon of Lambton, Hpt 5, 487; he is also called the *drakel*, Lyra p. 137, the *wheat-dragon*, Firmen. 2, 309. The n. prop. *Otwurm* in Karajan begins with *ôt=eád*, conf. *ôt-pero*. Heimo finds a *dragon* on the Alps of Carniola, kills him and cuts his tongue out; with him he finds a rich hoard: *locum argento septum possedit, in quo aurea mala habuit*, Mone 7, 585 fr. Faber's *Evagatorium*.—W. Grimm (HS. p. 385-6) thinks the *ring Andvara-naut* was the most essential part of the hoard, that in it lay the gold-engendering power and the destiny, but German legend put in its place the *wishing-rod*; note however, that such power of breeding gold is nowhere ascribed to *Andvara-naut*. Sigurd first gave it to Brunhild (Fornald. s. 1, 178), then secretly pulled it off again (187). Siegfried in the German epic, after winning the treasure, leaves it in charge of the dwarfs, does not take it away therefore, but gives it to Chriemhilt as a wedding-gift, and as such the dwarfs have to deliver it up, Nib. 1057—64. Once it is in Günther's land, the Burgundians take it from her, and Hagen sinks it in the Rhine 1077, 3; conf. 2305-8. Hagen has merely hidden it at Lochheim, intending afterwards to fish it up again, conf. 1080. So likewise in Sæm. 230: 'Gunnar ok Högni tôko þâ gullit allt, Fâfnis arf.' On the fate bound up with the gold-hoard in the ON. (and doubtless also in OHG.) legend, see Hpt 3, 217. Finn. *mammelainen*, mater serpentis, divitiarum subterraneanarum custos

(Renvall) reminds one of ON. *módir Atla* = serpens, Sæm. 243^b. Golden geese and ducks also sit *underground* on golden eggs, Somm. sag. p. 63-4.

p. 981.] In some stories it is the *old man* in the mountain that, when people come in to him, *crops their heads bald*, Somm. p. 83; then again the spectres wish to *shave the beard* of a man as he lies in bed, Simpl. K. 921. 930. In Musäus 4, 61 both get *shorn*.

p. 983.] With *Lurlenberge* conf. 'ûz *Lurlinberge* wart gefurt sîn stolze eventure,' Ritterpr.^b, and *Lurinbere*, Graff 2, 244. Or *Burlenberg* might be the *Birlenberg* of Weisth. 4, 244. On the *sunken or de Toulouse* and *or de Montpellier*, see Berte 20.—Sinking is preceded by a *crash* (Suppl. to 952 end): heyrði hann *dyna mikla*, Sn. 77; there was a *bang*, and all was sunk and gone, Panz. 1, 30 (in Schm. 3, 125 a loud *snore*); then comes a *crack*, and the castle once more is as it was before, Kuhn's Westf. sag. 2, 250; a fearful *crash*, and the castle tumbles and disappears, Schönwerth 3, 52.—Near Staffelberg in Up. Franconia lies a great pond, and in it a great fish, holding his *tail* in his *mouth*; the moment he *lets it go*, the mountain will fly to pieces and fill the pond, and the flood *drown the flats of Main and Rhine*, and everything perish, man and beast, Panz. 2, 192. A *little cloud* on the horizon often announces the bursting-in of the flood or violent rain, Müllenh. p. 133. 1 Kings 18, 43-4 (Hpt 8, 284). An *angel* walks into the sinking city, Wolf's Niederl. sag. 326. Of the foundling Gregor, who came floating on the flood, it is said: der sich hât *verrunnen* her, Greg. 1144. After the flood, the baby is left up in a *poplar-tree*, Müllenh. p. 132. In the legend of the Wood of the Cross also, a newborn child lies on the top of a tree. On the name *Dold*, see GDS. 758.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DEVIL.

p. 986.] Schwenk's Semiten 161 says the Devil is a Persian invention. On *Ahuromazdâo*, see Windischm. Rede p. 17-8; the cuneif. inscriptions have *Auramazda*, Gr. Ἐρομάσθης. *Ahura* is the Ssk. asura, Böhtlg 555; and Benfey in Gött. gel. anz. '62,

p. 1757 conn. *mazda* with Ssk. *medhás*, *medhâm* = *vedhâm*. The Ind. *asura* is evil, the *deva* good; the Pers. *ahura* is good, the *daêva* bad; so heretics repres. *Ahriman*, the devil, as the first-born son of God, and *Ormuzd* or *Christ* as the second. The *Yezids* worship the devil mainly as one originally good, who has rebelled, and may injure, may at last become a god again, and avenge himself.—*Lucifer* falls out of heaven (p. 241); the angels fall *three nights and days* fr. heaven to hell, *Cædm.* 20, 12; *sie fielen drî tage volle*, *Karaj. Denkm.* 42, 9; *Hephæstus* falls *a whole day* fr. *Olympus* to *Lemnos*, *Il.* 1, 592. As God creates, the devil tries to do the same; he sets up his *chapel* next the church (p. 1021); he also has 12 *disciples* ascr. to him, *Berthold* 321; conf. devil's pupils (*Suppl.* to 1024).

p. 987.] *Ulphilas* translates even the fem. ἡ διάβολος by *diabula*, pl. *diabulós*, slanderers, 1 *Tim.* 3, 11. Among corruptions of the word are: *Dan. knefvel, snefvel*, *Molbech's Tidskr.* 6, 317; *Arab. eblis, iblis*; prob. our own 'der *tausend!*' conf. *dusii* (p. 481) and *daus*, *Dict.* 2, 855. *Lith. dëvalus, dëvulus* = great god, *Nesselm.* 140^a. *Devil, Devilson* occur as surnames: *Cuonradus Diabolus* de *Rute*, *MB.* 8, 461. 472; *jili Tiufelonis* (*Suppl.* to 1019 end); *Beroldus dictus Diabolus*, *Sudendorf's Beitr.* p. 73, yr 1271; *Cunze* gen. *Duflis heubit*, *Arusb. urk.* 787. —The *Finn. perkele*, devil, *Kalev.* 10, 118. 141. 207. 327 and *Lapp. perkel, pergalek* (*Suppl.* to 171 end) are derived fr. *piru*, *cacodaemon*, says *Schiefn. Finn. namen* 611.

Satanas in *Diemer* 255, 10; *satanât* in *Hpt* 8, 155. 355 (the odious s.). *Karaj. Sprachdenkm.* 52, 3; a pl. *satanasá* in *O. v.* 20, 4. The word sounds like *scado* (p. 989), *skohsl* (p. 1003), above all like *Sætere, Saturn* (p. 247).

p. 991.] *Der tievel gap den rât* (advice), wander in bezeren ne hât, *Fundgr.* 2, 87; als ez der tiufel riet, *Nib.* 756, 9; der tiavel mir daz riet, *Frib. Trist.* 2207. The devil is called *niht quotes*: we say 'it smells here like no good things'; *Lett. ne labbais*, the not good; *Lapp. pahakes*, the bad one. He is called *der ubel âtem* (breath), *Fundgr.* 2, 18; unreine *saghe iutwas*, *Bruns* 324-5; conf. *Swed. Oden hin oude*, *lhre's Dial. lex.* 123^a; *der arge tumbé*, *Martina* 160, 23, as we say 'stupid devil'; *ârger wiht*, *Diut.* 1, 470; *der sûre wirt* (sour host), *Helbl.* 2, 587; ûz des bitteren tiefels halse (throat), *Griesh.* 52; den *leiden dnvelen*

(odious d.), Hpt 2, 197; der *leidige* tifel, Mos. 52, 18; *leding*, Cavall. Voc. Verland 40^a; *lājing*, *lāje*, Wieselgren 385; *liothan*, Dybeck '45, 72; der *greulich* hat dich herein getran (brought), Uhl. Volksl. p. 801. Lith. *bėsus*, devil, conf. *baisus*, grim. Finn. *paha*, *pahoillinen*, devil; Esth. *pahalainen*, *pahomen*, Salmelainen 1, 179. 193. 234.—In Scand. the devil is also called *skam*, *skammen* (shame), Ihre's Dial. lex. 149^b. Dyb. '45, 3. 55. 77. Is he called the *little* one? 'whence brings you *der lützel* here?' Gryphius's Dornr. 56, 8. The *live*, *bodily* devil, or simply 'der *leibhaftige*,' the veritable, Gotthelf's Käserei 356; *fleischechter leibhafter* teufel, Garg. 229^b; ich sei des *leibhaftigen* butzen 244^a; der *sichtige* tiuvel, Berth. 37; des *sichtigen* tufels kint, Dietr. drach. 212^b. 285^b; conf. *vif maufé*, Méon 3, 252; ainz est *deables vis*, M. de Gar. 178.—*Antiquus hostis* occurs also in Widukind (Pertz 5, 454); our *Urian* resembles *Ur-hans*, Old Jack (Suppl. to 453 n.); *u-tüfel*, Gotth. Erz. 1, 162. 177. 253. 275. 286, *ur-teufel* 2, 277; d' *oude sathan*, Maerl. 2, 300; de *uald* knecht, de *uald*, Müllenh. p. 265. The household god of the Tchuvashes, *Erich* (Götze's Russ. volksl. p. 17) recalls 'gammel Eric.'—ON. *andskoti*=diabolus, hostis; ther *widarwerto* (untoward), O. ii. 4, 93. 104; *warc*=diabolus, Graff 1, 980; *helleware*, Diut. 2, 291; conf. ON. *vargr*, lupus, hostis (p. 996). Der *vient*, Pfeiffer's Myst. 1, 131; der *vint*, Helbl. 1, 1186; der *leide vient*, Leyser 123, 11. 38; *lād-geteona*, Beow. 1113, is said of sea-monsters, but it means 'hateful foe,' and might designate the devil.—Der *helsche dief*, Maerl. 2, 312; der *nacht-schade*, said of a homesprite, Rochholz 1, 295 (Kl. schr. 3, 407). Ein *unhuld*, Hagen's Heldenb. 1, 235. With the fem. *unholdâ* in OHG. hymns conf. 'daz wîp, *diu unholde*,' Pass. 353, 91; in *Unhulden-tal*, Bair. qu. 1, 220; and the Servian fem. *vila* in many points resembles the devil. *Uberfengil*, *ubarfangári*, praevericator, usurpator, seems also to mean the devil in contrast with angels, Hpt 8, 146.

p. 992.] Der *ubele vâlant*, Diemer 302, 28; der *v.*, Karaj. 89, 14; *diu vâlendîn*, Cod. pal. 361, 74^e; *vâlantinne*, Krone 9375. 9467; *diu ubele v.*, Mai 170, 11; disem *vâlände* gelîch 122, 21; dâ *urkiusche* der *vâlände* 172, 16; ein vil boeser *vâlant*, Türl. Wh. 136^b: swaz der *v.* wider in tet (against them did), Welsch. gast 5177; des *vâlendes* spot (mock), Warn. 2426; des *v.* hant

1358. The word occurs in the Erec, not in the Iwein, Hpt's Pref. xv. I find Conr. of Würzbg has not altogether forborne its use: der leide *vâlant*, Silv. 4902; wilder *v.*, Frauenl. 382, 15; der *v. mûez* si stillen 123, 19. It occurs but once in M. Neth. poets: die quade *valande*, Walew. 8945; (distinct fr. it stands *vaeliant* = *vaillant* 9647, and *faliant*, *valiant*, Lanc. 21461. 24643). — Du pöser *feilant*, Fastn. sp. 578, 21; böser *volant* 926, 11; *volandes* man, Hpt 5, 20. 31; der schwarze *voland*, Müllmann's Geiszel 273; der *volland*, Ayrer 340^a; *volant* in witch-trials of 1515 (Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 77); den sol der böse *voland* holen! Lichtwer 1758, 128. In the Walpurgis-night on the Blocksberg, Mephistopheles calls himself *junker Voland*, squire V., Goethe's Faust, p. m. 159. In Thuringia (at Gotha) I heard 'Das glab der *Fold!*' devil believe it. *Völundr*, *Wayland* seems unconn. with *vâlant*, whose *v.* is really an *f.*

p. 993.] The devil is *lame* in a Moravian story (p. 1011), the same in Wallachia, Fr. Müller nos. 216. 221; conf. Thôr's lame goat (p. 995). He is *blind*, Lith. *aklatis*; his eyes are put out with melted lead (p. 1027). He is *black*: ne nos frangat demon *ater*, Chart. Sithiense p. 8; *tenebrosus* hostis, Münter's Tempelh. 158; der *swarze* meister, Hpt 1, 277; von dem tiuvel hoert man wol, wie er *swerzer* sî dan kol, u. ist doch unsihtic (yet invisible), Ls. 3, 276; die *swarzen* helle-warten, Servat. 3520. In Tirol and the Up. Palatinate he is called *grau-wuzl*, Schm. 4, 208. He wears *grey* or *green* clothes (p. 1063), and, like the dwarfs, a *red cap*, Müllenh. p. 194. The African Negroes paint the devil *white*, Klemm 3, 358. 364.

p. 995.] The devil's *horn* partly resembles the hone in Thor's head (p. 373); conf. 'gehurnte *helle ohsen*,' horned ox of hell, Hpt 8, 151. 236. He has a *tail*: 'tied to the devil's *tail*,' Keisersb. xv. Staffely 41-3. 59. Schärtlin p. 226; the troll too has a tail, Dyb. Runa '44, 73, the Norw. *huldre* a *cow's tail*. He has a *hen's* and a *horse's foot*, Lisch's Meckl. jrb. 5, 94, a *horse's foot* and a *man's*, Müllenh. p. 197. Deoful *wam* and *white-leás*, Andr. 1170.

p. 997.] The devil has horns and *cloven feet*, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 63; his *goat's feet* peep out, Mone 8, 125, as *goat's feet* and *claws* are ascr. to dwarfs (p. 451 n.); daemones in specie *caprurum*, Acta Bened. sec. 1 p. 33; devil as *stein-geisz* [wild goat,

Capricorn ?], Haltrich p. 44. Pfeiff. Germ. 1, 484; die bös teufels *zigen* (she-goats), i.e. witches, Keller's Altd. erz. 192, 22. With 'bocks lid' agrees 'des *tiuvels glit*,' limb of the d., Pass. 377, 24 (Suppl. to 1019 end); *box-scheis* habe ir sele! Lindenbl. 123; 'to pluck a *horn* out of the devil,' Garg. 17^b. Here belong the surnames *Hellbock*, *Höllbock*, Denkschr. der k. k. acad. 5, 20.

The devil is named *Säu-reussel* (sow's snout), and finds bells, Ph. Dieffenb. Wanderung p. 73; *duivels zwintje* (pigs), Hpt 7, 532 (Suppl. to 478). The hog for breeding is called *fuhl*, Weisth. 2, 528. There is a hero's name, *Ur-swîn*, Dietl. 5253; conf. *ur-ber*, *ur-kämpe*, *ur-sau*, *ur-schwein*. The devil is called a *luhs*, *lynx*, MS. 2, 6^b. 7^a; a *hare*, Panz. Beitr. 1, 137; an *ape*, because he apes God (Suppl. to 1024 beg.).

The devil was 'der vil ungehiure *helle-wolf*,' Hpt 5, 520; die *helle-wargen* 7, 376; *abstrahis ore lupi*, Erm. Nigell. 4, 370. GDS. 329. 333.

Helle-hunt = Cerberus, Gl. sletst. 4, 32. Renn. 289; der übele *hunt*, Diemer 309, 22, der *helle-hunt*, der *hunt* verwâzen (accursed), 314, 2. 13; vuor der übermote *hunt* alsô tiefe an den helle-grunt 4, 26; *nît-hunt*, dog of spite, Helbl. 2, 264; devil seen in *dog's* shape, Pass. 203, 59.

p. 999.] Acc. to Gryphius's Sonett. 1, 1 the devil is called *höllen-rabe*; he appears 'in *swarzer voge*le bilde,' Ksrchr. 4314; der höllische *geier*, vulture, Meinert p. 165; das hat sie der *geier* gelernt, Lessing 2, 446; die höllische *agalaster* (magpie), der satan, Pol. maulaffe 195, conf. Parz. 1; *helle-gouch*, Krolewicz 3879, conf. the cuckoo and his clerk (p. 681-2); de bunte *kiwit* hahl se! Hanenreyerey 1618 A v^b; fört juw (brings you) de *kiwit* nu weer her? B viii^c. He has *goose-feet*, *crow's feet*, Thür. mitth. vi. 3, 67. 70.

The *serpent* in Paradise was wrongly supposed to be the devil, Schwenk's Semit. 162. He is called der *lintwurm*, Mar. 148, 28; der alde *helle-trache*, Pass. 13, 23. 101, 47; der *hellewurm* 106, 27; *celidrus*, Erm. Nigell. 2, 191, fr. *χέλυδρος*, water-snake. Leviathan is transl. in AS. by *sæ-draca*; he is descr. 'cum armilla in maxilla,' Vom geloub. 601, and there is 'ein *rinc* ime in sîne *nasen* gelegit' 541; conf. 'in des *tiuveles drozzen*,' throat, Rol. 244, 29; den hât des *tiuvels kiuwe* (jaw) verslunden, Warn. 540.

Belzebub, Karaj. 52, 3; *Belsebûc* in Fragm. of Madelghîs;

Besebuc, Walew. 8244; *drukhs* fem. as a fly, Spiegel's Avesta 124. A spirit is shut up in a *glass* as a *fly*, MS. 2, 13-4, or in a *box*, Leipz. avant. 2, 41; there is a *devil* in the *glass*, both in the legend of Zeno in Bruns, and in that of the scholar and robber in H. v. Herford, yr 995 and in Korner.

p. 1000.] The devil as a *hammer* (slege), Kemble's Sal. and Sat. 146. 177. He is called *Hemmerlein*, Ambras. lied. 142. As Donar's hammer gradu. becomes a fiery sword, it is also said: ein *fiurce swert* der tiuvel hât, Hpt 5, 450 (p. 812. Suppl. to 1013 end). The devil *rolling* like a *millstone* resembles the troll *rolling* like a *ball*, Nilsson 4, 40.

p. 1002.] The devil is 'der alde *hellewarte*,' Pass. 23, 18. *helle-wirt* 99, 11, der alde *hellewiht* 293, 94; er rehter *helleschergen gouch*, Mai 156, 40; *hellescherje*, Tit. 5468. 5510; *hellescherge*, Helbl. 2, 603; *hellefiur*, Berth. 56; there is a man's name, *Hellitumph* (-smoke), MB. 14, 424; der *fürst* ûz *helle* abgründe, Walth. 3, 12, as we say 'the prince of darkness.' With *hellegråve* (p. 993) connect the prop. names *Helcrapho*, Böhmer's. Font. 2, 185, and Herman der *hellengrave*, *hellegrave*, Mon. zoller. no. 305 (yr 1345). no. 306.

The devil dwells in the *North*: cadens Lucifer . . . traxit ad *inferni sulfurea stagna*, in *gelida aquilonis parte* ponens sibi tribunal; hunc *ferocissimum lupum* Agnus mitissimus stravit, Raban. Maur. De laud. crucis, fig. 10; '(Lucifer) chot, wolti sizzin *nordin*,' Diem. 94, 16; entweder zu den genâdin oder den *ungenâdin*, sive ad austrum sive ad *aquilonem*, Leyser 135, 34. In the N. lies Jötun-heimr (p. 34), and the devil is considered a giant, as Loki and Logi are of giant kin; önskar honom (wishes him) *långt nordan till fjälls* (at the devil), Sv. vis. 2, 163.

They say in Småland, 'drag till *Häckenfjälls*!' Cavall. p. 25^a. On *Hekla*, *Heklu-fjall*, see Bartholin p. 356—360; fewr in *Heckelberg* (Mt Hecla), Fischart in Wackern. 2, 470.

By desser kerken buwet (builds) de düvil einen *Nobis kroch*, Agricola's Sprikworde (1528) n. 23 bl. 14^a; *nobis-haus*, Mone 8, 277; in *nobis haus*, da schleget das hellisch fewer zum fenster hinaus, Er. Alberus's Barfusser Münche Eulenspiegel u. Alcoran (Wittemb. 1642) bl. E 4; 'so fare they on to *nobishaus*, where flame shoots out at the window, and bake their apples on the sill,' Schimpf u. ernst (1550) c. 233; 'hush, thou art now in *nobis-*

hauss' = purgatory, H. Sachs (1552) iii. 3, 44^{rw}; *ir spart's* (the Reformation) in *Nobiskrug*, Fischart's *Dominici leben* (1571) x₂^b. *Nobis Krucke*, Meland. *Jocoseri*. (1626) p. 548; 'send down to *nobiskrug*,' *Simpl.* 3, 387; 'How Francion rideth in a chair into the *Nobiskrug* (abyss, dungeon),' *Hist. des Francions* (Leyd. 1714), *Tab. of cont.* ix. In Celle they sing the cradle-song: *mûse-kâtzen, wô wut du hen? ik wil nâ nâbers kranze gân.* On *Nâbers-kroch, Nobels-krug*, see Kuhn in *Hpt* 4, 388-9. Leo (Malb. gl. 2, 42) derives 'nobis' fr. Ir. *aibheis*, abyss; *aibhistar* is said to mean devil.

p. 1004.] AS. *scocca* is found on German soil too: *Adalbertus succo*, *Annal. Saxo* (Pertz 8, 690). Seyfriden dem *steppekchen*, *MB.* 16, 197 (yr 1392). The devil's name *Barlabaen* is also in *Walew.* 9741; *Barlibaen*, *Limb.* 4, 959; *Barnebaen, Barlebos, Barlebaen*, *V. d. Bergh* 11. 12. 275-6; *borlebuer*, said of a boor, *Rose* 2804. The word *frimure* in *Türl. Wh.* 136^a, *fêmure* in *Cod. pal.*, reminds of *Fêmurgan* (p. 820 n.).—Names of devils: *lusterbale, schandolf, hagendorn* (conf. p. 1063), *hagelstein*, *Berthold* 56; ein tiuvel genant *lesterline*, *Hag. Ges. Abent.* 2, 280; *lusterlein, schentel*, *Fastn. sp.* 507-8-9. Does ON. *kölski* = satanas, still very common in Iceland, mean *senex procax*? Swed. 'hin *håle*,' the devil; *Vesterb. snogen*, the bald, *Unander* 36, conf. *kahl-kopf* in *Gramm.* 2, 374; *Östgöt. skammen, skrutt, skräll*, *Kalén* 17^b (*Suppl. to 991 mid.*). In *Vorararlberg jomer and höller* are devils' names, *Bergm.* p. 94, *jammer* otherwise denoting epilepsy, convulsion (p. 1064).

Euphemisms for the devil (p. 987 mid.) are: the *God-be-with-us*; *Meister Sieh-dich-für* (look out, mind yourself), *Ettu. Unw. doct.* 241; *Et-cetera*, *Ital. ceteratojo*. Gipsies call God *devel*, and the devil *beink*, *Pott* p. 67. The Dan. *gammel Erik* is in *Norw. gamle Eirik, gamle Sjur*, *Aasen* 124^a. On *Hemmerlin*, see *Suppl. to 1000*; *Martinello* (p. 1064). *Piukepank* in *Hpt* 6, 485. *Schimper-schamper, Schimmer-schemmer*.

p. 1006.] The devil appears as the *hunter in green*, *Schleicher* 213, as *Green-coat* in witch-stories, *KM.* no. 101. In *Östgötl. Oden* means devil. His army is called a *swarm*: *des tivelis geswarne*, *Rol.* 120, 14; *der tiuvel hât ûzgesant sîn geswarne* 204, 6; *geswerme*, *Karl* 73^b; *des tiefels her* (host), *Griesh.* 2, 26. *Verswinden sam ein kunder, daz der boese geist fuort in*

dem *rôre* (reeds), 'Tit. 2408; der teufel fährt in wildes *gerôhricht*, H. Sachs v. 344-5-6.

p. 1009.] De olle *riesen-moder*, Müllenh. p. 444, the *giant's* old *grandmother* 450, Brûsi and his *mother worse* than he, Fornm. sôg. 3, 214, all remind us of the devil's mother or grandmother: des übeln teufels *muoter*, Wolfd. and Saben 487; u brachte hier ter stede die *duvel* ende *sîn moeder* mede, Karel 2, 4536: frau Fuik is held to be the *devil's grandmother*, Hpt 5, 373; 'yes, the devil should have had him long ago, but is waiting to find the fellow to him, as his *grandmother* wants a *new pair of coach-horses*,' Gotthelf's Swiss tales 4, 51; der tüfel macht wedele drus, u. heizt der *grossmutter* den ofe dermit (to light his granny's fire with), Gotth. Erz. 1, 226; de düvel und oek sîn *môder*, Soester Daniel 8. 11; 'if you are the devil, I am his *mother*,' Praet. Weltb. 2, 64; 'who are you, the devil or his *mother*?' Simpl. 1, 592; conf. 'ist er der tufel oder sîn *wîp*?' Dietr. dr. 159^a; des tiuvels *muoter* u. sîn *wîp*, Hätzl. 219^a; diu ist des tiuvels *wîp*, Nib. 417, 4; des übelen tiuvels *brût* (bride) 426, 4. Mai 172, 10. Conf. *Death's mother* (p. 840-1); 'from Jack Ketch to Jack's *mother* he went,' Pol. colica p. 13.—'To the pop. saws about sun and rain, add the N. Frisian: 'when it rains and the sun shines, witches are buried at the world's end.' There are *many* devils: steht in *tausend teufel* namen auf! sauf (drink) in *tausent t.* namen! Dict. 1, 230.

p. 1011.] The devil demands a *sheep* and a *cock*, Cæs. Heisterb. 5, 2; or a *black he-goat*, Müllenh. p. 41, a *black cock* and *he-cat* 201, a *black* and a *white goat* 203. With the curious passage fr. H. Sachs agrees the following: Of a heretic like that, you make a new-year's present to Pluto, *stuck over with box*, Simpl. 3, 5. p. 287. Boar's heads and bear's heads are still garnished so, and even Asiatics put fruit in the bear's mouth. 'The devil shall yet thy *bather* be,' Froschm. J. 2^a (Suppl. to 247).

p. 1012.] A *stinking hair* is pulled out of *Ugarthilocus*; *seven hairs* off the sleeping devil or giant, like the *siben löcke* (Luther, Judg. 16, 19) off Samson's head, Renn. 6927. Diu helle ist ûf getân, der tiufel der ist *ûzgelân* (let out), Dietr. dr. 211^b. 121^a. 143^b; Lucifer waere *ûz gelân*, Tirol in Hpt 1, 20; 'tis as though the fiend had *burst his fetters*, Eliz. of Orl. p. 270; le diable est *déchainé*, Voltaire's Fréd. le gr. 23, 118.—With the phrase

'the devil's dead,' conf. 'Ulli er dauðr' (p. 453 n.). Other expressions: des tiuvels *luoder* = *esca diaboli*, MSH. 3, 227^b; 'the d. may hold the candle to one that expects the like of him,' Nürnberger 254; 'of the d. and the charcoal-burner,' Fastu. sp. 896, 12; 'looked like a field full of devils,' Zehn ehen 177; 'we avenge the devil on ourselves,' En. 1147; thieves go out in odd numbers, so that the d. can't catch one of them, Ph. v. Sittew. 2, 686—690; *c'est l'histoire du diable, eine teufels-geschichte*. There was a *Geschichte vom henker*, Gotthelf's Uli 148.

p. 1013.] The devil's seed occurs also in Dietr. dr. 281^b and Boner's Epilog 51. His sifting: *hînet rîteret* (tonight riddles) dich Satanas alsam *weize*, Diem. 255, 10. Fundgr. 1, 170. His snares: wie vil der tubil *ûf* uns *dout* (*tendiculas ponit*), Hpt 5, 450; *παγίς* is in Gothic either *hlamma*, 1 Tim. 3, 7. 6, 9 (ON. *hlömm* = *fustis*), or *vruggô*, 2 Tim. 2, 26; des tiuvels *netze*, Mone's Anz. '39, 58; des tiefels *halze*, Griesh. 2, 93; des tiuvels *swert*, Ls. 3, 264 (p. 999 end); daz vindet der tiuvil an sîuer *videln*, Renn. 22629.

p. 1014.] As Wuotan and angels carry men through the air, so does God, but much oftener the devil (p. 1028): *sît dich Got* hât her getragen, Hätzl. 167, 43; der arge *vâlant* truoc in dar, Laur. 822; noch waen (nor dream) daz si der *tiuvel* vuorte, Livl. 1425; der t. hât in her brâht, Greg. 1162. der t. hât mir zuo gebrâht, Helbl. 1, 641. inuch brâhte her der *tievel* ûz der helle, Hpt 1, 400; die *duvel* brochte hu hier so na, Rose 12887; nu over ius *duvels* geleide, Karel 2, 4447; in trage dan wider der *tüfel*, Diocl. 5566-89; welke *duvel* bracht u dare? Lanc. 1528; brochte jou die *duvel* hier? Walew. 5202; conf. 'waz *wunders* hât dich her getragen? Wigal. 5803; welch *tivel* het dich hiute hin? Hahn's Stricker 14. We say 'where's the d. got you?' i.e. where are you? wo hât dich der henker? Fr. Simpl. 1, 57. The Greeks too said: τὸν δ' ἄρα τέως μὲν ἀπήγαγεν οἴκαδε δαίμων, Od. 16, 370; τίς δαίμων τόδε πῆμα προσήγαγε; 17, 446; ἀλλά σε δαίμων οἴκαδ' ὑπεξαγάγοι 18, 147.—To the curses add: der *tiuvel* neme! Herb. 6178; daz si der *tievel* alle erslâ! Archipo. p. 233; our 'zum teufel!' conf. 'woher zum t.?' Eulensp. c. 78; louf zu dem t., wa du wilt 89. Like our 'red beard, devil's weird' is the phrase: 'dieser *fuchs*, der auch euer *hammer* ist,' Raumer's Hohenst. 2, 114 fr. Hahn's Mon. 1, 122. The devil

laughs to see evil done, hence : des mac der tiuvel *luchen*, Helbl. 4, 447 (Suppl. to 323 end) ; ‘you make the devil *laugh* with your lies,’ Garg. 192^a.

p. 1015.] The devil ‘over-comes us’ like a *nightmare*. In a tale of the 10th cent., he calling himself *Nithart* joins the histrio *Vollare*, invites and entertains him and his fellows, and dismisses them with presents, which turn out to be cobwebs the next morning, Hpt 7, 523. *Strengthening a negative* by the word ‘devil’ : den *teufel* nichts dengen, Eliz. of Orl. 447 ; der den *tüfel* nützscht (nihtes?) kan, Ls. 2, 311 ; conf. ‘hvaða *Oðins* látum?’ (Suppl. to 145 n.) ; our ‘the *devil* (nothing) do I know ;’ *teufels* wenig, Ph. v. Sittew. Soldatenl. p. 191, our ‘verteufelt wenig.’ Does ‘das hat den *teufel* gesehen’ in Lessing 2, 479 mean ‘seen nobody’ or ‘that is terrible’? *Welcher teufel* (= who?), Berth. ed. Göbel 2, 11. With ‘drink you and the devil!’ conf. ‘heft hu de *duvel* dronken ghemakt?’ Rose 13166. With ‘the d. first and God after’ agrees : in beschirmet (him protects neither) der *tiuvel* noch *Got*, Iw. 4635.

p. 1016.] The Jewish view of *possession* may be gathered fr. Matth. 12, 42—45 ; other passages and an Egyp. fragment are coll. in Manuhdt’s Ztschr. 4, 256—9. Possessed by devils is in Goth. *anahabaidans* (fr. haban) fram ahumam nahrainjain, Luke 6, 18 ; MHG. ein *beheft* man, demoniac, Uolr. 1348 ; *behaft*, Diemer 324, 25. Servat. 2284 ; ob dû *beheftet* bist, MS. 2, 5^a ; *beheftete* lute, Myst. 1, 135. 147 ; ein *behefter* mensch, Renn. 15664-85. 5906 ; sint mit dem tievel *haft*, MS. 2, 82^b ; mit dem übelen geiste *behaft*, Warn. 350 ; der tievel ist in dir *gehaft*, Ecke 123 ; *tiufelhafte* diet (folk), Barl. 401, 25.—We say behaftet or besessen : mit dem tiuvel wart er *besezzen*, Ksrchr. 13169 ; der tivel hât in *besezzen*, Warn. 344 ; *obsessus* a daemone, Böhm. Font. 2, 323 ; *tiuvel-winnic*, Servat. 783 ; *tiuvel-sühtic* 1079 ; *gevangen* mit dem tiuvel, Fragm. 36^a ; des boten ich zuo’s wirtes maget mit worten hân *gebunden*, MS. 2, 11^a ; die den viant *hebben* in, Maerl. 3, 234. ON. þû *hefir* diofulinn í þinni hendi, Vilik. s. 511, i.e. he makes thy hand so strong ; daz iuwer der t. müeze *pflegen* (tend)! Herb. 2262 ; der t. müeze in *walden* 9747 ; daz iuwer der t. *walde* 14923. 18331 ; der t. müeze *walden* iuwer untriuwe 16981 ; *var* in einen rostûschaer, Helbl. 7, 744 ; *vart* in ein gerihte, *sliefet* in den rihtaere 7, 750.—A devil says :

sine ut *intrem in corpus tuum*, Cæs. Heisterb. 10, 11; an evil spirit, whom the priest bids depart out of a woman (yr 1463), asks leave to *pass into* others, whom he names, M. Beh. 276-7; hem *voer die duvel in't líf* (body), Maerl. 2, 293; der tiuvel *var im an die swart*, Helbl. 15, 434; reht als waere *gesezzen* der tuvel in daz *herze sîn*, Dietr. dr. 117^a; en scholden dre söven düvel darum *bestan*, Kantzow 2, 351; nu *friz in dich* den tiufel der dîn *suochet*, MS. 2, 135^b.—‘The d. *looks out of her eyes*,’ H. Sachs 1, 450^a; der t. aus dir *kilt*, Kell. Erz. 327, 15, *kal* 328, 23 (and the reverse: *Got ûz ir jungen munde sprach*, Parz. 396, 19); der t. ist in dir *gehaft*, der *fiht ûz dînem líbe*, Eckenl. 123. Devils in the body are like the *narren* (fools) inside a sick man, who are cut out as the devils are cast out. The devil is driven out through the nose with a ring, Joseph. Antiq. 8, 2. 5. Diseases wait for the patient to *open his mouth* before they can pass out, Helbl. 7, 101. Mit dem *Bösen curieren*, *adjuvante diabolo aegros sanare*, Leipz. avantur. 1, 271. Virtues also pass in and out, Helbl. 7, 65. 102. 113.

p. 1017.] As the gods diffuse *fragrance*, legends medieval and modern charge the devil with *defiling* and changing things into muck and mire: der tiuvel *schîze* in in den kragen! Helbl. 5, 107; Sathanae *posteriora* petes, Probra mul. 220; welcher t. uns mit den Heiden hete *beschizen*, Morolt 3014; der t. lauft u. *hofiert* zugleich, Simpl. 178; *cacat monstra*, Reinard. 4, 780; die seind des teufels letzter *furz*, Rathschlag in Parnasso (1621 4to, p. 33).—The devil *lies and cheats*: der *truge-tiavel* (p. 464), conf. ‘*driugr var Loptr at liuga*, Sn. ’48. 1, 29; ein tiuvel der hiez Oggewedel, der ie die êrsten *lûge* vant, MS. 2, 250^b; dem t. *an’s bein lûgen*, Rother 3137. He is called ‘des *nîdis vatir* Lucifer,’ Diemer 94, 20.

p. 1019.] Making a *covenant* with the devil, Keisersb. Omeiss 36-8; he bites a finger of the witch’s left hand, and with the blood she signs herself away; or he smites her on the face, making the *nose bleed*, Mone’s Anz. 8, 124-5. ‘The devil’s *mark* (p. 1077); *hantveste* (bond), dâmidé uns der duvil woldi bihaldin, Wernh. v. N. 61, 33. He will make his servant rich, but requires him to *renounce God and St. Mary*, Ls. 3, 256-7. An old story told by the monachus Sangall. (bef. 887) in Pertz 2, 742: *Diabolus cuidam pauperculo . . . in humana se obviam tulit*

specie, pollicitus non mediocriter illum esse ditandum, si *societatis vinculo in perpetuum sibi delegisset adnecti*. A similar story in Thietmar 4, 44 speaks of *prope jacere* and *servire*. One has to *abjure God and all the saints*; the d. comes and *gives the oath*, Hexenproc. aus Ursenthal p. 244-6. Roaz hât beidiu sêle und leben *einem tievel geben*, der tuot durch in wunders vil, er *fûeget im allez* daz er wil, Wigal. 3656-9. 7321—6; when R. dies, the devils come and fetch him 8136. Giving oneself to the d. for riches, Berth. ed. Göbel 2, 41; wil er *Got verkiesen* unde die sêle verliesen, der *tûbel* hilfet ime derzuo, daz er spâte und fruo tuon mac besunder vil maniefalden wunder, Alex. 2837.—*Kissing* the devil (pp. 1065 last l., 1067 last l., 1071); dich *en-vride der tievel* (unless the d. shield thee), du-ne kanst niht genesen, Nib. 1988, 2. The d. *fetches* his own, as Oðinn or Thôrr takes his share of souls: der hel-scherge die *sînen an sich las* (gathered his own unto him), Loh. 70. The *child unborn* is promised to the d. (p. 1025), Altd. bl. 1, 296-7, as formerly to Oðinn: *gâfu Oðni*, Fornm. sög. 2, 168; conf. *gefinn Oðni* sialfr sialfum mer, Sæm. 27^b. With *Bearskin* conf. the ON. *biarn-ólpu-maðr*, Kormakss. p. 114; the Hung. *bearskin*, Hungar. in parab. p. 90-1; Völundr sat â *berfialli*, Sæm. 135^a; lying on the bearskin, Schweinich. 2, 14; wrapping oneself in a *bear's hide*, KM. no. 85; getting sewed up in a *bearskin*, Eliz. of Orl. 295.

One who is on good terms, or in league, with the devil, is called devil's comrade, partner, fellow: *vâlantes mun*, Rol. 216, 7; des *tiveles higen* 156, 4; der *tiuvels bote*, Hpt. 6, 501; *t. kueht*, Iw. 6338. 6772; ein *tûbels knabe*, Pass. 172, 59. 175, 16. 296, 27; our 'teufels-kind,' reprobate; filii Tiufelonis habent Tiufels-grub, MB. 12, 85-7; Morolt des *tiuvels kint*, Mor. 2762; wâren ie des *tivels kint*, Trist. 226, 18. The *polecut*, Lith. *szeszkas*, is called devil's child, because of its smell? *iltisbalg* (fitchet-skin) is an insulting epithet. *Helle-kint*, Griesh. 2, 81; des *tiuvels genóz*, Trist. 235, 29; *slaefestu*, des *t. gelit* (lith. limb)? Pass. 377, 25; alle des *tiveles lile*, Hpt 8, 169; *membrum diaboli*, Ch. yr 1311 in Hildebrand's Svenskt dipl. no. 1789 p. 15 (p. 997). What does *düvelskuker* mean? Seibertz 1, 631.

p. 1024.] The devil has in many cases taken the place of the old giants (pp. 1000, 1024); so the Finn. hiisi gradually developed into a devil. One Mecklenbg witch-story in Lisch 5, 83

still retains the giant where others have the devil; conf. KM.³ 3, 206-7. The *devil* that in many fairy-tales appears at *midnight* to the lone watcher in a *deserted castle*, reminds one of *Grendel*, whom Beowulf bearded in *Heorot*.—The devil mimics God, wants to create like Him: he makes the *goat*, KM. no. 148, and the *magpie*, Serb. mährch. no. 18; conf. Märch. of Bukovina in Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 179. 180. He builds Bern in three nights, Pref. to Heldenb. Where a church is built to God, the d. sets up his *chapel* hard by: in the play of Caterina, Lucifer cries to the devils, 'habet ūch daz *kapellichen vor den greten*,' ad gradus ecclesiae, Stephan p. 172. In tales of the *church-building devil* they make a wolf run through the door; conf. a song in Umland's Volksl. p. 812 and the story of Wolfgang in M. Koch's Reise 413.

S war just ein neu-gebautes nest,
 der erste bewohner sollt' es taufen;
 aber wie fängt er's an? er lässt
 weislich den *pudel* voran erst laufen.

Wallenstein's Camp, p.m. 33.

Mephistopheles hates *bells*, Faust p.m. 433. Tales of *devil's bridges* in Müllenh. p. 274-5; such a one is also called 'die *stiebende brücke*,' Geschichtsf., heft 7 p. 36.

There is a *devil's stone* near Polchow in Stettin district, on which the d. takes his noonday nap on Midsun. day; it becomes as soft as cheese then, and the evil one has left the print of his limbs on the flat surface, Balt. stud. xi. 2, 191. xii. 1, 110. A *devil's chamber* lies between Haaren and Büren (Paderborn). *Devil's kitchens*, Leoprechting 112-3-7. A field named *teufels-rütti*, Weisth. 1, 72. The Roman fortifications in Central and S. Germany are also called *pfal-hecke*, *pfal-rain*, *pfal-ranke*; Er. Alberus fab. 25 has *pol-graben*, Jaum. Sunloc p. 17; die *boll*, *poll-graben*, conf. the iron *pohl*, Steiner's Main-gebiet 277-8; *bulweg*, *wulch* in Vilmar's Idiot. 102, conf. art. *Pfahl-mauer* in Hall. encyclop.—It seems these Roman walls were not always of stone or brick, but sometimes of *pfäle* (stakes): Spartian, as quoted by Stälin, speaks of 'stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepis funditus jactis et connexis'; and Mone's Bad. gesch. 2, 5 mentions 'pali,' our *pfäle*. Near the *Teufels-mauer* is situated a *Pfahls-buck*, Panz. 1, 156, and in the Wetterau a

pohl-born (Ukert p. 281), just like *Pholes-brunno* (p. 226).—On the other hand the devil's wall is not only called *schwein-graben*, but also *sau-strasse*, Stälin 1, 81-5. 97. Ukert p. 279; and if the former is said to have been 'thrown up by a *gockel-hahn* (cock) and a *schwein*,' it puts us in mind of the boar that roots up earth, and bells out of the earth, Firmen. 2, 148; conf. supra (pp. 666. 996) and the ploughing cock (p. 977). 'In *beren-loch*, daz man nempt des *tüfels graben*,' Segesser 1, 645. On a giant's wall in Mecklenbg lies a *teufels back-ofen* (Ukert p. 314), just as the people call grave-mounds 'baker's ovens,' *ibid.* p. 280. Other places named after the devil in Mone's Anz. 6, 231.

p. 1024.] 'Devil take the *hindmost!*' Garg. 190^b, conf. sacrificing the last man to *Mars* 227^a. So the *vila* consecrates 12 pupils on *vrzino kolo*, and the twelfth or *last* falls due to her, Vuk sub v. *vrzino kolo* (Suppl. to 986 end). The same with the 12 scholars at Wunsiedel, Schönw. 3, 56, and the student of Plesse 3, 26. Again: 'wâ sît ir ze *schuole* gewesen? hat iu der *tufel* vorgelesen?' lectured to you, Dietr. dr. 157^b.—The devil's taking the shadow reminds us of the *schatten-busze* (shadow-penance) in German law. The Indian gods cast no shadow, which is as it were the soul of a man, Klemm 2, 309. *Catching the shadow* is also Wallachian, Schuller's Argisch 17. Müllenh. p. 554. *Wiuther's folke eventyr* p. 18. Icel. story of *Sæmund*, Aefintyri p. 34-5. *Chamisso's* legend is known in Spain: 'hombre que vendió su sombra,' *Mila y Fontals* 188.

p. 1028.] The *hushing of the child* in the legend of *Kallundborg* church is the same as that of the giant's child (p. 548). Similar stories in Schönwerth 3, 61. Müllenh. p. 300-1. A *cock* that is carried past, *crows* and puts the devil out in his building, Sommer p. 53. Schönw. 3, 60. Disappearance takes place after thrice *clapping the hands*, Dybeck 4, 32 (nos. 31 and 33). With the story of '*self done, self have*,' conf. p. 450-1 n.; the tale of the *water-nix* and *Selver-gedan*, Hpt 4, 393; the *Engadine* story of the *diala* and the *svess*, Schreiber's *Taschenb.* 4, 306. *Vonbun* pp. 5, 6 (ed. 2 p. 8); the *Lapl.* story of giant *Stallo*, Nilsson 4, 32; and the Norse one of *Egil*, *ibid.* 4, 33. Müll. *Sagenb.* 2, 612.

p. 1029.] The *division of crops* between the peasant and the devil is also in Müllenh. p. 278. 'To raise *corn* and *turnip*' is

the formula of agriculture: 'ryþia undir rughi ok rövum,' rye and turnips, Östgöt. lagh pp. 217. 220.

p. 1029.] The dragonfly is called *devil's horse*: Finn. *pirum hevoinen* = daemonis equus, *pirum piika* = daemonis ancilla. A priest's wife is the *devil's brood-mare*, App. Spell. xxxiv. Nethl. *duivel's-kop* (-head) = typha, our tuttil-kolbe, dentel-kolbe. Teufels-rohr, conf. Walth. 33, 8. *Devil's thread* is acc. to Vilmar the cuscuta epilinum, called rang in the Westerwald. A farm named *duvel-bites gutol*, Seibertz 391 (1280).

CHAPTER XXXIV.

MAGIC.

p. 1031.] Got *wunderaere*, Gerh. 4047; Got, du *w.*, Ad. v. Nassan 230; Got ist ein *w.*, Helmbr. 1639; Krist *w.*, Walth. 5, 35; Got *wundert*, Engelh. 455. 491.

Nû möhte iuch nemen wunder,
waz göte wâren bî der zît?
si wâren *liute*, als ir nû sît,
wan daz ir krefteclîch gewalt
was michel unde manecvalt
von kriutern und von steinen.—Troj. kr. 858.

(what were gods in those days? Men like you, except that their power over herbs and stones was much). All gods are *magicians*, *ibid.* 859—911; Terramer calls Jesus a *magician*, Wh. 357, 23: Thôr's image speaks, walks and fights, but *by the devil's agency*, Fornm. sög. 1, 302—6; a statue of Freyr gets off the chariot and wrestles 2, 73-5; *tiivele* wonent darinne (inside them), Rol. 27, 8.—The *grâl* makes men magic-proof even to the fifth of kin: die edel frucht vom grâle, unz an die funften sippe keines zoubers strâle traf in weder rucke, houbt noch rippe, Tit. 2414. *Mathematici* are classed among magicians; thus Cod. ix. tit. 18 treats 'de maleficis et mathematicis'; mathematicus = himil-scowari, stargazer, Diut. 1, 505^a; math. = tungel-witega, steor-gleaw, Hpt's Ztschr. 9, 467^b; vaticinatores et mathematici, qui se Deo plenos adsimulant, Jul. Pauli sentent. 5, 21.

p. 1034.] The bad is the *not right*: es geht nicht mit rechten dingen zu; 'das ich solcher frauen sei, die mit bosen stücken umbgen,' Bodmer's Rheing. 424 (yr 1511). ON. *fordæðu-skapr*, *fordæðu-verk* (misdoing) = veneficium; *fordeþ-scipr*, Gutalag 77; *fördeþa*, Östg. lag 225. AS. *máu-fordewllan* = malefici, Beow. 1120. Gl. to Lex 1 § 2. Dig. de obseq. par. (indignus militia iudicandus est qui patrem et matrem maleficos appellaverit): hoc est qui matrem dixerit *affactoratricem*.—OHG. *zoupar*, Graff 5, 580-1-2. MHG. *den selben zouber*, Hartm. büchl. 1, 1347, *daz zouber* 1318. *Daz z.* = magic potion: mir ist *zouber* gegeben, Herb. 758, and: Circe kunde trenke geben, sulich *zouber*, sulche spîse 17631. M. Lat. *zobria* f., Mone's Anz. 7, 424; mit *zouber* varn, MS. 1, 73^b. Curiously in the Dresd. Wolfdietr. 162: kein z. dir kan *gewinken* (rhy. trinken); *tover* en ontfoerdene mi, Karel 1, 1469; si zigen in *zouberlicher* dinge, Trist. 272, 2; *zouber-liste*, Eracl. 1062; *zouberliste* tragen, MS. 1, 78^b, z. hân 99^b.—Umme-gan (go about, meddle) mit *toverye* und *wyckerie*, Burmeister's Alterth. 25 (yr 1417); *tovern* u. *wykken*, ibid.; *witken*, Bruns Beitr. 337; *wickerie*, *bote*, *wichelie*, Gefken's Bëil. 141, *toverie*, *wickerie* 124. Welsh *gwiddan*, witch. OHG. *wichôn* saltare, gesticulari, Graff I, 708; conf. Hpt 3, 92. AS. *hweoler* = augur, *fugle hweoler*, fr. hweol, wheel. Lett. *deewaredsis* who sees God and discovers hidden things, conf. devins (p. 471). Buttmann 2, 256 derives *χράω*, I divine, fr. grabbing, grasping; conf. Grîpir (p. 471).—*Weis-hexen*, Gryph. Dornrose 90, 27; *wizannunc*, divinatio, *wizzigo*, vates, Gl. Sletst. 6, 699; ein *wizzag gewuere*, MS. 2, 189^b; *vitka liki fara*, Sæm. 63^a; Engl. *wizard*. ON. *gan*, 'magia,' Biörn; but 'inconsultus gestus,' Nialss. p. 683^a. AS. *hwata* = omina, divinationes, Can. Edg. 16 (Suppl. to 1107 beg.). Lat. *veratrie*, soothsayer, sorceress; *verare*, to say sooth, conf. *veratrum*, hellebore. Lith. *wardyti*, to work magic. ON. *satt eitt sagðak*, I said a sooth, Sæm. 226^b. OHG. *wâr-secco*, divinator; der *warsager* tut mir warsagen, H. Sachs ii. 4, 12^b, unser *w.* 13^b, the one who practises in our village, as among Finns and Lapps, Suomi '46, p. 97-8. Fara til *fiðlkunnigra* Finna, Fornm. s. 2, 167; *kýnga*, magica, Laxd. 328; in Cavall. Voc. verl. 38^a *kyng*, sickness. *Leikur*, witches, versiformes, Gróttas. 11. Betw. Lauterbach and Grebenau a divineress was called *eló kenil*, a blue child.

p. 1037.] Spoken magic, spell, is in MHG. *galster*, Lanz. 7011; mit *galster-liste*, Fundgr. 2, 100; *galstern*, Stald. 1, 417. *Curminator*, *carminatrix*, MB. 16, 242 (yr 1491). *Vermeinen*, bewitch, Schm. 2, 587; *vermaynen* ad oculos, dentes, Mone's Anz. 7, 423; *verschiren*, fascinare, Diut. 2, 214^b; *verschieren*, *beswögen*, Müllenh. p. 560; *verruochen* u. *vermeinen*, Ges. Abent. 3, 78; *homines magicis artibus dementare*, Lamb. p. 214 (yr 1074). Kilian has *ungheren*, work magic, *unghers*, maleficus, *ungher-hoere*, malefica, *unghers eyeren* volva, q. d. manium sive cacodaemonum ova. Van den Bergh p. 58 has Fris. *tjoenders* en *tjoensters*, wizard and witch. *Ougpente*, fascinatione, Gl. Sletst. 25, 149.

ON. *seiðr*, magic: Gunnhildr lét *seið efla*, Egilss. 403; *seið-staðr* or *-stafr*, Laxd. 328; conf. Lapp. *seita*, Castrén's Myt. 207-8. *Boiling* of herbs (p. 1089), of stockings (p. 1093).

MHG. die *buoze* versnochen, try remedies, charms, Morolf 916; sühte *büezen*, heal sickness, Freid. 163, 16; de tene *böten*, cure toothache, Hpt 3, 92; *boeten*, Gefken's Beil. 151. 167; *boterie* 124. 175-7; *zanzeln*, work magic, Mielcke 36^a.

Lupperie, Gefk. Beil. 109. 112; *lâchenêe*, Troj. kr. 27. 234; *lâchenaere* 27240, conf. 963; *stria* aut *herbaria*, Lex Alam. add. 22.

ON. *bölvísar* konor, witches, Sæm. 197^b (p. 988); *fræði*, scientia, esp. *magia nigra* (suppl. to 1044).

Nethl. terms for sorceress, witch: *nacht-loopster* (-rover), *weer-makster*, weather-maker, *luister-vink*, mutterer in secret, *grote kol*, great horse; op *kol* rijden, work magic, Weiland sub v. kol; in ma *anwôt* sein, be bewitched, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 54. Necromanticus habebat cucullum ac tunicam de *pilis caprarum*, Greg. Tur. 9, 6; conf. *indutus pellibus* 10, 25.

The AS. *drý*, magus, comes not fr. *δρῦς*, oak (p. 1215 end), but fr. Ir. *draoi*, with a pl. *draoithe*, of which the Romans made *druidæ*, Leo's Malb. gl. 1, 23. Davies in Celt. res. had derived it fr. Wel. *derwydd*. Spells were read out of a book: *sîn zouber las*, Pass. 171, 25; ein pfaffe der wol zouber *las*, Parz. 66, 4; 'ich hân von allem dem *gelesen* daz ic *geflôz* u. *gefloc*' says the soothsayer, Troj. kr. 19057; in den swarzen buochen lesen, Ksrchr. 13234. Finn. *lukia*, to read, but in the Runes always to conjure, Castr. Pref. p. x.—Ze *Dolet* ich niht lernen wil von der nigromanzêe, MS. 2, 63^b; zu *Toletum* die ars necromantica

lernen, Cæs. Heisterb. 5, 4, conf. Jubinal's *Mystères* 1, 396; noch sô lernet man die list in einer stat zuo *Tolêt*, diu in Hispaniën stêt, Herb. 562, conf. Fromm. p. 225 and ze *Dolêt* (p. 1048 beg.); ein stat heizet *Persidâ*, dâ êrste zouber wart erdaht, Parz. 657, 28. The *travelling scholars* roam fr. school to school, and learn black art, H. Sachs ii. 4, 19^d; conf. devil's pupils, disciples (p. 1024). *Cain* lêrte sîniu chint (taught his children) dei zouber dei hinte sint, Diut. 3, 59.

p. 1038.] MHG. *liezen* = augurari: stille *liezen*, Er. 8687; ich kan vliegen u. *verliezen*, MS. 1, 89^a; *sahs-luzzo*, magus, Hattemer 1, 259^b. *Zouberse* too is sortilega, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 72; kanstu von zouber meisterschaft, die *wirf an sie* (throw it on her), Laurin 1675. With Swed. *tjusa* to conjure, conf. Dan. *kyse*, terrere. *Burt* = sortilegium, *burten*, conjure, divine, Gefken 99; conf. Lith. *burtas* lot, *burti* prophesy, *burtininkas* lot-caster, and Lett. *burt* witches, *burtneks* sorcerer. The lot speaks: 'al darnâch daz *lôz geseit*; *seit ez wol*, *misse-seit ez*,' as the lot shall say, yea or nay, MS. 1, 156^a.—*Gougulares list*, O. iv. 16, 33; *cauculare*, magus, Hpt 3, 382; mit *gougeles liste*, Fundgr. 2, 99, *gougelâre list* 99. 100; de *gouchelâre*, MB. 8, 482; ein *goukel*, Eracl. 1110; *gokelt* onder den hoet, Ferg. 2772; under 'm huot *gaukeln*, Suchenw. 29, 45. May we take it as conn. with *gouch*, *gowk*, cuckoo? the Dan. for *gowk* and conjure are *gjøg* and *gjøgle*, but the OHG. *kouh* and *koukalôn*. Frère Barbarin in Flores practises sleight-of-hand, and is called *encanteor*. ON. *sion-hverfingar* = praestigiae, Sn. 79; AS. *gedwimor*, *gedwymor* = fantasma, praestigium.

There is an old word, OHG. *hliodar*, AS. *hleodor* = sonus, vaticinium, ON. *hliod* merely sonus; OHG. *hleodar-sâzo* hariolus, necromanticus, *hleodar-sizzeo*, *hleodar-sezzo* ariolus, *hleodar-sâza* vaticinium, Graff 6, 302-4; *lioder-sâza*, Hattemer 1, 261; in cervulo = in *lioder-sâza*, coragius = *liodir-sâzo*, Gl. Sletst. 23, 3. 8; conf. Superst. A; the diviner then *sits* in a chair? The *sahs-luzzo*, magus, Graff 6, 91. 2, 322, appar. divines with a knife or sword.

p. 1039.] Magic is ascribed chiefly to *women*. Priestesses, prophetesses, were old, grey-haired (p. 96-7): Sibylla 'saz *antfas* (unkempt) an irme bete-hûs,' En. 2694; *grôz* u. *grâ* was ir daz hâr, u. harte verworren (tangled) als eines pferdes mane 2698;

daz *mies* lokehete hienc ir ûz den ôren 2708. Neapol. *scirpia*, brutta strega, fr. *scirpus*, a kind of rush. A *wunder-altez* wip interprets the dream upon her oath, Walth. 95, 8; *vielle sorciere*, Méon 3, 159; a soothsaying *foster-moder*, Arvidss. 2, 5; *kerlinga villa*, Sæm. 169; *alter wibe* troume, Türl. Wh. 82^a; 'a devil-ridden root-delver, spell-speaker, and wizzened old herb-hunter,' Garg. 189^a. Ir. *cailleach* means a *veiled* woman, *old* woman, witch.—*Herdsmen* too are sorcerers: 'for, you see, we shepherds, cut off from the world, have our thoughts about many things while the silly sheep are grazing,' Voss's Idyls 9, 49.

p. 1041.] *Hegitisse*=eumenides, *hügtis*=striga, Gl. Jun. 378, 381; *hazzisa*=eumenides, Gl. Sletst. 6, 273; *haghetissen*, Br. Gheraert 717, conf. *hezosun*=palaestritae, Graff 4, 1073. *Hagedisse*=lizard (OHG. egidehsa), Gemmula Antwerp. in Hoffm. Horae Belg. 7; in the Ring 210-1 it is called *häwe*, 219 both *häwe* and *unhold*. Is the Lith. *kėkszė*, harlot, formed fr. *heve*, as *keksztas* fr. *heher*, a jay? In the Ring p. 230 a witch is called *Hächel*, sorceress; conf. 'hägili, stâ!' stay, little witch, 57. The Swiss *hagsne*=hexe (Stald. 2, 10) may bark back to OHG. *hahsinôu* subnervare [hamstring, cut the *hächse*, hough], for a witch *unnerves* (comedere nervos, p. 1081 last l.); conf. Fris. *hexna*, *hoxna*, *hoxne*=poples.

p. 1042.] Óðinn is called *galdrs föðr*, Sæm. 94^a. The *Vilkinsaga* names a sorceress *Ostacia*, who learnt magic of her step-mother (see p. 1055). Other names of witches in *Skáldskap*. 234. A sorceress is a *vala* or *völva*: *seið-staðr* mikill, þóttust menn þá vita, at þar mundi verit hafa völu leiði nockud (sagae tumulus), Laxd. p. 328. She is also called *flögð*: *flögð* á Heiðarskôg, Fornm. 3, 122; Nethl. *nacht-loopster*, *grote kol* (Suppl. to 1037 mid.); conf. *ræðri sîn gand*, *fór* at seiða, Vilks. saga c. 328.

p. 1044.] Gera *seið-hiall mikinn*; appar. a platform to hold a good many: þau færðust þar á upp öll (all), þau kváðu þar *fræði* sîn, en þat voru *galdrar*, Laxd. 142.

p. 1045.] For *masca*, the Lomb. Glosses have *nasca*, Hpt's Ztschr. 1, 556; conf. *talamasca* (p. 915). With *striga* connect *στρίγξ* owl, who waylays children, and is kept off by hawthorn, Jv. Fast. 6, 130—168; *στρίγλα* in Leo Allatius; *στρίγλος* (*γόςης*). DC. Another word for mask is *schem-bart*, Schm. 3, 362. Oäger's Ulm p. 526: nu sitze ich als ein *schempart* trûric, Renu

17998; *scema* = larva, Graff 6, 495-6; LG. *scheme* in Voss; Nethl. *scheem*, *scheme*, shadow; conf. *scheine* in Frauenl. 174.

p. 1046.] On *chervioburgus*, see Malb. gl. 2, 153-4. Müllenhoff (in Waitz p. 287, and Mone's Anz. 8, 452) compares it with the *κερνοφόρος* of the mysteries. A Tyrolese legend tells of roving night-wives and their *cauldron*, Germania 2, 438. In our nursery-tales *witch* and *old cook* are the same thing, KM. no. 51. Lisch's Meckl. jrb. 5, 82. — On a hill or mountain named *kipula*, or *kipivnori*, *kipumäki*, *kipuharja* (sorrow's mount, hill, peak), stands *Kivutar* before a *cauldron* (*kattila*, *pata*), brewing plagues. In *Kalev*. 25, 181, is mentioned a parti-coloured milking-pail (*kippa*), 182 a copper bushel (*vakka*), 196 *kattila*. Acc. to Renvall a witch is *panetar*, *panutar*. A butterfly is called *kettelböter* (-heater), and whey-stealer, milk-thief (p. 1072).

p. 1047.] A *salt-work* is a sacred gift of God, and protected by the law of nations, Rommel 8, 722. *Salt* is laid on tables and altars: *sacras facite mensas salinorum appositu*, Arnob. 2, 67; *salinum est patella*, in qua diis primitiae cum sale offerebantur. Egyptians hated salt and the sea; their priests were forbidden to set salt on the table, Plut. De Iside 32. — The interchange of H and S in *hal* and *sal* is, acc. to Leo (in Hpt 5, 511), syntactic in the Celtic tongues, and Gael. *sh* is pron. *h*. *Hallstadt* is more corr. spelt *Hallstatt*, M. Koch's Reise 407. Ssk. *sara* = salt. Lat. *halec*, herring, is akin to *ἄλας*, salt, GDS. 300 [So Sl. *seldi*, ON. *síld*, herring, means salt-water fish; but Tent. *håring* = *heer*-fish, bec. it goes in hosts, shoals, Hehn's Plants and Anim. 411].

p. 1050.] Witches eat *horseflesh*, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 67. The pipe at the dance of trolls inside the hill is a *horse-bone*, Afzelius 2, 159; conf. a Pruss. story in N. Preuss. prov. bl. 1, 229.

p. 1051.] The Witches' Excursion takes place on the *first night in May*, Lisch's Meckl. jrb. 5, 83. Wolf's Zts. 2, 68. 'The Esth. witches also assemble that night,' says Possart p. 161; others say the night of June 23-4, *i.e.* Midsum. Eve. 'They ride up *Blocksberg* on the *first of May*, and in 12 days must *dance the snow away*; then Spring begins,' Kuhn in Hpt's Zts. 5, 483. Here they appear as elflike, godlike maids.

p. 1053.] Witches' Mountains are: the *Brückelsperg*, Wolf's Zts. 1, 6; several *Blocksbergs* in Holstein, Müllenh. p. 564;

Brockenburg, Dittm. Sassenrecht 159. GDS. 532; the *unholdenperg* near Passau occurs already in MB. 28^b, 170. 465. 'At the end of the Hilss, as thou nearest the Duier (Duinger) wood, is a mountain very high and bare, named *uf den bloszen zellen*, whereon it is given out that witches hold their dances on Walpurgis night, even as on Mt Brocken in the Harz,' Zeiler's Topogr. ducat. Brunsv. et Luneb. p. 97. Betw. Vorwalde and Wickensen (Brunswk) stands the witches' mount *Elias*. Near Brünighausen is *Kukesburg*, already named in the Hildesh. dioces. circumscrib., conf. Lünzel p. 31-8, which Grupen calls *Kokesburg*, named after the devil's *kitchen*. Witches' hills in Holstein, and their trysts in N. Friesland, are in Müllenh. no. 288-9. A witch-mtn near Jülchendorff, Mecklenbg, Lisch 5, 83; is *Koiberg* another? Gefk. Catal. 111. In Sommer pp. 56. 174 the Brocken is called *Glockersberg*. Similar places are the Franco-nian *Pfetersberg* near Marktbürgel, and the Alsatian *Büchelberg*, conf. *buhilesberg*, *pückelsberg*, Graff 3, 135; for other trysts of witches in Elsass, see Alsatia '56, p. 283. Dwarfs as well as witches haunt the *Heuberg* or *Höperg*, Ring 211: *witches' horses* flew over Höperg 234. In Tirol they meet on the *Schlernkofel*, Zingerle's Hexenproc. 37; seven more places are given in his Sitten 32 and Alpenburg 255. 262.—In Bleking the Swed. trysting-place is called *Jungfru-kullen*, Wieselgr. 398; in fairy-tales *Blå-kulla* or *Heckenfjell*, Cavallius 447-8. The vila holds her dance on the mountain-top (vr), *vrzino kolo*; there also she initiates her pupils, Vuk sub v. *vrzino kolo*. 'Æsogora seu Bloksbarch,' Ceynowa 13, exactly translates *Kalenberg*, fr. *lysy bald*, Linde 2, 1318-9. Finn. *kipula* or *kippumäki*, see Peterson p. 72-3 (Suppl. to 1046). In Moravia the witches meet on Mt *Rádošt*, a Slavic mont-joie, Kulda. In Persia another name for Mt Demavend is *Arezúra*, where daevas and wizards assemble, Spiegel's Avesta 2, cxiv.

p. 1054.] In Vilk. cap. 328 'rœrdi sîn *gand*' seems to mean 'rode into the air.' There is a dwarf named *Gand-âlfr*, Sæm. 2^b, and a valkyrja *Göndul* (p. 421). The Hächel rides on a *wolf*, Ring 230-7; witches fly on *goats*, 210-1. Matth. v. Kemnat names *unholde* and *nachthusser* together; does the word contain *thusse*, *durse*? In Passion 4, 85 it says: *daz ist ein naht-vole*, *den guoter werke tages-liecht lât gesehen wê nec iht*. The Vatns-

dœla p. 106 cap. 26 thus descr. a sorceress and her extraordinary turn-out: þar fer þá *Liot*, ok hefir *breitiliga* um sik bûit, hun hafði *rekit fótinn fram yfir höfuðit*, ok fór *öfug*, ok retti *höfuðit út á millum fótanna apr*; ófagurligt var hennar *augnabragd*, hversu hun gat því tröllsliga skotit. Verlauff's note p. 107 says, the (old) Gullþoris saga cap. 17 descr. the similar figure cut by a sorceress, to dull the enemies' weapons.

p. 1061.] *Troll-dances* descr. in Afzelius 2, 158-9. A remarkable story in Lisch's Meckl. jrb. 5, 83 tells of a *giant* giving a feast on a mountain, and *thumbings* dancing on the table before him; the rest is like other witch-stories. H. Sachs v. 343^{bc} says witches hold their dances and weddings on a great *beech-tree*. A musician comes upon a witches' dance, and has to play to them, Firmen. 2, 383-4.—AS. *niht-genge*, witch; conf. *naht-egese*, *naht-eise* (note on Andr. xxxii); *nacht-ridders*, Br. Gher. 715; *nacht-volk*, Vonbun p. 34-5. Wolf's Zts. 2, 53; glauben, die lüte des *nachtes farn*, Gefk. Beil. 24; ON. *Nátt-fari*, a man's name, Landnam. 1, 1; *varende vrouwen* = witches, Belg. mus. 2, 116. Br. Gher. 717; *ausfahrerin*, Judas erzsch. 2, 107; *naht-frawe* in Mone 8, 408 means midwife; *nacht-frala* is the plant *mirabilis jalappa*, *belle de nuit*, Castelli 205. The Thessalian witches also fly by night: *φασὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ πέτεσθαι τῆς νυκτός*, Lucian's *Asin.* 1. In Servia the magicians and their pupils travel with the *vila*. The *unhuld* fetches bottles of wine out of cellars, H. Sachs i. 5, 532^b. A story in Pertz 2, 741 of a *pilosus* who fills bottles.

p. 1061.] *Dåse* looks like AS. *dwaes*, fatuus; but in Reinaert 7329 *dasen*, insanire, rhymes with *verdwasen*, so it can hardly be the same word as *dwasen*. The Gemm. Antwerp. (in Hoffm. Hor. Belg. 7) has *dase* = *peerts-vlieghe*, hornet, and in the Mark they still speak of a *dasen-schwarm*, Schmidt v. Wern. 276-7. MHG. 'daesic hunt,' Frauenl. 368, 2. Heimdall is called *hornþytvaldi*, Sæm. 92^b.

p. 1064.] Other herb and flower names for the devil and for witches in Wolf's Zts. 2, 64. *Schöne* is even OHG.: *Scônea*, a woman's name. *Gräsle*, *Kreutle*, *Rosenkranz*, Keller's Erz. 195. The elfvor change into flowers or branches by day (Suppl. to 470 beg.). Is not the devil also called *Hagedorn*, like the minstrel in Berthold 56? Is *Linden-tolde* (-top) a witch? Ring 235.—

The devil often makes a handsome figure: daemon *adolescentis venusti speciem induens*, Cæs. Heisterb. 5, 36; hence the names *Frisch*, *Spring-ins-feld*, *Fleder-wisch*, *Schlepp-hans* (yr 1597), Thür. mitth. vi. 3, 68-9. The 'sieben *flederwische* (goosewing dusters)' are witches, Panz. Beitr. 1, 217; aller *flederwische* u. *maikäfer-flügel* gesundheit (health)! Franz. Simpl. 1, 57. 49; hinaus mit den *flederwischen*! Ung. apotheker 762. Other names: *Zucker*, *Paperle*. Names of devils in the Alsfeld Passion-play are coll. in Hpt. 3, 484—493.

p. 1069.] Witches take an oath *to do the devil's will*; see in Geschichtsfreund 6, 246 the remarkable confession of a witch of Ursernthal (yr 1459). The *devil's bride* sits up in the *tree* with her 'kalt-sainigen stink-bräutigam, Garg. 72^b; devil and witch hold dance and *wedding* on *trees* and *boughs*, H. Sachs v. 343^{bc}. In records even of the 12th cent. occur such surnames as 'Osculans diabolum, Basians daemonem, Demonem osculans, Bèse diable,' Guérard's Prolegom. to the Cart. de Chartres p. xciv. What does 'osculans *acnionem*' there mean?—Tres mulieres sortilegae Silvanectis captæ, et per majorem et juratos justiciatæ (yr 1282); the bishop claims that they belonged to his jurisdiction, Guér. Cart. de ND. 3, 341. And even before that: Judices tanquam *maleficam* et *magum* miserunt in *ignem*, Cæs. Heist. 4, 99; this was at Soest, beginn. of 12th cent. In England: Proceedings against dame Alice Kyteler, prosec. for *sorcery* 1324 by Rich. de Ledrede bp. of Ossory, ed. by Th. Wright, Lond. '43, Camd. Soc. xlii. and 61. A *strega* of 1420, who turned into a *cat*, Reber's Hemmerlin p. 248. About the same time Wolkenstein p. 208 says of old women:

zauberei und *kupel-spiel*,
das machen si nit teuer (not scarce);
es wird doch ie eine versêrt
mit einem heissen *feuer*.

'Vil *fewers* zu! ist der beste rat (plan)' thinks Matth. v. Keunat p. 117; while on the contrary H. Sachs 1, 532^e saw clearly that

des teufels eh' und reuterei (weddings and ridings)
ist nur gespenst und fantasei (mere dreams);
das bock-faren kumpt aus misglauben (superstition).

An Engl. treatise on Witches and Witchcraft by G. Gifford 1603 has been reprinted for the Percy Soc. '42.—The burning and strewing of the ashes is found as early as Rudl. 6, 49: *Rogone comburatis, in aquam cinerem jaciatis*. Fornm. sög. 2, 163: *Klauf hann þá þór í skîður einar, lagði í eld, ok brendi at ösku, síðan fékk hann ser lög nökkurn, kastaði þar á öskunni, ok gerði af grant, þann grant gaf hann blauðum hundum* (al. grey hundum); conf. supra (p. 189).

p. 1075.] The witch holds up her *left* hand in taking the oath to the devil, Geschichtsfr. 6, 246. On the nature of the *mark* printed on her by the devil, see Mone's Anz. 8, 124-5. The Greeks too believed that the Thessalian sorceresses anointed themselves with a *salve*, Lucian's Asin. 12-3. Apuleius p. m. 116-7; vil kunnen *salben den kübel* (tub), *das si obnan ausfurn* (fly out at the top), Vintler (Sup. G, l. 180). A witch is called *fork-riider*, Garg. 47^a; she rides *calves* and *cows* to death (p. 1048 mid.); she has *wings*, Müllenh. p. 212. The witch's or sorcerer's flight through the air is the god's *ríða lopt ok lög* (air and fire); conf. the skipper and his man sailing on water, air and land, Müllenh. p. 222.—In the midst of the witches the Devil sits on a *pillar* (=irmensûl), Mone's Anz. 8, 130; he sits with them on the *tree*, holds dance and wedding on *trees* and *boughs* (Suppl. to 1069 beg.). There are banquets of witches, as there are of *fays*: their viands are tasteless as rotten timber, or they suddenly change to *muck*; so all the food the Huldre brings turns into *cow's dung*, Asb. Huldr. 1, 49. 51. Sometimes the devil plays the *drone-pipe*, Thür. mitth. vi. 3, 70. With the young witch set to *mind the toads*, conf. the *girl* and three *toads* in Lisch's Jrb. 5, 82.—Witches turn the milk, skim the dew, lame the cattle, and brew storms. The mischief is chiefly aimed at the corn-fields and cattle (p. 1106): they draw milk out of a *knife*, Asb. Huldr. 1, 176. Wolf's Zts. 2, 72. Müllenh. p. 222; they stretch a *string*, and milk out of it, Mone 8, 131, or cut a *chip* out of the stable-door for the same purpose 5, 452-3; they milk out of an *awl* or the *neck* (handle-hole) *of an axe*, Keisersb. Omeiss 54^a, illustr. by a woodcut; the senni milks out of *four taps in the wall*, Fromm. 2, 565. Witches make *butter* by churning water with a stick, Müllenh. p. 224; they '*filch* people's milk fr. them,' M. Beham in Mone 4, 454; they are called *molken-tover*,

Mone's Schausp. 2, 74 (Upstandinge 1116); conf. App., Spell xxxvii: 'Up thro' the clouds and away, Fetch me *lard* and *milk* and *whay!*' Witches gather *dew*, to get people's butter away, Müllenh. p. 565; conf. AS. *deáw-drias*, Cædm. 3795 (Bout.), Grein 101; towe daz *gelesen* wirt (gathered dew), Notk. Cap., conf. *thau-schlepper*, *tau-dragil* (p. 786).—They *darn* peace or no peace into the bridal bed; they *plait discord in*, by plaiting the pillow-feathers into *wreaths* and *rings*, Müllenh. p. 223. Hence the tales about the old wife that's worse than the devil: 'in medio consistit virtus, like the devil between two old wives,' Garg. 190^b. An old woman having caused a loving couple to fall out, the devil was so afraid of her that he reached her the promised pair of shoes at the end of a stick. Witches 'nemen den mannen *ir gseln*,' M. Beham in Mone 4, 451. Grasping, beating, stroking, blowing, breathing, eyeing are attrib. to witches (p. 1099), as they are to healing women.—In their magic they use the *hands of unborn babes*, Fastn. sp. p. 1349. Thieves cut the *thumb* off an unborn child, and light it: as long as it burns, every one in the house sleeps; *spinam humani cadaveris* de tecto pendunt, and nobody wakes, Cæs. Heist. 6, 10; 'du haddest ok ens *deves dumen* bavene henghen an de tunne' is said to the cheating inn-keeper, Mone's Schausp. 2, 87 (a thief taken at Berlin in 1846 had a green herb sewed into her petticoat, her *herb of luck* she called it); *ungemeilit hint* [unbetrothed?] are employed in sorcery, Ksrchr. 2102. 2590; conf. 'lecta ex *structis ignibus ossa*,' Lachmann's emend. of Prop. iv. 5, 28. It is 'thought that the *alb* (nightmare) cometh of *untimely births*,' M. Beham in Mone 4, 450. These are divided into *black*, *white* and *red* (Hpt. 4, 389), which seems to support my division of elves into black, light and brown.—The caterpillar *devil's cat* (Stald. 1, 276) reminds one of *katze-spur*, a hairy caterp. so called in the Palatinate; conf. Russ. *gúsenitza*, Pol. *wąsienca*, Boh. *hausenka*, Langued. *diablotin*; ON. *bröndúngr*, variegata, Swed. *kålmusk*. The butterfly is called *pfeif-mutter*, Schm. 1, 30, *fifun-trager*, Alb. Schott 291; conf. *pipolter*, *fifolter*. The witch is delivered of *will o' wisps*, Thür. mitth. vi. 3, 69.—Witches carry magic in their *hair*, therefore we cut it off: this already in M. Beham's Wien p. 274; conf. the *weichselzöpfe* (plica Pol.). The witch chains her lover, the devil, with *yarn* spun in a churchyard, Thür. mitth. vi. 3, 70.

Witches float on water, as Goðrún says of herself: 'hófo mik, ne drekðo hávar báror,' Sæm. 267^a; 'hon mátti eigi söcva,' she might not sink 265. The unsightly German witch is paralleled by the Finn. Pohjan akka *harvahammas* (thin-toothed), Kalev. 2, 187. 205. 5, 135.

p. 1077.] Heathen features are the witches' consumption of *horseflesh* or even *man's flesh*, also their *dislike of bells*. With the witch's *blood-mark*, and with *Death's mark*, conf. 'stakins (στίγματα) Fráujins ana leika báran,' Gal. 6, 17. It is remarkable that a witch *cannot weep*; she has watery eyes, but sheds *no tears*. In the Tirol. Inquis. (Pfaundler p. 43): sie sprotzt mit den augen, *weint ohne thränen*. Exactly the same is said of Thöck: 'Thöck mun gráta þurru tárur (with dry tears) Baldrs bálfarar.' Here the witch answers to the giantess.

p. 1080.] To lie under a *harrow* defends you fr. the devil: stories in Müllenh. no. 290. Firmen. 1, 206^b. He that puts a *piece of turf* on his head will not be seen by witches, Panz. Beitr. 1, 240-1. Wearing Gundermann's garland makes you see witches, Somm. p. 58. The priest can tell witches by their *round hats*, Ceynowa p. 14.

p. 1082.] Pol. *ieźzona* means old witch, eater of men, esp. of children; conf. *ieźza*, a fury. Wicked women with *white livers* are also known in France, *white-livered* men in Schambach 123^a. Witches poke straw into the heart's place: þer í briosti liggr *halmvísk*, þar er hiartat skyldi vera, Fornm. s. 2, 208; Walther *Ströwinherz*, Schreiber's Frib. urk. 2, 161. In Petron. c. 63: *strigae puerum involaverant, et supposuerant stramentitium ravatorem*; and just before: *videt manuciolum de stramentis factum*. At a witches' feast, boys were usually killed, boiled or roasted, and eaten up; which reminds us of heathen practices, and those of giants. Such killing, cooking, and eating of children is an antique and vital feature, KM. nos. 15. 51-6, conf. supra (pp. 1045 end. 1058—60). Kettle and cooking are a part of magic.

p. 1083.] A *beast* crawls into the sleeping woman's mouth Wolf's Ndrl. sag. 250, and note p. 688; or a *snake* creeps out of it, Walach. märch. p. 103. A *white mouse* slips into the dead man's mouth, Somm. p. 46; 'but alas, in the midst of her song a *red mousie* popt out of her mouth,' Faust p. m. 165; a *bee* flies out of one's mouth, Schreib. Taschenb. 4, 308. As the white

mouse runs up the rampart in Fischart's play, so witches indoors run up the *wall* to the *rafters*, Process v. Urserenthal.—With the iron bridge of king Gunthram's dream, conf. the *sword-bridge* in the Rcm. de la charrette pp. 23. 84 (Suppl. to 835). When the witch is setting out, she lays a *broom* or a *halm of straw* in the bed by her sleeping husband, Mone 8, 126. With OHG. *irprottan*, tranced, connect 'inbrodin lac,' Lachm. Ndrrhein. ged. p. 9, and 'in hünzebrüden gelegen,' Reim dich p. 52. Our entzückt is in MHG. 'gezucket anme geiste,' Diut. 1, 466; als in zuckete der geist, Uolr. 1331. We also say 'rapt, caught up, carried away.'

p. 1083.] With the Servian *starting-spell* agree the Moravian, Kulda in D'Elvert 92-3. German formulas in Mone 8, 126. Panzer 1, 251. Müllenh. no. 291. Lisch's M. jrb. 5, 85. With them compare: *oben hinaus, nirgens an!* Callenb. Wurmlid (?) 86; *hui oben aus, und niergend an*, Agricola's Spr. 217. Kl. red. (? 1565) 113^a; *hei op hei an, stött nernich an*, N. Preuss. prov. bl. 1, 229. The cry of pursuit is in Schönw. 1, 139; so Aschenpüster (Cinderella) cries: 'behind me dark, before me bright;' Scand. *lyst foran, og mörkt bag*, Norske event. 1, 121; *ljust för mig, mörkt efter mig*, Sv. äfvent. 1, 410. 427; *hvidt fremun, og sort bag*, Abs. 421. But '*herop og herved til Mönsaas*,' Asb. Huldr. 1, 179, is another thing. An Engl. spell for faring to Elfland is: '*horse and hattock! with my top!*' Scot. bord. 2, 177-8. Völund's speech: '*vel ek, verða ek á fitjom!*' is appar. a flight-formula, for he soars up immed. after, Sæm. 138^a.—When a sorceress anoints her shoulders, *wings* sprout out, Stier's Ungr. märch. p. 53. Faust uses a *magic mantle* to fly up; conf. the remarkable tale of a *dwarf* who spreads out his *cloak*, and lets a man *stand on it* with him, H. Sachs i. 3, 280^{bc}.

p. 1085.] The good people (p. 456) cut themselves horses out of switches, Erin 1, 136. The *magic steed* must be bridled with bast, or it runs away, Reusch p. 23-4. In Pacolet's wooden horse one has only to turn the tap to right or left, Val. et Orson c. 26 (Nl. c. 24). A *hose-band* tied round the shank lifts into the air, Eliz. of Orl. 505.

p. 1086.] The German witches too are hindered in their excursions by the *sound of bells*. If they are late in coming home, and the matin-peal rings out from a church, their career stops as

if paralysed, till the last tone has died away. The witch abuses the *bell*, Panz. Beitr. 1, 20.

p. 1089.] ‘Carmine *grandines avertere*,’ is as old as Pliny 17, 28. Hail being in grains, it is strewn out by bushfuls: τῆς χαλάζης ὄσον μέδιμνοι χέλιοι διασκεδασθήτωσαν, Lucian’s Icarom. 26. ‘You *hail-boiler!*’ is a term of abuse, Mone’s Schausp. 2, 274. German witches scatter a powder with cries of *alles schauer, alles schauer!* The day before Walburgis night, a merry cobbler mocked his maid: ‘Take me with you to Peter’s mount!’ When evening fell, there came a *storm*, nigh shook his doors and shutters down; well knew the cobbler what it meant. The Esths know how to *produce cold*: if you set two jugs of beer or water before them, one will freeze and not the other; see Wulfstân’s journey. The weather must be *well boiled*: if the pot is *emptied too soon*, your labour is lost, Mone 8, 129. 130. The Kalmuks have the same kind of weather-making, Klemm 3, 204. —Witches *boil apple-blossoms*, to spoil the fruit crop, Mone 8, 129. Dull on the fir-tree pours out hail, Panzer 1, 20. Says an old woman dripping wet, ‘I’ve had this weather *in my back* this fortnight.’ When the huntsman heard that, he struck her over the hump with a stick, and said, ‘Why couldn’t you *let it out* sooner then, old witch as you are?’ Simplic. 1, 287. Witches make *stones roll* (ein rübi gan) into the hay and corn fields; also *avalanches*, Proc. v. Ursernthal 245—8. The shower-maidens feed on beshowered (lodged) corn, Panzer 1, 88. Hence Ph. v. Sittew. and the Fr. Simpl. 1, 53. 68 call the witch ‘old *weather*’; elsewh. she is *hagel-anne, donnerhagels-aas* (-carrion), 7 Ehen p. 78; *shower-breeder, fork-greaser*. Witches are *weather-makers*, Wolf’s Ndel. s. 289. A witch drops out of the *cloud*, Bader nos. 337. 169. The Servian *vila leads clouds* (vode óblake) and *makes weather*, Vuk sub v. vrzino kolo; she teaches her pupils the art. Our Germ. phrase, ‘the *old wives* shake out their petticoats’ = it snows, suggests the Wallachian witch who throws off her petticoats. The Indians of Surinam say their sorcerers have thunderstorms, violent showers and hail at their command, Klemm 2, 168.—The O. Fr. poets name heathen kings ‘roi *Gaste-blé*,’ Guillaume 4, 179. 256 and ‘roi *Tempesté*,’ 4, 257. 26; conf. Mätzner 257 and *Tampasté* in Wolfram’s Wh. 27, 8 (rhym. with *Faussabrê* for *Fauche-pré*, or *blé?*) 46, 20. 344, 7. 371, 3. 442,

39. A Thessalian sorceress fetches the *moon* down from the sky, and shuts her up in a box, Aristoph. Clouds 749. At vos, *deductæ* quibus est fallacia *lunæ*, Propert. i. 1, 19; tunc ego crediderim vobis et *sidera* et *amnes* posse *cytacæis* *ducere* carminibus i. 1, 23; illic et *sidera* primum præcipiti *deducta* polo, *Phæbeque* serena non aliter diris verborum obsessa *venenis* palluit, Lucan. Phars. 6, 496; cantus et e curru *lunam* *deducere* tentat, et faceret si non aera repulsa sonent, Tib. i. 8, 21; hanc ego de cælo *ducentem sidera* vidi, i. 2, 45; te quoque, *Luna*, *traho*, Ov. Met. 7, 207; in hac civitate, in qua mulieres et *lunam* *deducunt*, Petr. c. 129.

In Esthonia the witches *knead* stalks of rye together, and repeat a spell over them; unless the *knots* are soon found out and burnt, the crop is sure to fail, Possart p. 164, conf. 162.

p. 1091.] In transforming, the sorcerer touches with his staff: *ῥάβδῳ ἐπιμάσσεισθαι*, Od. 13, 429, conf. 16, 172. *Venus* touches the mouth of Ascanius with her *feather*, En. 802; and Dido catches it (the magic) from his lips 815. *Mice* are made out of fallen pears, but without tails, Firmen. 1, 276^b; conf. the red mouse (Suppl. to 1083 beg.). *Young puppies* made, Simpl. 2, 296-7 (ed. Keller), conf. 328. Acc. to Renvall, *bjära* is the Finn. *para*, genius rei pecuariæ lac subministrans; conf. Lencquist De superst. 1, 53. Castrén 167-8. Ganander's Myth. Fenn. 67, even Juslenius sub v. *para*. In Angermanl. it is called *bjara*, Almqv. p. 299; in Vesterbotten, see Unander sub v. *bara*; the Gothl. vocab. in Almqv. p. 415 describes it as *småttroll med tre ben*. Esths make a *homesprite* out of an *old broom*, Verh. 2, 89; did Goethe take his Apprentice fr. Lucian's Philops. 35-6 (Bipont. 7, 288)? Even a man is *made* out of *wood*, and a *heart* put *inside* him; he walks about and kills, Fornm. s. 3, 100.

p. 1093.] *Wax-figures* were placed on doors, at cross-roads, and on the graves of parents, Plato De legg. 11, 933; in another passage (of Plato?) Anacharsis speaks of Thessal. sorceresses and their *wax-figures*; the *waxen image* of Nectanebus, Callisth. p. m. 6. At a synod of 1219 Archbp Gerliard of Bremen condemns the Stedingers as heretics, charging them with 'quaerere responsa daemonum, *cereas imagines facere*, a phitonissis requirere consilium, et alia nefandissima tenebrarum exercere opera,' Sudent's Registr. 2, 158; 'quaerunt responsa daemonum, *cerea*

simulacra faciunt, et in suis spurcitiis erroneas consulunt phitonissas,' Bull of Greg. 9 (1233), *ibid.* 2, 168. On *wax-figures*, see Osnabr. verh. 3, 71.—M. Lat. *invultuor*, praestigiator qui ad artes magicas *vultus* effingit; *invulture*, fascinare, Fr. *envoulter*, Ducange sub vv. *invulture*, *vultivoli*. They tried to copy the features of the man they were going to bewitch in the wax or clay puppet; they solemnly baptized it, gave it sponsors, and anointed it. When they pricked it with a needle, the man felt a sharp pain; if they pricked the head or heart, he died. They tried to have an Easter candle out of the church, to do the work by. Sticking needles into a wax-figure occurs in Kemble's *Chartae*, Pref. lix. lx., and the story in Müllenh. p. 233; conf. *imago argentea* (Suppl. to 1175 end). *Ferebatur imaginem* quandam ad instar *digiti*, ex Egipto adlatam, adorare; a qua quotiens responsa quaerebat, necesse erat homicidium aut in summo festo adulterium procurare; conf. Pertz 10, 460 and the thief's thumb (Suppl. to 1075 end).—*Cutting out the footprint* answers to *τηρεῖν τὸ ἕχνος καὶ ἀμαυροῦν*, vestigium observare et delere (blur), by planting one's right foot on the other's left print, and one's left on his right, and saying: *ἐπιβέβηκά σοι, καὶ ὑπεράνω εἰμί*, conscendi te, et superior sum! Lucian's *Dial. meretr.* 4. GDS. 137.

Things that make invisible are: the tarn-helm (p. 463), the bird's nest (Suppl. to 974), the right-hand tail-feather of a cock (to 671 mid.), fern-seed (p. 1210), the ring, rather the stone in the ring (p. 911), Troj. 9203. 9919, and the *sonnenwedel* (heliotrope) laid under a stone, Mone 8, 614.

p. 1097.] Pliny 8, 34: *Homines in lupos verti rursusque restitui sibi, falsum esse existinare debemus. Unde tamen ista vulgo infixata sit fama, in tantum ut in maledictis versipelles habeat, indicabitur.* An OHG. name *Weriwolf* occurs already in the 9th cent., Hpt 12, 252, and in Samland the name *Warwolf*. A *werwolf* in H. Sachs ii. 4, 16^c, *meerwolf*, *beerwolf* in Etnn. Unw. doct. 671. *Werwatz* (*watz*=brood-hog) is a family name at Dreieichenhain; is it formed like *werwolf*? *Loups garous*, Bosquet p. 223 seq.—To change yourself into a *fox*, *wolf* or *cat*, you use an ointment, Proc. v. Ursernth.; or shift the buckle of a certain *strap* to the *ninth hole*, Reusch in Preuss. prov. bl. 36, 436 and 23, 127. GDS. 152; conf. the old leather strap,

Firmen. 1, 213. People with a wolf-girdle are *úlf-heðnar*: is that conn. with our *heiden*, *heiden-wolf* for unbaptized child, in Waldeck *heid-ölleken?* Papollere '60, p. 8.—By putting a slip of wood (*spruocolo*) in one's mouth, one becomes a she-bear, and man again on taking it out, Pentam. 2, 6. If you dash grass against the stem of a tree, wolves spring out of it, Remigii Daemonol. (1598) pp. 152. 162. Sigefridus dictus *wolfvel*, MB. 1, 280, but *wolvel* (Wölfel?) 8, 458. The gods send Idun a wolfskin: *vargs-belq* seldo, *lét í faraz*, *lyndi breitti*, Sæm. 89^a.—Were-wolf stories in Müllenh. nos. 317—320. Firmen. 1, 363. 332. 212-3. Lekensp. 2, 91-2. ON. í *varg-skinns ólpu*, Fornm. s. 10, 201 (*ólpa*, *úlpa*=*toga*, *vestis*). A were-wolf may be known by a *wolfs-zagelchen* (-tail) betw. the shoulder-blades, Reusch no. 75 and note; by a little '*raugen wolfs-zagel*' growing out of the back betw. the shoulders, Preuss. prov. bl. 26, 435. 117. 172.

p. 1098.] The witch appears as a *fox*, Schreib. Taschenb. 4, 309; as a *three-legged hare*, Somm. Sag. 62; as a *kol-svört ketta*, Fornm. s. 3, 216. 220. Sv. forns. 1, 90 seq. Men protest: '*by catten, die te dansen pleghen tswoendaghs!*' Belg. mus. 2, 116. If a girl has fed the cat well, the sun shines on her wedding-day, N. Preuss. prov. bl. 3, 470. Good stories of witches in Müllenh. pp. 212—6; also that of the cat's *paw* being chopt off, its turning into a pretty female *hand*, and the miller next morning missing it on his wife, 227; and that of the witch who is ridden as a horse, who is taken to the farrier's to be shod, and lies in bed in the morning with horse-shoes on her hands and feet 226. 600. Mone 8, 182. So in Petron. c. 62 a were-wolf has been wounded in the neck; presently a '*miles*' is found in bed, having his neck doctored: *intellexi illum versipellem esse, nec postea cum illo panem gustare potui*. The *ôfreskr* in the evening sees a bull and a bear fighting; the next day two men lie wounded in bed, Landn. 5, 5.—Transformation into a bear or fox, a swan or raven, is frequent. In Walewein 5598: *teneu vos verbreken*; and 785: *versciép hem*. '*Er entwarf sich zu,*' he changed into, Myst. 1, 214, etc. A bride turns into a *swan*, Müllenh. p. 212; a man becomes a *hawk* or *fulcon*, and comes flying to the tower, Marie 1, 280, conf. 292. Women often change into toads: *wesen ene padde, en sitten onder die sille*, Walew. 5639; *gienge ich als*

ein *krete gât*, n. solde bî eime zâne gân, Herb. 8364.—I must here remark, that *verðu at göltum* in ON. tales does not mean turning into a swine, but running about wild like a boar, Verlauff ou Vatnsd. p. 106-7. The magicians and enchantresses in our fairytales often change men into wolves, bears, cats, dogs or swine; the witches of a later time have no longer the power. Circe's formula, when turning men into *swine* by a stroke of her rod, was: ἔρχεο νῦν συφείονδε, Od. 10, 320. The Lapland sorcerers *send* bears, wolves, foxes, ravens, to do mischief to men: such beast is then called *tille*, Lindahl 474^a.

It is a different thing when *two persons exchange figures*. This ON. *skipta litum* or *hömum*, *skipta litom ok látom*, *viola litum* is appar. effected by mere will, without spell or clothing, e.g. betw. Sigurd and Gunnar, Sæm. 177-8. 202-3. Völs. sag. c. 27, betw. Signy and the sorceress, Völs. 7. It happens esp. among born brothers, who are so like as to be taken for one another; but in the Nib. 337, 3. 429, 3. 602, 2 by the tarnhût which makes invisible. In the same way the wrong wife or lover is smuggled into bed at night, as Brangaene for Isot, conf. Berthe au grand pied and the Fabliau of the hair-cutting. A later and coarser version of this is the mere *exchange of clothes*.

p. 1099.] Magic lies in the *nails*: des zoubers ort-habe (scat) ligt an den *nagelen*, Geo. 57^b. Magic is fixed in the *hair*: consider the elf-lock, elf-knot (p. 464); witches have *all the hair shaved* off them, see story in Klemm 2, 168. M. Beheim 273, 26. 274, 7. Magic is taken out of the *hair*, Wolfdietr. 548; conf. *wolf's hair* above.—Magic can *make us proof* against sword and bullet, shot and stroke; e.g. by a thread of silk, RA. 183. One so made proof is called a *frozen man*, Ettn. Unw. doct. 641. 653. 683, *iron man*, ON. *harð-giörr*, poison-proof, Sæm. 170; Kyrtil *bitu eigi iarn*, Landn. 2, 7. 3, 4. The *wound-spell* makes invulnerable; but it can be neutralized by first hiding a knife in the ground and then wounding with it: this is called *unloosing the spell*, H. Sachs v. 347^c (conf. 'digging something in for a man,' iii. 3, 7^d), and the exorcist *banntuch-macher*, *hart-macher*, Gutsclaf's Wöhh. 207. 337. Othello 3, 4 has a magic *kerchief* wrought by a *sibyl*: 'the worms were hallowed that did breed the silk.' A *St. George's shirt* is made of yarn that was spun on a *Saturday*, Superst. G, v. 182.

p. 1100.] Witches are accused of *grasping, stroking, dazzling*: 'she made a *clutch* at me that will last as long as I live,' Bodmann's Rheingau p. 425, yr 1511; or 'ein boser angriff, böser schlag, herz-griff.' They *tread* the cattle; they 'bringen einen wehthum zu halse,' they learn you what *dazing* (hoodwinking) means, Bodm. Rh. 908, yr 1505. Magic is wrought by *rubbing*: the rubbing of wood brings forth a squirrel, of chips a marten, of leaves a bee, of feathers a flight of grouse, of wool a flock of sheep, Kalev. 13, 160. 220. 280. 17, 328. 467; conf. the märchen of the three brothers, who rub feathers, hair and scales, and immed. eagles, bears and fish come to their aid.—Widely spread is the belief in the magic of the eye, Grenzboten '60, no. 26. *Βλέμμα, ἀναπνοή* and *ὀφθαλμός βάσκανος* are already in Plutarch's Sympos. v. 7; nescio quis teneros *oculus* mihi *fascinat* agnos, Virg. Ecl. 3, 108. Engl. *evil eye*, Ir. the *balar*, Conan p. 32; the blink *o' an ill ee*, Hone's Dayb. 2, 688. His diebus ei (Chilperico) filius natus est, quem in villa Victoriacensi nutrire praecepit, dicens 'ne forte, dum *publice videtur*, aliquid *mali incurrat* et moriatur,' Greg. Tur. 6, 41. MHG. *twerhe ougen*. On the evil eye, see N. Pr. prov. bl. 1, 391—3; der *blick* slangeit toetet, wolve schrecket, strûz-eiger (ostrich-eggs) bruetet, ûzsatz (leprosy) erwecket, u. ander krefte hât gar vil, Renn. 18016; men spit in a pretty girl's face for fear of the evil eye, Ir. märch. 2, 64.

p. 1101.] Sâ ze hant ir rôter munt *einen tûsent stunt* (times) sô schoenen (*rôsen*, underst.) *lachtet*, MS. 1, 11^a. The name *Rosenlacher* is in Michelsen's Lub. oberh. 271. Baur's Arnsb. 158; conf. 'ad Ruozinlachen,' Notizbl. 6, 68. 'To *laugh roses*,' Athen. 5, 498. It is derived fr. heathen beings of light, Mannhdt's Germ. mythen 149. 439; *camillen-bluomen ströuwen*, swen sô lieplich *lachen* wil ir munt, MSH. 3, 212^b.

p. 1102.] A *kiss* makes you *forget* everything, Müllenh. p. 400. Pentam. Liebr. 1, 231; so does a *bite of the apple*, Norske folke-ev. 2, 47. Helen, like Grimhild, makes a magic potion, mingling spices with the wine, Od. 4, 220—230; so does Circe 10, 235. The Färoese still call the draught of oblivion *ouminni*, Qväd. p. 178. 180. The Servians make their *voda zaboravna* of mountain-herbs, Vuk 2, 612-3. Conf. *φίλτρον*, love-potion; mein-blandinn miöðr, Völs. saga c. 25; scheidel-tranc gebrûwen,

Amgb. 15^a. Incendia inter epulas nominata aquis sub mensis profusis *ab-ominamur*, Pliny 28, 2.

p. 1103.] Silence is a safeguard against magic: Saxo's 'ne incauto effamine maleficiis locum instruerent' (p. 659). Incantations are in Serv. *urózi*, gen. *uróka*, Boh. *aurok*, conf. Jungm. sub v. *ne-urocny*, *ne-uroka* [*reku*, I speak]. The Slav. formula against bewitching is 'kamen-mira' [stone of peace?]; conf. *seines zeichens*, *ihres zeichens*, Schmidt's Westersw. id. 335, and the phrases: *salva venia!* God forefend (save the mark)! When a man looks startled, the Serv. formula is: 'zatchudio-se prebiyenoí golièni,' he's amazed at his broken leg, Vuk sub v. *zatchuditi-se*, and Sprichw. p. 87. When something painful or mischievous is said, the answer is: 'u nashega tchabra gvozdene ushi,' our tub has iron ears (handles), Sprichw. p. 334.—On spitting as a protection from magic, see Schwenk's Röm. myth. 399. The cyclop, when admiring his own beauty, spits in his lap three times, to avoid *baskania*: *ὡς μὴ βασκανθῶ δέ, τρὶς εἰς ἑμὸν ἔπτυσσα κόλπον ταῦτα γὰρ ἰργαῖά με κοτυτταρὶς ἐξεδίδαξεν*, Theocr. 6, 39. The cock-pigeon spits on its young to keep off sorcery, Athen. 3, 456-8; *et eum morbum mihi esse, ut qui me opus sit insputarier?* Plaut. Capt. iii. 4, 21.—An ear of corn protects from magic: *aqs* við *fiólkýngi*, Sæm. 27^b. In the threshold of the house-door you bore a hole, put in *hallowed herbs*, and peg them in with a *harrow's tooth*, Mone 6, 460 (p. 1078). Throw a *fire-steel* over anything ghostly, and you are master of it, Dybeck '44, 104—6; conf. the power of the *eld-stål* over the giant, Cavall. 1, 39; *ild-staalet*, Folke-ev. 2, 82; a *flint-eld* is struck over the cow, Dyb. 4, 27 and over enchantresses 4, 29; or a knife is flung '44, 63. 4, 33. A *magic circle* is drawn: *gladio circa illos circulum fecit, monens sub interminatione mortis, ut infra circulum se cohiberent*, Cæs. Heist. 5, 4. On Indian sorcery, conf. Central-blatt '53, 255.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SUPERSTITION.

p. 1105.] Gr. *δεισιδαίμων* superstitious, *δεισιδαιμονία* superstition. Tac. Germ. 45 speaks of the *superstitio* of the Aestvans. Pott 1, 157 derives the word fr. *stare super*, to *stand by* or *before*

the god or altar. Wend. *vièra* faith, *přivièra*, *pšivièra* superstition [Russ. *suye-vèrie*]. With the Swed. *vilske-pelse* agrees in part the OHG. *unscaf* superstitio, *unscafl̄hho* superstitiose, Graff 6, 453; there are also *unpiderpi* 5, 219 and *ubirfenkida*, Gl. Sletst. 25, 327 both = superstitio; *ubarwintelingun* superstitiose, Mone's Anz. '35, 89. AS. *ofertaele* superstitiosus, Lye. Later words: *geloubelîn*, Krolewitz 3753; *swacher gloube*, *ungeloube*, Er. 8122-39. We have also *köhler-glaube*, collier's faith, and in the Quickborn *höner-globe*. Superstitiones religionis rubigines, Garg. 187^a. On superstition, see Nilsson 6, 3. Hes. Opp. 705—826.

p. 1105 n.] Klemm 3, 201-3 divides magic into explorative and active. A foretoken, presage, is in Lat. *portentum* from *portendo*, *ostentum* from *ostendo*, *monstrum* from *monstro* [*moneo*?], Cic. Div. 1, 42 and Forcellini; *prodigia* coelestia, prope quotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas, Livy 2, 42. OHG. *fora-pouchan*, fore-beacon, *fora-zeichan*, foretoken; *bîzeichen*, Windb. Ps. 323. 367. Signs appear before the Judgment-day, bef. a death, a dearth, a war. To curse all *signs*, Hebel 332.

p. 1107.] OHG. *drewa* oraculum, *droa* fulmen, Graff 5, 246. AS. *hwât* omen, divinatio, also *hwâtung*, OHG. *hwâz* (p. 951), conf. *hwâtend* iris (p. 1216 n.); *fugel-hwâte* divinatio per aves. AS. *hwetton hige*, *hael sceáwedon* (on the voyage), Beow. 407; OHG. *heil-scowunge* augurium, Graff 6, 556; *hel-scowinge*, Partonop. 20, 13; *heilge scowede* augurium, Sumerl. 2, 41; *hêl-scowinge*, Bilderdyk's Verscheidenh. 3, 143. Frauenl. p. 142 uses *künden* for prognosticate. Again *kiesen*, choose = look out for (in ref. to weather, Gramm. 4, 848), conf. Swed. *tjusa* (p. 1037). Children esp. are used in divination and casting lots; conf. *pure children*, Superst. H, cap. 55-6-7. 83.

p. 1107.] A remarkable method of acquiring the gift of divination occurs in the Swed. *års-gång*, Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 508 seq. Both that and the power of healing are passed on from *women* to *men*, from *men* to *women*, conf. Firmen. 1, 318. Sommer's Sagen p. 171. As in Superst. I, 996, so in Müllenh. 399 the gift of spirit-seeing is transferred by treading on the *left* foot and looking over the *right* shoulder. *Prevision* is the faculty of presentiment intensified to actual seeing and hearing: a *foreseer*, *forepeeper* beholds funerals, armies in march, battles, also unim-

portant things, such as a harvest-wagon that will upset in the yard in ten years' time, the figures and clothing of servants yet unborn who are lifting him off the ground, the marks on a foal or calf that shies to one side; he hears the tap of the hammer on coffin lids, or the tramp of horse. These *vorkickers* always perceive with only *one* sense, either sight or hearing: they cannot hear what they see, nor see what they hear. They are *witch-seers, god-seers, devil-seers*.—In ON. a ghost-seer is *ôfreskr*, Landn. 3, 14. 4, 12. 5, 5 (p. 344); or does '*ôfreskir menn sù þat*' in these passages mean that even *ô-freskr* men could see it? for Biörn Haldorson (sub vv. *freskr, ôfreskr*) maintains that *freskr* is the seer, and *ôfreskr* the non-seer; which seems right enough, provided that *freskr* means cat-sighted, from *fres* (*felis*). Our nursery-*tales* tell of these cat-eyed men with an eye for mice, KM.³ 3, 198; then there is the giant who gets cat's eyes put into his head. Another term is *fronsk*, *som natten til en høitids dag, isär Jule-natt, kan forud-sige det til-kommende*, Molb. Dial. lex. 138. *Frem-syn* is to be acquired by smearing with *riisormsod*, or by looking at a funeral procession through a *skagle-öiet*, Moe's note.

p. 1109.] On *sieve-running*, see Müllenh. no. 272. Tett. and Tem. Preuss. sag. p. 284. *Erbe-sib* *crispula*, a plant's name, Sumerl. 56, 37. To detect the thief, a *hoop is driven*, Panzer's Beitr. 1, 210; *three plates* are laid for him, containing bread, salt and lard, Hpt 7, 538; *dishes shaken*, and *froth observed*, Tett. and Temm. p. 260. Balt. stud. xii. 1, 37-8; 'when in a *sword* he sees the *stolen thing*,' Troj. kr. 27412 (the sword holds in it a spirit, Frauenl. p. 142-3: *ich hâte in eime swerte von âventiure einen geist, daz er mir solde künden*). Prophesying from *icicles*, Panzer 2, 549; by *throwing a Bible open* (an early practice), Greg. Tur. 4, 16.

p. 1110.] The *lot is cast*: *lêton tân wîsian þâ se tân gehwearf* Andr. 1099. The '*temere ac fortuito spargere*' of Tacitus is like ON. '*hristu teina*,' to shake the twigs, as in Sæm. 52^a: *hristu teina, ok â hlaut sâ*. M.Neth. si *icorpen cavelen*, Jesus c. 229, conf. '*jacere talos in fontem*,' Sueton. Tib. 14. Rudorff 15, 218. Goth. hlauts imma *urram*, ἔλαχε, Luke 1, 9. GDS. 159; ez was in sô *gevallen*, Livl. chr. 5724, ez was im wol *gevallen* 1694, in was der *spân gevallen* wol 2483, in *viel dicke* wol ir *spân*

7239; dat *lót viel*, Maerl. 2, 169, die *cavele viel* 2, 60. We say 'to whom the happy *lot* has *fallen*.'

The Scythians too divined by *sticks*, Herod. 4, 67 and Nicander (Ur. Sk. p. 659); the Alani, Amm. Marcel. 31, 2; the early Saxons, Beda 5, 11 (mittunt sortes, *hluton mid tǎnum*); the Frisians, whose Lex Fris. tit. 14 says: *teni luna munda obvoluti*. So the Greek suppliants bear in their hands λευκοστεφεῖς νεοδρέπτους κλάδους, Aesch. Suppl. 333, σὺν τοῖσδ' ἰκετῶν ἐγχειριδίῳ ἐριστέπτοισι κλάδοισι 22, λευκοστεφεῖς ἰκτηρίας 191, κλάδοισι νεοδρόποις 354 (κλάδ-ος is hlaut-s, hlôz); ἐρίω στέφειν, Plato Rep. 3, p. 398. Hermann's Gottesd. alt. p. 105-8 (raw wool is laid on the stone, Paus. x. 24, 5). The Slavs cast lots with *black* and *white* sticks, Saxo (Müll. 827), and divined by the odd or even lines in ashes, *ibid.*—Drawing lots with *willow-leaves*, Etnn. Maulaffe 703; with *stalks* of corn, Vuk no. 254. RA. p. 126; sortiri ex *sitella* (bucket), Plaut. Casina, see Forcell. sub v. *sitella*; 'sors Scotorum,' Dronke's Gl. Fuld. 12. There were *lot-books* to divine by: diz *löss-buoch* ist unrehte *gelesen* (wrongly read), Wiener mer-vart 556; a *löz-buoch* in Cod. Vind. 2976 (Hoffm. 209). 2953 (H. 366); *loss-büchlein*, Ph. v. Sittew.; *lösseln* and *lössel-buch*, Schm. 2, 504; *lössel-nächte*, Frisch 1, 623; *lösslerei*, *lösslerin*.

p. 1111.] On this *motion of boughs*, from which the Armenians divined, see N. Cap. 20. Machen *viur úz den spachen* (p. 1121 mid.); conf. Superst. H, c. 80, in dem *fewre* sehen; D, 38r. and 140r., *fúr-sehen*. With 'der *tisch in der hant*' conf. '*mensa volae*,' Finn. *onnenpöytü*, luck's table, fr. onni = fortuna.

p. 1112.] The Romans also spoke of *drawing water in a sieve*: *cribro aquam*, Plaut. Ps. i. 1, 100; *imbrem in cribro*, Pliny 28, 2. Our 'emptying the pond with a sieve,' Sommer's Sag. pp. 13, 94.

The Gauls prophesied from the *σφαδασμός* (convulsions) of one devoted to death, when his *back* was pierced with a sword, Strabo 4, p. 198; the Cimbrians from the blood and entrails of their sacrificed prisoners 7, p. 294, Lat. *exti-spicium*. The Malays also divine from the *entrails* of slaughtered beasts, Ausland '57, p. 603^b.

p. 1113.] An ein *schulder-bein* er sach (looked),
des quam sîn herze in ungemach (became uneasy).

Er sprach : ‘ die Littouwen liden nôt,
 mîn bruoder ist geslagen tôt,
 ein her (army) in minem hove lac (has lain)
 sît gester bis an disen tac !’
 Daz bein hât manigem sît gelogen (lied).

Livl. chr. 3019. Ocellos habens in *sputulis* = humeris, Pertz 8, 385; expositione ossium *spatulae* ala in suis *spatulis*, Fridericus imp. De arte ven. 1, 26. Inspection of shoulderblades is known to Kalmuks (Klemm 3, 199), Tunguses and Bedonius (3, 109).

p. 1115.] The Romans also divided *pisces* into *squamosi* and *non squamosi*, Festus p. 253. W. Goethe's Diss. p. 19. In Levit. 11, 9 and Deut. 14, 9 fish that have *fins* and *scales* are pron. eatable; conf. Griesh. 146.

p. 1117.] The rat wishes the cat joy when she *sneezes*, Avadanas 2, 149, 150; *πταρμὸς ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν*, Herm. Gottesd. alt. p. 186; *Ἐρωτες ἐπέπταρον*, Theocr. 7, 96; haec ut dixit, Amor, sinistra ut antea, *dextra sternuit* approbationem, Catull. 44, 17; atque, ut primum e regione mulieris, pone tergum eius maritus acceperat sonum *sternutationis* . . . solito sermone *salutem* ei fuerat *imprecatus*, et iterato rursus, Apul. Met. lib. 2, p.m. 211. The ‘Got helpe dir!’ is also in Myst. i. 103, 10; swer ze vremden *niesen* sich rimpfet (crumples up), daz ist ouch *verlorn*, Ettu. Frauenl. p. 70.

p. 1117.] Ringing in the ears: *ἐβόμβει τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν*, Luc. Dial. mer. 9; aures *tinniunt*, Pertz 9, 265; sine *oren* *songhen*, Walew. 9911.—*Supercilium salit*, a good omen, Forcell. sub v. *superc.* On prophetic *jerks in the limbs* among Orientals, see Fleischer in Rep. of Leipz. acad. d. w. '49, p. 244.

p. 1119.] The spells in Burns's Halloween are for discovering one's future *lover*. On Christmas Eve the sleeping fowls begin crowing, if a girl is to be married soon, Firmen. 2, 377. *Wass* may be poured instead of lead, Mone's Anz. 7, 423: *ceram* in *aquam* fundere, Lasicz 56.

p. 1119.] *Angung*, what meets you on setting out, *ἔωθεν*, mane, *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, *ἐν θύραις*, *ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐξόδῳ*, is significant. M. Neth. *ên goet ghemoet*, Rose 2715; *gude* u. *bose motte*, Gefk. Beil. 100. Swed. *mot*, möte; *lyks-mot*, evil meeting. Gr. *δυσ-άντητος* [*ill-met* by moonlight, proud Titania] = boding ill; so

δυσ-κληρόνιστος [fr. κληδών, omen]. A titulus in the Salic Law treats 'de *superventis* vel exspoliationibus.'

p. 1124.] On angang among the Thugs, see Convers. lex. d. geg. iv. 2, 55; on the Greek belief in it, Lucian's Pseudol. 17 (ed. Bip. 8, 72) and Eunuch. 6 (Bip. 5, 208). Theophr. Charact. c. 16 (conf. Kopp De amuletis p. 42). 'Consider too, that the *flight* and *song* of all the *birds* look favourable; if these be not *joyful signs*, I have clean forgot the art; no bird of *black* feather, no *raven*, *starling*, *crow* nor *ouzel* have I seen. Three *merry* men have met me, three men named *John*. Not once have I stumbled, and wellnigh do I believe the *stones* move out of my way or flatten them before me. The folds of my garment hinder me not, neither am I weary, every mother's son greeteth me, no *dog* hath *barked* against me, Wirsung's Cal. J 2^b. To *run across* one's *path* is always bad, Büttner's Lett. lieder p. 255.

p. 1126.] Meeting an old woman is called *karing-möte*, Afzel. 2, 148. 'Unlucky to meet a *red-haired* woman bef. any one else in the morning,' O'Kearney 132. 'The first thing that meets me, were it even a *parson*, a *beggar* or an *old woman*,' Goethe in Weimar jrb. 5, 458; wizzet, wem der (unsaelige lip) *aneget* an dem *morgen fru*, deme gît ungelücke zuo, Walth. 118, 16 (conf. 'also wol ir *g'aneget* was,' Diemer 206, 23). Doch hân ich ie gehoeret wol, daz man die *priester schiuhen* sol (should shun) ze sô-getânen sachen, Heinz v. Kost. Ritter u. pf. 303; on the other hand: swer in zuo einem mâle gesach, der wânde sîn vürwar (hoped verily to be) deste saeliger ein jâr, Gute frau 970. Who looks at *early morn* under the fair one's *eyes* is safe from sorrow all that day, Hätzl. 148^b.—For hunters the *skogs-rå*, for fishers the *hafs-fru* is unlucky meeting, Afzel. 2, 148. 150. No woman with spindle or distaff may tarry in my lord's mill (bann-müle), Weisth. 2, 25. To meet one that is *lame of the right foot*, or *gelded*, or *effeminate*, is unlucky, Lucian 5, 208; conf. Brodæi Misc. in Grævii Thes. 2, 509; (eunuchus) procedentibus omen, Claudian in Eutrop. 1, 125. *Parsons' journeys* are a sign of rain, Prætor. Alectr. 163. About meeting a *black* or a *white monk*, see Spinnr. evang. Friday 10; about a *sword* being handed by a woman, *ibid.* Wednesd. 20.

p. 1128.] The Lapps carefully observe what *beasts* they meet, Klemm 3, 90. There are beasts which are not to be *named* in

the morning: *αἰσχίω θηρίων τῶν πρώτης ὥρας ὀνομασθῆναι δυσκληδονίστων*, Luc. Amores 39. Meeting with a *hare* bodes no good, Wolf's Deut. sag. no. 370; turn thee home if a *hare run across thy path*, Keisersb. Vom lewen 63^b. On the *hare* and the *wolf*, Lappenberg's Eulensp. p. 144.—The encounter of a wolf estimated variously: 'Sed gravius mentes caesorum *ostentu luporum* horrificant; duo quippe lupi sub principis ora, dum campis exercet equos, violenter adorti agmen, et excepti telis, immane relatu, *prodigium miramque notam duxere futuri*,' Claud. B. Get. 249.—'Sei weren einen *wulf* op dem wege vangen (caught), dei quam utem holte gegangen, des freueden sei sik all int gemein,' all rejoiced, Soester fehde p. 667; 'the colonel held this *brush with the wolves* to be a *good omen* that they should yet further come upon unlooked for booty,' Simpl. 2, 74. Men wish the *wundering fox* luck on his journey, Etnn. Unw. doct. 240. Do wart en *catte* lopende vor dem here (army), Detm. 1, 154.

The *weasel* is changed into a *fair lady*, Babr. 32; it is called *νυμφίτζα*, Lobeck's Path. 360; other names in Nemnich sub. v. *mustela*. Does *froie* in Reinh. clxxii. answer to It. *donnola*, or is it conn. w. M. Neth. *vræie* = *pulcra*, *venusta*? conf. *damoiselle belette*, Lafont. 3, 17. In the Renart it is called *petit porchaz*, in the Reinaert *clene bejach*. ON. *hreisiköttr* is ermine. Auspicio hodie optumo exivi foras, *mustelu nurem* abstulit præter pedes, Plaut. Stich. iii. 2, 6. A legend of the *mustela* in Marie 1, 474.

p. 1129.] *ὄρνις* came to mean any auspiciu, whether of birds or not, Aristoph. Birds 719—721. A bird-gazer *οἰωνίστης*, Il. 2, 858; *ὄρνιθας γινῶναι*, Od. 1, 159; *διαγινῶναι πτήσεις ὀρνίθων*, Paus. i. 34, 3; *οἰωνῶν σάφα εἰδῶς*, Od. 1, 202; *ὄρνιθας κρίνων*, Hes. Op. 826. 'Telemus Euryides, quem nulla *fejellerat ales*,' Ov. Met. 13, 770; nunc ave *deceptus* falsa 5, 147; *δυσ-οἰωνιστος*, Luc. Eunuch. 6.—OHG. *fogalrarta* augurium, *fogalrartōn* auguriari, Graff 2, 536; *fogilrartōd* auspiciu, Gl. Sletst. 22, 3. AS. *fugel-hwæte* augurium (Suppl. to 1107). Boh. *kob*, *koba*, divination by flight of birds; *koba*, *kuba*, falcon. Not every bird is adapted for divination: *ὄρνιθες δέ τε πολλοὶ ὑπ' ἀγῆς ἡελίοιο φοιτῶσ'*, οὐδέ τε πάντες ἐναίσιμοι, Od. 2, 181; *fuyl fród-hugadr*, Sæm. 141^a; *parra*, *cornix*, *picus*, *pica* are augurales, Aufrecht in D. Zeitschr. 1, 280.—Men watched the flight as well as the

song, Holtzm. Ind. sag. 2, 44; quae voces avium? quanti per inane volatus? Claud. 4 cons. Hon. 142; die *ferte* dero fogelo, unde dero *singentôn rarta*, unde die heilesoda dero *in rihte* fure sih *fliegentôn*, N. Cap. 17; ir vogel in vil wol sanc, Livl. 7240. The Malays prophesy from the *flight* and *cry* of birds, Ausl. '57, p. 603-4, and war and husbandry are determined by them.—Uf einem *tach* (roof) stuont ein *krâ*, si schrei vast 'ha ha ha ha, narre bistu da!' fool that you are, V. d. Hagen's G. Abent. 2, 449; ez hab ein *swerziu krâ* gelogen (lied), MS. 2, 80^a; chant *sinistre* et *criard* du corbeau, Villemarq. Bard. bret. 167. On the language of ravens and crows, and on birds divided into castes like men, see Monats-ber. d. acad. '59, p. 158-9. Bulletin de Pétersb. '59, p. 438.—Auspicio, *avi sinistra*, Plaut. Epid. ii. 2, 2; *qua* ego hunc amorem mihi esse *avi* dicam datum? Plaut. Cas. iii. 4, 26; *dira avis*, Sueton. Claud. 22. Pulcherrimum augurium, *octo aquilae petere silvas* et intrare visae (signif. 8 legions), Tac. Ann. 2, 17; a Servian song addresses the high-soaring far-seeing *eagles*, Vuk 1, 43 no. 70 (Wesely p. 64). *Fata notant, stellaeque vocant aviumque volatus*, totius et subito malleus orbis ero, Richerius 4, 9. Böhmer's Font. 3, 51. Luther says somewhere: If thou see a little bird, pull off thy hat, and wish him joy, Schuppius 1121; ichn' weiz waz vogels *kegn in vlog*, Jeroschin 132^c.

p. 1131.] A flight to your *right* is lucky, to your *left* unlucky, GDS. 982 seq. *Parra dextera, cornix dextra, picus sinister*, Grotel. Inscr. Umbr. 6, 5. 7.

τύνη δ' οἰωνοῖσι τανυπτερύγεσσι κελεύεις
 πείθεσθαι, τῶν οὔτι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω,
 εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς Ἡῶ τ' Ἡέλιόν τε,
 εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοίγε ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόντα. Il. 12, 237.

The Greeks often mention the *eagle*:

ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς (right hand) ὄρνις,
 αἰετὸς (eagle) ἀργὴν χήνα φέρων οὐχέσσι πέλωρον
 ἡμέρον ἐξ αὐλήης. Od. 15, 160.

αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀριστερὸς (left hand) ἠλυθεν ὄρνις,
 αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης, ἔχε δὲ τρήρωνα πέλειαν. Od. 20, 242.

τῶ δ' αἰετῶ (two eagles) εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς

ὕψοθεν ἐκ κορυφῆς ὄρεος προέηκε πέτεσθαι. Od. 2, 146 ;
and then : δεξιῶ (right hand) ἤϊξαν διὰ τ' οἰκία, κ.τ.λ. 154.

Again, the *hawk* :

ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις,

κίρκος (hawk), Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος, ἐν δὲ πόδεσσι
τίλλε πέλειαν ἔχων, κατὰ δὲ πτερὰ χεῦεν ἔραζε
μессηγὺς νηὸς τε καὶ αὐτοῦ Τηλεμάχοιο. Od. 15, 528.

The flight of the *mouse-hawk* is carefully scanned by the Kal-
muks, Klemm 3, 202. We read of δεξιὸς ἐρωδιός (heron) in
Hipponax, Fragm. 50, of δεξιὴ σίττη (woodpecker), Fragm. 62 ;
ardeolae (herons), altero oculo carentes, optimi augurii, Pliny 11
37. 52. *Hrafn flýgr austan af há meidi* (tree), ok eptir honom
örn í sinni ; *þeim gef ek erni* (to that eagle) *efstun bráðir, sá*
mun á blôði bergja mínu, Hervar. cap. 5 ; *hrafn* qvað at *hrafn*,
sat á hám meidi, Sæm. 149^b. Similarly : *þá qvað þat kráka*
(crow), *sat qvisti á* (on bough), Sæm. 106^b ; *cornix avis divina*
imbrium imminentium, Hor. Od. iii. 27, 10. Herm. Gottesd. alt.
§ 38 ; *rostró recurvo turpis, et infernis tenebris obscurior alas,*
auspiciúm veteri sedit feralé sepulcro, Claud. in Eutrop. 2, 230 ;
nuper Turpeio quae sedit culmine cornix, 'est bene' non potuit
dicere, dixit 'erit,' Suet. Domit. 23.—*Martens vögelken*, Fir-
menich 1, 139. 140 ; *Sunte Maartens veugeltje* zat al op een
heuveltje met zijn rood rood rokje, Halbertsma's Tongvallen p.
45 ; Engl. *martin*, *hirundo minor*, Nenn. p. 164 ; Fr. *martinet*,
le petit martinet. There was a society of *Martins-vögel* in Swabia
in 1367, Landau's Ritter-ges. p. 15.* *Dös vögerl aum tannabaun*
(fir) *steht auf oanm fuss*, hat a zetterl im schnaberl, von meinm
dearndel (girl) ann gruss, Seidl Almer 1, 24. The *chátaka* drinks
nothing but rain, catching the drops as he flies ; he brings luck
when he flies on your *left*, whereas most birds signify good on the
right, Max Müll. Meghadûta, p. 59.

p. 1132.] Ἡ σίττη (a pecker) καὶ εἶ τι τοιοῦτον ὄρνεον δεξιῶ
πρὸς ἔρωτας φαίνεται. Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Λεύκιππε, δεξιὴ σίττη !
Didymus apud schol. Aristoph. Av. 704 ; *πετόμεσθά τε γὰρ καὶ*
τοῖσιν ἔρωσι σύνεσμεν, Av. 704, conf. Meineke's Choliambi p.
122-3. *Pies en nombre impair, signe de malheur*, Bosquet 219.

* *neue hant*, Vindler in Hpt 9, 79 ; *uf die alten hant* zierlich gemacht, Götz v.
Berlich. ed. Zöpfl p. 14 ; *künigin bin ich der neuen hand*, J. v. Morsheim, Beginn.

On the *starling's* flight, Ettn. Maulaffe 704. *Alban*, espèce d'oiseau de proie, prob. de vautour, Fauriel's *Albig.* p. 664.

The heathen Arabs bef. Mahomet: one who has gone out turns back immed. on seeing a *raven*. Yet it is a good sign if a *pair* of ravens, *messaud* and *messauda* (m. and f. for lucky) cross one's path in *equal flight*; else a croaking raven is called the *bird of parting*, bec. he foretells a separation. There is a bird whose cry, heard from the right, brings blessing to a house: it is called *sakuni*, *sakunta*, afterw. *kapnyala*, Kuhn on *Vrihaddêvatâ* p. 117.

p. 1133.] The *over-flight* of some birds is significant:

Zwoa schnee-weissi täuberli (dovelings)
sânt übawärts g'flogn,
und hiaz hat mich mein dearndl (girl)
schon wiedä bitrogn (fooled me again). Seidl Almer 34.

Pigeons also fan the king while he dines, *Athen.* 2, 487.
Again:

Ob im vant er einen *arn* (eagle),
des schoene was seltsaene;
er was im, in waene (I ween),
gesant von Gote ze gemache (comfort):
mit einem vetache (wing)
treip er im den luft dar (fanned the air),
mit dem andern er im *schate bar*. Servat. 1330.

Albert. Magn. De falcon. c. 4: 'Ego enim jam vidi qui sine ligaturis intrabant et exibant, et nobis comedentibus super mensam veniebant, *in radio solis se extendentes coram nobis*, quasi blandirentur nobis.' While *Marcian* sleeps, an *eagle* flies above him, giving *shade*, *Procop.* 1, 326. A *shading peacock's tail* is worn by ladies, *Vilk. saga* c. 213 and *Vuk* 4, 10; a *peacock fan*, *Claud. in Eutr.* 1, 109; *pfawüne huote*, *Kolocz.* 184 [on 'peacock hats from England,' see *Hehn's Plants and Anim.*, Lond. '85]. With *óminnis hegri* connect 'iwer iegeslîchen hât diu heher (OHG. hehara) an geschriet ime walde,' the jay has cried a spell over you all, *Wh.* 407, 11.

p. 1134.] A *sihle singing* on your *right* brings luck, *Bütt.* Lett. lied. pp. 248. 266. The sight of the first *wagtail* is significant, *Klemm* 2, 329, and to *Kalmuks* that of the *snake* 3, 202-3.

The neighing of horses, sneezing of cats, howling of dogs, each is an omen : dir het diu katze niht *genorn*, Helbl. 1, 1392 (Suppl. to 1115); on the howling of dogs, see Capitolinus in Maxim. jun. c. 5. Pausan. iv. 13, 1.

p. 1136.] Leo in Thür. mitth. iv. 2, 98 connects the Goth. *hráiva-dubó* with *divan* and *daubs*, *deáf* [Helm's Plants and Anim. 258]. '*Bubo* habet nomen a voce sua, et moratur in cavernis petrosis vel muris antiquis, et differt a noctna solum in magnitudine, quia est major ea, et bubo dicitur *letalis* vel *mortalis*, quia *mortem annuntiat*, unde dicunt quidam naturales, quod sit animal habens dilectionem naturalem ad hominem, et propterea ponit se supra vestigium hominis, et post mortem festinat ad amandum cadaver, et dicunt aliqui quod generetur ex medulla spiuae in dorso hominis,' Stephan's Stoff. 118.

Ter omen

funereus bubo letali carmine fecit. Ov. Met. 10, 453.

Tectoque profanus

incubuit *bubo*, thalamique in culmine sedit. 6, 431.

Infausto bubone, Claud. in Eutr. 2, 407; a *bubo* prophesies to Agrippa, Joseph. 18, 6. 19, 8 (Horkel p. 494); *bubo, cartae funebris lator*, Marbod's Carm. 1577. Hipponax in Meineke's Choliambi p. 112 calls its *κριγή* (screeching) *νεκρῶν ἄγγελός τε καὶ κῆρυξ*. As the Lett. *uhpis*, hoopoo, is a bird of ill-omen, our *húwe* (*bubo*) heralds a speedy death in the Herod story, Pass. 157, 51—72. 159, 76—83; der leidic *húwaere*, der *naht-húwer*, Albrecht's Ovid 177^b. 345^a; trûrie als ein *unflaetec húwe*, Renn. 17993. The screech-owl, *kauz* or *künzlein*, cries: 'Come along, come along!' that's twice the *death-bird* has called to me, Kehrein's Nassau 41 [To Russian children the owl cries *shubu*, (I'll have your) fur-coat]. The same kind of thing is the *scuwút* on the tree, Maerl. 2, 323. 348 and the *vöglein kreide-weiss* (chalk-white), Musæus 5, 28.—The word *klag-mutter* reminds of Berhta, of the white lady, the fylgja and the banshee, bansighe (pp. 279. 280). On the Wendish wailer, *God's little chair*, see Wend. volksl. 2, 269^b. Somm. p. 169. A death is foretold by 'la poule qui chante en coq,' Bosq. 219. Other omens of death are: When the *dead in churches* are seen or heard at night by the living, it bodes a new event to these, esp. death: quando-

cunque a viventibus haec audiuntur vel videntur, *novum aliquid* signat, Pertz 5, 738. The same if you hear a *grunting* or *sawing* at night 5, 738-9; conf. deathwatch, next paragr.

p. 1136.] The wood-worm we call *todten-uhr* is termed pulsatorius, the Engl. *deathwatch* scarabæus galeatus pulsator, Hone's Yrbk 823; ich hör ein würlin *klopfen*, Garg. 278^b; the death-smith who *thumps* in window frames and walls, Gellert 3, 148. Finn. *yumi* and *seinärautio*, wall-smith; conf. the tapping home-sprites.

p. 1136.] *Swarms of bees* betoken a fire: molitasque examen apes passimque crematas, perbacchata domos nullis incendia causis, Claud. B. Get. 241. Bees that fasten on you, Aelian's Var. 12, 40. Pliny 8, 42; *bee-swarms and spiders, Bötticher's Hell. temp. 127; ea hora tantae *aranearum telae* in medio populi ceciderunt, ut omnes mirarentur; ac per hoc significatum est, quod sordes hereticae pravitatis depulsae sint, Paul. diac. 6, 4. A flight of *small birds*, a shoal of *salmon*, are a sign of *guests*, Justinger 271. 379. The *alder-beetle* flying south is lucky, north unlucky, Kalewipoeg, note on 2, 218.

p. 1137.] Other omens of death are *bloody weapons*, a *rusting knife*, KM. no. 60; but also *flowers*, Altd. w. 2, 187. Hpt 3, 364. *Corpse-candles*, mists in churchyards, prefigure a dead body, Hone's Daybk 2, 1019; an expiring lamp is a sign of death, Altd. w. 2, 186 (weather also was foretold by *divinatio ex lucernis*, Apuleius ed. Ruhnk. lib. 2, p. 116). *Elmo's fire*, *Sant-elmo*, *blawe liechter*, Staden's Reise p. 102; ðf dem maste dar enboben [enhoben?] ein vackeln-licht so schöne quam, Marienleg. p. 87. A *crackling* flame may denote a blessing:

Et succensa sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis,
omine quo felix et sacer annus erit. Tibull. ii. 5, 82.

So to Kalmuks the *fizzing* of meat when roasting, and the *self-lighting* of an extinguished fire, Klemm 3, 203; retulerunt quidam de ipso (abbate Sangallensi) agonizante, quod audierant voces *plangentium* et *bullitionem caldariorum* (yr 1220).

The *room-door opens* of itself when there is a death, Lucae 260-9. When a board or shelf tips over, it is called *death-fall*, Bair. kinderlehre 23. ON. *fall* er farar heill; in *lapsu* faustum ominatus eventum, Saxo Gr. 73. On the other hand, *stumbling*,

the foot catching, is of ill-omen in Eurip. Heracl. 726 seq.; ter *pedis offensi* signo est revocata, Ov. Met. 10, 452; sed, ut fieri assolet, *sinistro pede* profectum me spes compendii frustrata est, Apuleius p. m. 80. Getting up too early, wrongly, is fatal: si wâren ze *vruo* des morgens *ûf-gestân*, die muosten dâ daz leben lân (lose), Livl. 1255; sumelich ze *vruo* hate des morgens *ûf-gestân*, der muoste dâ ze pfande lân den lip 3859.

p. 1137.] The notion that *several ears on one stalk* signify peace, is apparently derived fr. the Bible, Gen. 41, 22; a stalk with 15 ears, Weller's Anm. 1, 221. A double ear is Lett. *yummis*, dim. *yummite*, Büttner 2818. Good hap or ill is foreseen by tying together two ears of standing corn, and seeing which will shoot up higher, Dybeck '45, p. 52. Pilgrimages to *Our Lady of the Three Ears*, Keisersb. Brösaml. 56^d.

p. 1138.] Things found are esp. operative for good or harm, e.g. *four-cornered, four-leaved* clover, Simplic. 1, 334. L. Sax. sagen no. 190; a *whole grain* in the loaf, Serenus samon. 935. Things *inherited*, Müllenh. no. 315; *begged*, Wolf's Ndr. sag. p. 414; *worn* (pp. 602-3. 1093); rings made of *gibbet irons*, Luc. Philops. 17. 24; fingers of a *babe unborn* (p. 1073n.).

p. 1139.] Goth. *dagum vitáip* = dies observate, Gal. 4, 10. Ἡμέρα μέλαινα, μὴ καθαρὰ, ἀποφράς (fr. φράζω), see Lucian's Pseudologista (ἡ περὶ τῆς ἀποφράδος), conf. ed. Bip. 8, 434; so ἀποφράδες πύλαι, Porta Scelerata 8, 58. Dies *fastus, nefastus, nefandus, nefarius, infandus*, per quem nefas fari praetorem; dies *inauspicious, ater*. Henry IV. died on a Tuesday, *die Martis*, qua etiam cuncta sua praelia, *paganico* nimirum auspicio, perpetrare consuevit, Pertz 8, 240. Napoleon avoided *Fridays*, Wieselgr. 473. AS. nellað heora þing wanian on *Monandæg* for anginne þære wncan, AS. hom. 100.

p. 1140 n.] With *Wisantgang* conf. Wisantes-steiga, Wisantes wanc (Neugart). Should we read *Wolf-bizo* (-bit), or *Wolf-bízo* (-biter), like bären-beisser, bullen-beisser (-dog)? Cattle *killed or bitten by wolves*, are wholesome fare, Spiunr. evang., Friday 9. Gr. *λυκόβρωτος*, and Plutarch discusses 'why *wolf-eaten mutton* is sweeter,' Symp. 2, 9. *Wolfeip* Graff 1, 850; *Wolfeibsch*, Kopp's Gesch. d. Eidgen. 2, 557; *Wulfevinge*, Gosl. berggesetze p. 339; Ulricus dictus *Wolfeipsch*, der *Wolfeipscho*, Ch. yrs 1260—65. Neugart nos. 972. 981. 990-5; *lupi praeda*, Marcellus no. 53.

p. 1141.] Juvenes . . . missurum se esse, in quas *dii* dedissent *auguriis* sedes, ostendit, Livy 5, 34. The Hirpini were led by the *wolf*, hirpus, the Picentini by the *pecker*, picus, the Opici by the *bull*, ops? Wackern. in Hpt 2, 559. Mommsen's Röm. gesch. 1, 76. *Bull* and *sow* as guides, Klausen's Aen. 1107; *cows* indicate where a church is to be built, Wieselgr. 408; *milch-cows* show the site of the future church, a black *bull* that of the castle, Müllenh. p. 112-3; a *heifer* leads Cadmus to the spot where he is to settle [two milch-kine bring the ark, 1 Sam. 6, 7].—The Franks are shown their way by the *Rune*, Guitecl. 2, 35; a *white hart* walks before them as God's messenger, Ogier 1, 12; and a Westphal. family-name *Réasford* (Deeds in Möser) points to a similar event. A Delaware climbed through the mouth of an underground lake into daylight, killed a *stag* and took it home, then the whole tribe moved to the sunny land, Klemm 2, 159. A *horse* points out the place for a church, Müllenh. p. 111-2. *Mules* show where the convent of Maulbronn in the Black Forest is to be founded. A *hare* guides, Paus. iii. 22, 9. —*Ravens* are indicators, Müllenh. p. 113; the three in the Icelandic narrative, flying off one after another, strongly remind us of Noah. The *dove* guides, Hrosvitha Gandesh. 253. 261—6. A vision reveals that a *bird* sitting on the top of the hill will fly up, and must be followed: it flies on before, then alights, and pecks the ground on the spot where stones may be quarried to build the church with, Pertz 6, 310; *doves* guide Aeneas to the golden bough, Aen. 6, 191—211. The *lark*, Paus. iv. 34, 5; the *clucking hen* at Bremen, Brem. sag. no. 1; the *heathcock* rising, Schüren's Chron. p. 3; *fribolum de ansere* quasi dominam suam deducente, Pertz 8, 215 yr 1096, conf. Raumer's First Crus. 1, 69.

p. 1144.] In a dike threatened by the sea a child is buried alive, Müllenh. no. 331. Thiele in Danmarks folkes. 2, 63. Honsdam in Flanders, V. d. Bergh 261 (Kl. schr. 2, 73). Fair weather was obtained by walling up a *peck of barley* and a *bowl of water*, Rocken-philos. 6, 88. A Königsberg story tells how they took a fallen woman's child, a year and a half old, set it down in a hollow stone, with a slice of bread-and-butter in each hand, and then walled it in, leaving only an opening at the top; in the morning the child was gone, but after that the building of the wall went on unhindered, N. Preuss. prov. bl. 465. At a

place called the Nine-ways, as many boys and girls were buried alive by the Persians, Herod. 7, 114. Vortigern's tower keeps falling down: ye shall *wet* the foundation-stone with the *blood of a boy* born of woman without man, Merlin 1, 67. 72-5; under it lie two dragons, 1, 91; conf. Thib. de Navarre 2, 160. Like the girl inclosed in Copenhagen wall is the child who is set before a table with apples, and kept shut up in the cave for a year, Müllenh. p. 354.—It is an oft-recurring feature, that what is built in the day is pulled down in the night, as in the Bamberg legend of the cathedral toads, Balt. stud. 10, 32-4. Hanusch 186. Müllenh. pp. 112-3. 128. 177. 542; troll ned-refvo om nätterne hvad som byggdes om dagen, Wieselgr. p. 408; a wall is torn down 15 times, Somm. p. 9; much the same is told of the tower at Enger, Redeker's Sagen p. 41. 'Tradition says, that as fast as the workmen built it up by day, it would *at night* be carried off by invisible hands, and placed on the spot where it now stands' (a Devonshire leg.), Chambers's Pop. rhymes 14^a. Conversely, a wall broken down by day grows again overnight, Müllenh. p. 349; conf. the tree that is cut down, and sprouts again (p. 960).

p. 1145.] O. Sl. *s''n''*, Serv. *san*, Russ. *son*, Pol. Boh. *sen*, Lith. *sapnas*, dream. Lith. *mėgas*, Lett. *meeqs*, Pruss. *maiggus*, somnus, Russ. *migátĭ*, wink. ON. *dúr levis* somnus, *núbes somni*; höfugr *blundr*, *sopor*, Sæm. 93^a; er þer *svefn* höfugt? Laxd. 120. 'Troume sint trüge' says the proverb in the Hätzlerin 126-7; *traum truq*, Frankl. 21. 46.—OHG. *troum-sceido*, *-sceilari*, -interpreter, lit. divider, Graff 6, 439; conf. *ὑποκρίνασθαι*. Od. 19, 535. 555; *iafnan* dreymir fyrir veðrum, Völs. saga c. 25, and dreams are still made to refer to rain. AS. *swefen-racu*, -interpretation, *swefen-raccere*, -expounder. Slav. *gadátĭ*, guess, *somnia conji cere*; Swed. *gissa* drömmen; 'elvsnaldste datter' is to guess the dream, DV. 3, 4; nu hefi ek þyddan draum þinn, Gunnl. s. ornst. c. 2; den troum *betiuten* = denten, MS. 2, 115^a. Griesh. 1, 98; *ontbinden*, untie, Rose 6134; *conjectura*, Plant. Rud. iii. 1, 20. Curc. ii. 1, 31.

p. 1146.] A dream comes out, appears; *rann up* en sömn, Sv. vis. 1, 299; wie der troum wolte *úzgén*, Griesh. 2, 133; der troum ist *aus*, Ay rer 177^d. Fichard's Frankf. arch. 1, 130. There is a *gate* of dreams, Hpt 2, 535; *έν ὀνειρείησι πύλῃσι*,

Od. 4, 809; ἐν πύλαις ὄνειρέαις, Babr. 30, 8; conf. the myth in Od. 19, 562—9. A dream-vision, ὄψις, comes repeatedly and flies away, Herod. 7, 12. 14-5. 17-8-9. A dream appears, Griesh. 1, 98. Flore 1102; *erscheine* mir'z ze guote, Reinh. 73; hence 'einen troum er *gesach*,' Ksrchr. 5473, troum *irsehen* 2921. AS. hine *gemêtte*, there met him, he dreamt, Cædm. 223, 20; *gemêted* wearð 225, 21; *assistit capiti*, Claud. De b. Gildon. 329n. —'Der troum *ergienç*,' came about, Ksrchr. 611; 'dîn troum *irgê dir ze heile!*' turn out well, 1373; we say 'comes true.' Οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ, not dream, but truth, Od. 19, 547. 20, 90; ὕπαρ ἐξ ὀνείρου, Pindar; iwer troum wil sich *enden*, Flore 1117. A dream is a messenger of God: sagde im an svefne, slâpandium an naht, *bodo Drohtines*, Heliand 21, 12. Dreams are *heavy* and *light*: stærke drömmе, DV. 3, 3; 'ob iu nu *ringer* getroumet,' milder, better, Ben. 438. A beautiful dream is *weidenlîche*, feasting the eye, Ls. 1, 131; *muowent* uns troume? Ksrchr. 2948.—Dreams of *birds* are esp. frequent: mir (Uote) ist getroumet lîhte (last night), wie allez daz *gefûgele* in disme lande waere tôt, Nib. 1449, 3. Vilck. c. 336; mir troumte hînte in dirre naht, *zwên falken* vlugen mir ûf die hant, Morolt 2876; a dream of a *raven* and an *eagle*, Orendel Etm. p. 92, and the like in Gunnl. s. ormst. c. 2. Fornald. sög. 1, 420. Penelope dreams of an *eagle* killing her pet geese, Od. 19, 536; conf. Aesch. Persæ 205. Darzuo müeze iin von *eiern* (of eggs) sîn getroumet, i.e. bad dreams, MS. 2, 152^b; swer sich zuo lange wolde sûnen, deme muoste von *eiern* troumen, Türl. Wh. 87^a.—Dreams of *bear* and *boar* hunting; Tit. 2877-8; of a *boar*, Krone 12157, a *dragon*, Rab. 123-4. Dreaming of *beasts* may be traced to Guardian-spirits and Transmigration, says F. Magn., Edda-l. 4, 146. Dreams of a *tree growing up*, Ruodl. 16, 90, of a *shipwreck*, Krone 12225, a *burning house*, Lachm. Ndrhein. ged. 18-9, a *bridge*, Kl. schr. 3, 414, a *tooth falling out*, Keisersb. Bros. 48^a; mir'st getroumet *ab der guoten*, MS. 2, 115^a.

p. 1147.] 'Der *lôr-boum* habet tia natura, ube sîn ast (if a branch of it) ûf'en slâfenten man geleet wirt, taz imo *wâr* troumet,' he dreameth true, N. Cap. 13. The dream 'under a tree' in Mar. 155, 21 may be for rhyme's sake alone: 'als einem man der da gelît, begrifen mit swârem troume, slâfend unter einem boume,' conf. troum, boum, Wigal. 5808. A dream in a

piġstye comes true, Forum. s. 10, 169. The first dream in a *new house* is important, Gūthner 640.—Night is descr. as *svefn-gaman*, *draum-niorun*, Sæm. 51^a. Dreams before the *dawn* are true: Lenore starts up at dawn fr. heavy dreams; ‘ir getrounde’ at ‘*tage-rât*,’ after ‘*han-krât*,’ En. 5234; ‘*troumen gein dem tage*,’ towards day, Bit. 9630; ‘in the *morning hour*, that is called the time of *golden sleep*,’ Fastn. sp. 1302; mir trounde *nâch mitternacht*, wie mir der *dûme swaere* (that my thumb festered), und der *nagel abe waere*, Eracl. 3712; conf. *ἐναργὲς ὄνειρον νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ*, Od. 4, 841. Lilia dreams on her *wedding-night*, Gesta reg. Francor. in Mone’s Anz. 4, 15; der *erste traum* treugt nit, er pflegt wol wahr zu werden, C. Brehmen’s Gedichte J 1^b.

p. 1147.] On dreaming of a *treasure on the bridge*, see Kl. schr. 3, 414 seq. One is *waked out of a dream* by cry of dismal crow, Walth. 95, 1, by the crowing cock, the calling servant, Ls. 1, 149. *Dô taget ez*, und muos ich wachen, Walth. 75, 24: ende ic ountspranc, ende doe wart dach, Rose 14224; and with that I woke, Agricola 624, and after that it dawned 625; *dô krâte der han*, ez was tac, Altsw. 67, 3. To *speak out of a dream*: ich en-sprich ez niht *ûz eime troume*, Parz. 782, 13; ir redet *ûz eime troume*, Reinh. p. 202. He *fought* (in a dream), Lachm. Ndrhh. ged. p. 18-9.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SICKNESSES.

p. 1150.] Apollo is called *ιατρό-μαντις*, Aesch. Eumen. 62; Apollo *Grannus* was invoked by the sick, Stålin 1, 67. 112. Wise leeches were *Kasiapa*, Holtzm. 3, 164-5; *Iapis* Iasides, Aen. 12, 391; *Meges*, *Μέγης*, Forcell. sub v.; *Dianoecht*, Keller on Irish MSS. p. 93. The Greeks venerated the Scythian *Toxaris* after his death as *ξένος ιατρός*, Lucian’s Scythia 2; *Ζαμόλξιδος ιατροί*, Plato’s Charmides p. 156. The *grey smith* appears to the sick man in his sleep, and with his pincers pulls the nails and spear out of his hand, foot and side, Hpt’s Ztschr. 1, 103. An *angel* reveals the remedy in a dream, Engelh. 5979. 5436; an *angel* visits the sleeper, and gives a willow-bough to stop the murrain, Müllenh. 238. *Saints* heal (p. 1163 end; Pref. xxxviii.)

GDS. 149.—*Women* are often skilled in leechcraft: *Angitia* instructs in herbs and healing, Klausen 1039. As *Wate* became a leech through a *wildes wíp*, a herbalist traces his art up to ‘*madame Trote de Salerne, qui fait cuevre-chief de ses oreilles, et li sorciz li penden a chaaines dargent par desus les epaules*’; she sends her men to all countries in search of herbs, ‘*en la forest d’Ardenne por ocirre les bestes sauvages, et por traire les oignemenz,*’ Rutebeuf 1, 256 (Another herbman calls himself *hunter of Arden-wood* 1, 470). ‘*Unde communiter Trotula vocata est, quasi magistra operis; cum enim quaedam puella debens incidi propter hujusmodi ventositatem, quasi ex ruptura laborasset, cum eam vidisset Trotula, admirata fuit, etc.*’ *Medici antiqui* (Venet. 1547) 75^a; she is named in Chaucer’s C.T. 6259. Acc. to Jöcher she was a physician of Salerno, but the book *De morbis mulierum* was written by a doctor who used her name. —Othinus puts on female disguise, calls himself *Vecha*, and passes for a she-doctor, Saxo Gram. ed. M. 128; conf. AS. *wicce*, saga (p. 1033). *Three nymphs* prepare a healing strengthening food for Balder, Saxo Gr. ed. M. 123 (*vigoris epulum* 194). Queen *Erka* is a leech, Vilks. saga c. 277; and *Crescentia* is endowed with healing power (p. 1152). The *meer-frau* in the Aþor, like the Scotch mermaid, gathers the healing herb on a mountain, Hpt. 5, 8. *Fámurgán* knows herbs, makes plasters and salves, Er. 5212. 7226. Iw. 3424. There was a leech named *Morgan tud*, says L. Guest 3, 163; but that is the name of a healing plant 3, 164; conf. Ben. note to Iw. 3424. *Isót*, diu künegin von Irlande, diu erkennet maneger hande *wurze* u. aller *kriute* kraft u. arzâtliche meisterchaft, Trist. 175, 32. The *wasser-jungfer* knows healing herbs, Firmenich 1, 23; a *meer-weib* gives help in childbed, Müllenh. p. 340. En gumma sade, hon kände väl de *gamles skrâck*, men trodde dem ej; hon viste huru man kunde få hjelp af dem, men att det var syndigt, Fries’s Udfl. 1, 108. The *wilde fräulein* knows the root that will heal a wound, Ecke 173—5. At Staffelbach the *wood-maidens* came out of the wood, and cried to the people: ‘*esst bimellen und baldrian, so geht euch die pest nicht an*’; therefore at harvest a bunch is left standing for the wood-mannikin. The *vila* of the woods is a lièkaritza, and demands a heavy fee, she is angry if you refuse, and poisons you, Vuk no. 321; conf. 2, 50 and the *pere-jungfer* with her

healing fountain, Alsatia '55, p. 216 (a place in Thuringia was called 'in süezer heilinge,' Graff 4, 867). The name of the Norse *Eir* reminds one of *Ἴπος*, Ἴπος Ἄϊπος [so called because he carried messages], Od. 18, 6. 7. 73, and of *Ἴρις* the divine messenger. To *Hylfa-berg* corresponds the Finn. *Kipu-mäki*, *Kipu-vuori*, *Kipu-haria*, mount of pain.—Women heal, they bind up wounds, Roquefort on Marie 2, 198—202; *frouwen die die tiefen wunden ir lieben vriunden bunden*, Servat. 1779; do *sênten* (segenten, blessed) im die wunden die *frouwen* al ze hant, Rosen-g. 1997; dede si sine wonden wel besien ere jong-frouwen, diere vroet ane was, Lanc. 22651; a *virgin* knows 'der crude cracht,' power of herbs 11999; a *woman* gives a magic salve, Eeke 155-6. Herdsmen, shepherds can heal men, for they are expert in treating cattle, Varro RR. 2, 1. When a patient dies, his doctors are killed, Greg. Tur. 5, 35.

p. 1152.] A physician was in Fris. called *létze*; ON. *líkna* ok *laekna* = lenire et mederi, Sæm. 236^a; Gael. *liagh*, whence Leo in Malb. Gl. 1, viii. derives all the others; Scot. *lighiche*, physician; OHG. *lâchituom*, medicine. AS. *from*, medicus, Matth. 9, 12; conf. OHG. *frumi* thaz wîb, heal the woman, O. iii. 10, 19, thia fruma neman 14, 50, fruma firstelan 14, 39. OHG. *grâvo*, chirurgus, Graff 4, 313; Fris. *grêva*, Riechth. 786. MHG. *wîse man*, V. d. Hagen's Ges. Abent. 2, 121. On our *arzt*, *arznei*, see Graff 1, 477; *arzenare*, N. Boeth. 217; *arsatere*, medicos, Lanc. 42631, *ersatre* von wonden 1988; *arzutinne*, Trist. 33, 38 (what is *diet-arzt*, Garg. 72^a?); *arza-dîe*, Ksrehr. 7483-93; *erzenîe*, Wh. 60, 23.—Leo in Malb. Gl. 2, 38 derives OHG. *luppi* from Gael. *luibh*, herba; si machent ñz krût ein *gestüppe* (pulverem), daz ist gnot ze der *lÿppe*, Hätzl. 217^a: Swed. *löfja*, *läka*; *löfjor*, medicamenta; *löfjerska*, vis qvinna, Almqv. 390; *lublerin*, venefica, Mone 7, 424. Din zouerlicha *haut*, herbi-potens manus, N. Boeth. 197; din *chriuter* unde din *gift-hant* der Circe 198; *hant-gift*, Mone 7, 423-4. Tit. 4518; so gloubent eteliche an boese *hantgift*, Berth. 58; der Saelden *h.*, Silv. 534; edel *h.* geben, Troj. 11188; sâre *h.* 25043; dats goede *hantgifte*, Rein. 6906; elsewhere *hantgift* is *strena*, *étrenne*; leidiu *h.*, Troj. 12334. The Lex Salica 19 says: si quis alteri *herbas dederit bibere*, ut moriatur. The sense of 'poison' is evolved out of each of these three words, from *herba* (*lubi*?), from *dare* (*gift*),

from *bibere* (potio); for potio, liter. a drink, has become the Fr. *poison*; conf. 'à enherber (to poison) m'aprist jadis une Juise,' Berte p. 103. Ducange sub v. *inherbare*.—A herbman or quack was called in Bavaria *wald-hansl*, *wald-mann*, Schm. 4, 63-4; *würzler* umb Bingen, Garg. 172^b, *krautnirer* 188^b, *teufelsgerittene wurzel-telberin*, *abgeribene kraut-graserin* 189^a, *alraundelberin* 104^a. 'Swiss women get their 100 herbs on *Donnersberg* in the Palatinate, said they were stronger there than in *Swissland*,' Eliz. of Orleans p. 283; *ich waiz ain mairin*, *diu vil mit dem kraut würrkt*, *Megenb.* 386, 32. *Old wives pick herbs* on John's day betw. 12 and 1, for then only have they power; with the stroke of 1 it is gone; they grow on *Pilgerberg* alone, *Müllenh.* p. 222. *Krüt tempern*, *Hartm. büchl.* 1, 1307. *Troj.* 10635; *ein temperie* als wir *gemischet* nemen, *Wh.* 420, 2; *luft tempern* u. *mischen*, *MS.* 1, 87^a. Another verb is OHG. *lochôn*, prop. *mulcere*, *fovere*: *ir eigut siuchi gilokôt*, *O. v.* 20, 76; conf. *ἰάομαι*, *ἰαίνω*, *fovere*, orig. said of wounds.

p. 1152.] Our *kropf* (goitre?) is called *king's evil*, because it was cured by the king's touch; 'those who have it, on *drinking* from the Count of Habsburg's *haud*, are made whole,' *Reber's Hemmerlin* p. 240. *Schimpf* u. *E.* 1, 27. It seems a *godfather* could cure his godchild of some diseases: '*godfather* and *foal's tooth* in urgent cases are too weak' (p. 658 n.). Among American Indians the knowledge of healing herbs descends from father to son, *Klemm* 2, 169; the family of *Diokles* can cure disease and disablement, *Paus.* iv. 30, 2. Health is regained by touching the *hem*, also by *magic song*: *Serv. bayati*, *incantare morbum, dolorem*. To feel the pulse is in MHG. *die âdern begrîfen*, *MS.* 2, 23^b; conf. *ein âderu grîfen*, *Reinh.* 2018; *si marhte mit dem vinger sîn âder-slân* (throbbing), *Eracl.* 3033; *der kraftâdern slac*, *Barl.* 188, 22.

p. 1153.] '*Nomina morborum vernacula*' in *J. Fr. Löw* ab *Erlesfeld's Univ. medicina pract.*, *Norimb.* 1724. *Sickness* is *siuche*, *Uolr.* 1038. 1109. *En.* 10833; *MLG. suke*; *MHG. siechtuom*, *diu suht*, *Fundgr.* 2, 46; *gesühte*, *Warn.* 2192; *siech von ungesühte*, *Walth.* 20, 4. *Fragm.* 46^b; *ersochte*, *Hpt* 8, 167; *werlt-siech*, *En.* 12908; *die siechen* u. *die weichen*, *G. schm.* 494, conf. *ON. veikr*, *infirmus. veiki infirmitas*, *AS. wâc*, *Engl. weak*. *Siee ende ongedaen*, *Lanc.* 15338. *Unmahti*, *invaletudines*, *O.* iii.

5, 2, *unmakti*, infirmi 9, 5; OHG. *ni mac ni touc*, non valet; MHG. *nihl en-mac*, aegrotel, Hagen's Ges. Ab. 3, 63; daz ich nie *ne mac*, Ksrchr. 821; *ungewalt*, invaletudo, En. 10230-551; Slav. *ne-dúg*, morbus; Boh. *ne-mósh*, Russ. *ne-mótech*, infirmitas. *Unvarnde*, aeger, Türl. Wh. 60^b. — The contrary: *wolvarnde* n. *gesund*, Iw. 3430. OHG. *kisúnt*, MHG. *gesúnt*, M. Neth. *gesónt* (sound, well), hence *ungesunt*, Poor Heinr. 375. *Unqanzí*, infirmitas, O. iii. 4, 34, *ganz*, integer, 2, 22. 32; M. Neth. *gans*, whole, *gansen*, to heal, Maerl. 1, 313. 2, 359. Jesus p. 136; *genesen*, and *gansen* side by side, Maerl. 1, 313. The grand word for sanus is Goth. *háils*, OHG. *heil*, ON. *heill*, OS. *hêl*, AS. *hâl*, Engl. *whole*; *sanari* is Goth. *háils visan*, *gaháilnan*, while *salvari* is Goth. OHG. *ganisan*, AS. *genesan* with Acc. (p. 1244 n.). — 'Ghenesen ende *becomen*,' Maerl. 3, 97; OHG. *chûmig*, infirmus, *chûmida*, morbus. M. Neth. *evel*, our *übel* [so, king's *evil*]. AS. *ádl* ne yldo, Beow. 3469, from *ád*, fire, heat? (Suppl. to 1166 end); *ádl* oððe íren 3692; *ádl* oððe ecg 3523; *ádlig*, aeger. Dan. *uminden*, *umänen*, an indefinite disease, Molb. Dial. lex. p. 630, conf. ON. *ómynd*, monstrum, forma laesa. What means 'lági *dawalónti*,' O. iii. 2, 7, moriens? (Graff 5, 346). Dole ich diz *gebénde*, Ksrchr. 12704; conf. ON. *afbendi*, tenesmus, Dan. *bindsel*, constipation. — More general are OHG. *suerido* = suero; *ouc-suero*, *maqa-suero*, Graff 6, 888. OHG. *wéwo*, woe, pain; *manegen wên* vertreip, Servat. 1077. AS. *ece*, ache, *tóð-ece*. AS. *coð*, *coðe*, morbus, pestis; *bân-coða*, m., Cod. Exon. 163, 23. MHG. 'er *lent*,' he is laid up, Parz. 251, 16; die *geligrigen*, infirmi, Mohr's Reg. Frauenb. nos. 328. 235; die *suht ligen*, Hpt 4, 296. Gramm. 4, 620; mi *legar* bifêng, Hel. 135, 12; *legar-fast* 121, 16; *bette-rise*, *ligerline*, Griesh. 116. 124; *bet-rise*, Urstende 123, 69. Servat. 3180 (is *pet-ritto* in the Strasb. spell the same thing?); an *rese-bette ligen*, St. Louis 90, 13; le *gisant*, jacens, Lafont. 5, 12; conf. 'sô *stüende* ich úf von dirre *nôt*, u. waere iemer *mê* *gesund*, Walth. 54, 9. Peculiar is OHG. *wiunen*, furere, laborare morbo, *gewinnen* (the fever), conf. ON. *vinna*. In Cassel they say *aufstützig* for ill: ein pferd *aufstützig* worden, Cav. im irgarten 53.

p. 1154.] Sickness appears as a *divine dispensation* in *νοῦσος* *Διός*, Od. 9, 411; ir wære diu *suht gescehen*, Fundgr. 2, 46. Sickness seizes: *ἄρρωστος* is infirmus; our *an-gegriffen*; mich *hât*

ein siech-tage *begriffen*, Diocl. 6016; in *ergreif* diu misel-suht, Poor Heinr. 119; *angriffen* von einem boesen wind, von einem teufels kind, Mone 6, 470; gesuchte *bestêt* uns (tackles us), Hpt 1, 272; dô begunde ein suche *râmen* der vrowen, Pass. K. 425, 20; *warc ingewôd*, morbus invasit, Cod. Exon. 163, 29; him færinga âdl *ingewôd* 158, 21. Our *anfull* (attack), morbus; *anvellig*, infectious, Mone 8, 499. Goth. ‘vas *ana-habaida* brinnôn mikilai,’ Luke 4, 38; da wolt’ mich hân *ergrummen*, ich *weiz niht waz*, Hngdietr. Fromm. 146; in *stiez an* einiu kelte, Fragm. 19^b; in Mecklenbg, if a man is taken ill at harvest time, they say ‘the harvest-goat has *gestoszeñ* (butted at) him’; den hete der siechtuom sô *begint* (rhy. kint), Uolr. 1523.—The contrary: den siechtuom *überwinden* (win over), Wigal. 5991; unz der siechtuom vom im *flôch*, Hpt 5, 278; diu suht *entweich* (ran away) 8, 188. Iw. 3446; sô muozen dir *intwîchen* dîne suhte, Ksrchr. 838; daz gesüht begund in *fliehen*, Ecke 176; diu suht von ime *flôz*, Diemer 325, 7.—The *νοῦσοι* approach men *αὐτόματοι*, and *σιγῆ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεὺς*, Hes. Opp. 102. Mulierculae plures . . . a *daemoniis vexantur* (yr 1075), Pertz 5, 128. The witch cooks, brews diseases; so does the Finn. *Kivutar* (Suppl. to 1046); she is called ‘kipiä neito,’ Schröter 34, ‘kipu tyltö, kipulan näto,’ Peterson 75, ‘kipunen eukko,’ Kalev. 25, 96. 179; worrying grey *dogs* howl around her, Pet. 74; she wears gloves and shoes of pain, Kal. 25, 183-4. In Lith. they say ‘*ligga ne sessû*,’ the sickness is no sister, does not spare.

p. 1155.] *Febris* for fervebris, ferbris; Gael. *fiabhar*; MHG. *biever*, Freid. 74, 9. *Dea Febris*, Aug. Civ. D. 2, 14. 3, 12. 25. AS. *âdl* pearl, *hât* and heorogrim, Cod. Exon. 160, 30; *bâncofa âdle on-æled* 159, 15; *âdl* me innan *æle* 166, 5; conf. Gael. *teasach*, febris, fr. *teas*, calor, fervor. Dei heizen fieber *lascht* er dô (he leashes them?), Diem. 325, 5; *sóttar brími*, morbi aestus, Egilss. 637. Hippocrates often has *πῦρ* for *πυρετός*: *παρθένον πῦρ ἔλαβε* 3, 6 (*γυναῖκα ῥίγος ἔλαβε* 1, 5).—The OHG. *rito* is Norw. *rid*, Aasen 379^b; are we to conn. it with ON. *hríð*, procella? Lye too, by the side of *riðeroð*, febris, gives *hríð-âdl*, *hríðing*, febris, *hríðian*, febricitare; conf. ‘in bestuont der minne *schûr*,’ Parz. 587, 13, and Herbort 12836 calls the minne an *elbisch viure*: *Rîten* winnanti, febre laborans, Graff 1, 876; *rite*

jouh *feber*, Diut. 3, 45; der *rittige*, febricitans, Griesh. 115; sô hat ir êre den *riden*, Hpt 1, 437. M. Neth. *rede* and *redine*, Mone's Ndr. lit. 335. Belg. mus. 10, 52; bevaen met enen *rede*, Maerl. 3, 188. 168. 237-8; viel in den *r.* 3, 269; quam mi an de *r.* 3, 78; hadde enen groten *r.* 2, 79; genasen van den *r.*, Hpt. 1, 104: den vierden *r.* (febr. quartan.), Franc. 2882. Nu muze der *leide ride* Fukarde vellen! Karlm. Lachin. 110; schütte in der *rite!* Pass. 45, 32; habe den *riden* u. die *suht* umb dînen hals! Morolf 715; das sie der *jar-rit* schüt! Garg. 242^a; die *corts ridene!* Walew. 6164; conf. Gl. to Lekensp. p. 573; das dich gê der *schütler* an! H. Sachs iii. 3, 8^d; kam sie an der *frorer*, Altd. bl. 1, 56; 'break the neck of the fever,' Etn. Unw. d. 792. Fever rides a man, as poverty does, H. Sachs i. 3, 245^c. —In Boner's fable the *rite* is made a butterfly (=alp, nightmare), no doubt, that he may the better converse with the flea; conf. Fastn. 36, 55. Keller's Erz. 330. Like Petrarch, H. Sachs i. 483 has a dialogue betw. the *zipperlein* (gout) and the *spider* (Kl. schr. 5, 400 seq.). The spell in Bodm. Rheing. alt. p. 710 speaks of '72 *riten*'; that in Mone 7, 421 of '77 *ritten*'; Kulda 132 of '99 fevers.'—Other names for fever: M. Neth. *koorts*, febris, *sayhe*, Rein. 391. AS. *gedrif*; *drif*. MHG. der *begir?* Flore 1005; to die of a *schlirige* fever, Garg. 241^a, conf. *schlir*, ulcer 259^a, *schlir-geschwür* 236^b. At Louvain fever is called *quade mêster*. OHG. *it-slac*, febr. recidiva, Graff 6, 773, *it-slaht* 777; *avar-sturz*, relapse; conf. 'modica *pulsatus* febre,' Greg. Tur. 2, 5. 'Winter und *sumer*' are a disease (cold and hot fits of ague alternating?), St. Louis (Rückert) 59, 28. 80, 21. Lat. *querquera*, shivering fit. MHG. *quartanie*, febr. quart., MSH. 3, 178^b; *kartanie*, Wartb. kr. str. 51. Gr. ἡπίαιος, Luc. Philops. 19. In O. Fr. they said 'trembler la fièvre,' Méon 3, 88. Rutebeuf 1, 290. Rénart 10150. Lith. *paszta-kielš*, fever-bird (kielš, siskin). Lett. *drudsis* vinnu yahi, fever rides him, Bergm. 68. Der *rôte suche*, Myst. 1, 104. *Flores beatæ Marine*, erysipelas, Ducange sub v. flores; Ital. rosalia.

p. 1156.] Gout, OHG. *giht*, *fargiht*, Graff 4, 142; vor zorne si daz *giht* brach, Mai 69, 2; daz mich din *giht* zubrochin hât, Ksrchr. 2776. 4293, conf. 'die alten dô der huoste (cough) brach, V. d. Hag. Ges. Ab. 2, 290; swen negt (whom gnaws) daz *giht*, Renn. 9897; swie daz *giht* in stunge, Helb. 1, 70; dâ ist si

müende daz *gegihte*, Ulr. Trist. 1512; in die *gichter* fallen, Eliz. of Orl. 41; *vergiht*, Tôdes geh. 548. Servat. 728. 786. 1573. Hpt 6, 493. Austr. 'kalt *vergiht*,' arthritis vaga; *icht*, Hpt 1, 104. Nethl. *jicht*; die *jôte*, Maerl. 2, 79; *juchtech*, paralyticus 2, 112. 317. 338; do vil em dat *jodute* in de been, Detm. 2, 482; is this gout or terror? (the *huk*, angina uvularis, is allayed by the spell: 'Hode-joduth! I cannot gulp the pot-hook down,' Lisch's Meckl. jrb. 6, 191; the *hetsch*, or the *keller-gschoss* bumps against me, H. Sachs iv. 3, 76^e; den *heschen* gewinnen, Suchenw. 18, 238; *hesche* schlucken); unz in dô sluoc daz podagra, Ksrchr. 5854. ON. *ökla-eldr*, Fornm. s. 3, 200; AS. *ecilma*, *æcelma*, podagra, *deaggede*, *deag-wyrmede*, podagricus, *deaw-wyrm*, podagra. *Ko-synties*, petits cousins, Belg. mus. 8, 183. Boh. *dna*, gout; Pol. *dma*, prop. blast, breathing upon.

p. 1157, line 6, a short paragr. was omitted from the text, viz.: "A burning tumour at the finger-nail (*παρωνυχίς*) is called the *worm*, the *runabout worm*, the *unnamed* (bec. one was shy of uttering the creature's name), the *evil thing*; Engl. *ringworm* [mistake for whitlow?], Scot. *ringwood*, for which R. Chambers quotes two spells (see Suppl.)." The flying gout travels: fon *farendum* and fon *fretma*, Richth. 246, 14. Daz *wilde viure*, ignis sacer, is called *Antonien feuer*, *Antoni feuer*, Etnn. Unw. d. 136-7, *Tönges-feuer* (Tony's f.), Fischart, *Antonien rach*, *plag*, erysipelas, skin-inflammation; bec. the Saint and his monks received such patients into their hospital? conf. Keisersb. Omeiss 52. AS. *bân-coðe*, ossium morbus, ignis sacer. Gothl. *flaug-ild*, erysip. on the face, Almqv. 423^a, conf. ON. flog. M. Neth. de *rode guchte*, Maerl. 2, 290, gutta rosea; now *roze drup*, our *roth-lauf*, St. A.'s fire.—Typhus carbuncularis acutissimus is called *landslip*, *devil's shot*. 'Of sacred fire are several kinds: one about a man's waist is called *zoster* (girdle), and kills if it *begirdle* him,' Pliny 25, 11 (26, 74). For this gout we find the names *manewurm*, *hâr-wurm*, Fundgr. 2, 238. The name of *gichter* (gouts) is also given to cramps and spasms, Stald. 1, 443. A tumour at the finger-nail is in Plattd. *fit* [*whit-low*, white fire?], der *ungenannt wurm*, Mone 6, 462; AS. *wyrm*, see Gramm. 1, 416 ang-nägle, ongneil; die *ungenannten*, Stald. 2, 423; *bös thier* 1, 207. Elves suck at children's fingers and toes by night, Dyb. Runa '48, p. 33.

p. 1157.] Apoplexy is in Grk *πληγὴ θεοῦ*. Lith. *stábas*. Got gebe den heiden *sînen sluc!* Livl. chr. 5220; het *sloghene Gods plaghe*, Maerl. 2, 348; plag di de *röring!* Müllenh. p. 191; daz *berlin* (fr. bern, to strike?); der *tropf*, Karaj. Kl. denkm. 46, 14. 51, 4; das dich die *drüs* (glanders) rür! H. Sachs v. 364^a; hab dir *drüs* u. das herzeleid! v. 367; hab dir die *drüs* in's herz hinein! v. 344^a: conf. *dros* (p. 1003 mid.).

p. 1158.] Epilepsy: diu *vallunde suht*, Servat. 1572. Uoir. 1092. Kschr. 6491; diu *vallende suht* brach, Hpt 8, 185; fanra lerha *fallanda ewele*, Richth. 246; dat *grote evcl*, Hpt 1, 104; das *höchste*, Etn. Maul. 307. On the Rhön Mts, das *arm werk*, Schm. 4, 139. Slovèn. *svetiqa Bálanta bolézen*, St. Valentine's evil. Lith. *námirrulis*, falling sickness. In the Wetterau, das *thun*. Austr. die *fräis*, whence Serv. *vräs*. OHG. *winnanti*, epilepticus, Graff 1, 876. Das dich der *tropf* schlag! Fischart. Nethl. *drop, drup, marks-tropf*, Mone 6, 470. Icel. *flog* (Suppl. to 1234).—*Goute ne avertinz*, Rutebeuf 1, 257; *avertin de chief* 1, 471; *male goute les eulz li crieve* (put out his eyes)! Trist. 1919. Ren. 1702; *male gote te crieve loil!* Ren. 21198. 25268; la *male gote aiez as dens!* 14322. Ducange sub v. *gutta* quotes many kinds; *avertin, esvertin*, Méon 1, 391. OHG. *mánóthuílino*, moon-sick, lunaticus, Graff 1, 443 (out of its place). *Concidere ad lunae incrementa, καταπίπτειν πρὸς τὴν σελήνην*, Lucian's Toxar. 24. *Nasci=lentigo*, Graff 2, 1105. As there are 77 *nöschen*, so '77 sorts of *zahn-rosen*,' Hpt 4, 390; '77 shot and 77 plagues,' Superst. spell xxxix.; '77 worms,' Mone 6, 462; *siben suhte darzuo nemen*, Kschr. 6076, wielde 6095. What is the *unnamed disease?* Mone's Schausp. 2, 373.

Our ohn-macht, fainting fit, is called *un-maht*, Er. 8825. Roth. 3015; si kam in *unmaht*, Flore 1055, vor *unm.* si nider-seic (sank) 1223; in *unm.* vallen, Reinh. 593; OHG. mir *unmahtet*, N. Boeth. 131; si vielen in *unkraft*, Kl. 1562; haer begaven *al die lede*, so dat si in *onmacht séch*, Karel 1, 128; *therte* begaf haer alte male, so dat si *séch* in *ommacht* 1, 241; viel in *onmaht*, Lane. 17215; viel in *ommacht*, Maerl. 2, 222; von *âmaht* si niderseic, Flore 1224; si kam in *âm.* 1230; diu *âm.* vaste mit im ranc (wrestled hard), Hpt 5, 277; *âm.*, Engelh. 6303; zwô *âmehte* si enpfience, Gute frau 1650; *abkraft*, H. Sachs v. 349^b.—Viel in *marmels*, Troj. 10742; *marmels* hingeleit, Oberl. de Conr. herbig.

52. Si lügen in *unsinne*, Kl. 1978. 1566-71; vergaz der *sinne* 1563; dô verlôs ich alle mîne *sinne*, MSH. 3, 207^b; *unversunnen* lac, Kl. 2092. Wh. 46, 27. 61, 19; si viel hin *unversunnen*, Parz. 105, 8. Se pâmer, pasmer, Ferabr. 2801, se plasmet 3640, plasmage 2962. We say, my senses forsook me; *animus* hanc reliquerat, Plaut. Mil. gl. iv. 3, 37. Si lac in einem *twalme*, Er. 6593; daz im vor den ougen sînen *vergie* (passed away) *sunne* unde *tac*, Laurin Ettm. 829; er viel vor leide in unmaht, er-n' weste ob ez waere *tac* oder *nacht*, Reinh. 595. Sendschreiben p. 53; er was *ûz sîner gewalt*, Herb. 10500, conf. 10604.—Mir *geswindet*, Gramm. 4, 231; daz ir *geswand*, Schreiber 2, 64; ir was *geswunden*, Fragm. 42^b; im *geswant*, Flore 2178. 2241; *swinden*, Jüngl. 656. *Beschweimen*: AS. *swima*, deliquium, Engl. *swoon*; *heáfod-swima*, my head swims. Wan in daz houbet diuzet von gesühte, Warn. 2192; ime *entsweich*, Reinh. 564; *beswalt*, Partonop. 18, 13. 34, 14; *ontmaect*, Lanc. 12042.—The contrary: er *kam zuo sih*, Flore 1066, *zuo ir selber kam* 1232. Schreiber 2, 64; *zuo im selben quam*, Gr. Rud. H^b 13; *zuo ime selvin bequam*, Roth. 3035, conf. Lanz. 1747; biz er *bequam*, Wigal. 5796; doe hi *bequam*, Maerl. 2, 222. Lanc. 17216; was *vercomen weder*, Karel 1, 158; sîn *herze im widertrat*, Pass. 192, 65; *herze gewinnen*, Servat. 3431; sich *versinnen*, Parz. 109, 18. Wh. 61, 29; sich widere *versan*, Er. 8836; er wart *verriht*, Flore 2230, *kam ze gerechen* 2231; do si *wart ze witzen*, Kschr. 11925. Our 'bei sich sein'; *sumne ego apud me?* Plaut. M.G. iv. 8, 36.

p. 1159.] ON. *qveisa*, colica, conf. Goth. *qaisv*, ὠδís (Suppl. to 1212 end; *grimme muoter*, Mone 8, 495; *bärmuter*, Garg. 182^b, *bärvatter* 69^b; *wärwund*, Stald. 2, 435. Dysentery, der *rôte suche*, Myst. 1, 105; er gewan den *durchgang*, Diocl. 4645; Nethl. *roode-loop*, dysent. (not our roth-lauf). On *ûzsuht*, see Gramm. 2, 794; der *rothe schaden*, Stald. 2, 306. Gotthelf's Sag. 5, 160-1; M. Neth. *menisoene*, *melisoene*, Maerl. 3, 177; O. Fr. *menoison*. Lung disease: daz *swinde?* Myst. 1, 104. Schm. 3, 539; OHG. *serwên*, tabescere, Graff 6, 271. 281; Swiss *serbet*, Stald. 2, 371; *schwienig*, Vonbun in Wolf's Zts. 2, 54; *swîn-segen*, Mone 6, 461; *schwîn*, *schwein*; *verzehrendes wesen*, consumption, Leipz. avant. 1, 142.

Stitch in the side, pleurisy: ON. *tac*, OS. *stechetho*, Hpt. 5,

200. Our *darm-winde* (twisting of bowels), conf. Lith. *klynas, iliaca passio; miserere.*

Dropsy: Swed. *månads-kalf, mån-kalf*; conf. the story of the 'frater Salernitanus,' Aegid. de medic. p. 167.

p. 1159.] Abortus: ON. *konnui leystiz höfn*, foetus solvebatur, abortum fecit; Bavar. *hinschlingen* is said of a cow, Schm. 3, 452; die frau hat mit dem fünften kinde *ungeworfen*, Claudius in Herder's Remains 1, 423. Goth. *fitan*, our kreissen, to have throes: *zimbern*, parturire, Hag. Ges. Ab. 1, 12. Throes are called *ὠδίνες* or *βολαί*, throws of Artemis, Procop. 2, 576 (Suppl. to 1177 mid.). 'To give birth to' we express by 'come down with, bring into the world,' or simply *bring*, Schweinichen 1, 38; Swiss *trohlen, trollen, zerfallen*, fall in pieces (come in two), Stald. 1, 307; MHG. *ze kemenâten gân*, Hngd. 107. Mar. 163, 22; ON. at *hvíla*, Vilk. sag. c. 31; die frau soll zu stuhl [Exod. 1, 16]. Es fieng an zu *krachen*, Garg. 102^b; die *balken knackten* schon, da *fiel* das ganze *haus*, C. Brehmen's Ged. (Lpz. 1637) H 3^a. J 3^b; conf. O. Fris. *bénene burch*, bone castle (womb), Richth. 623^b; *fallen* und *in zwei stück brechen*, Diet. sub v. frauenbauch; se is *dalbraken*, broken down, Schütze's Holst. id. 1, 196; glückliche *niederbrechung*, safe delivery, Claudius in Herd. Rem. 1, 383; si ist *entbunden* von ir nôt, Mai 129, 2. *Schütten, werfen*, used of animals.

p. 1160.] If the newborn infant cries, it has the *heart-disease*, and is passed three times between the rungs of a ladder, Temme's Altmark p. 82; *blatt* und *gesper, blatt* u. *herzen-gesper*, Mone 6, 468-9; ir tuo daz *herze* vil wê, Hag. Ges. Ab. 2, 178; der *klam*, Kolocz. 185, angina? fr. *klemmen*, to pinch. 'Der *herz-wurm* hat sich beseicht' of cardialgy and nausea; stories of the *heart-worm* in Frisch 447^b. Ettu. Hebamme 890. O'Kearney 180. A Stockholm MS. informs us: 'Wannen ein vrowe entfangen hevet, so pleget gemeinliken bi der vrucht to wassene (grow) ein *worm*, dei hevet vlogele also ein vledermues (bat) unde einen snavel as ein vogel, unde dei worme wesset op mit (der) vrucht; unde wan dei vrowe geberet hevet, al-to-hant over cleine dagen stiget (climbs) *hei op to deme herten* der vrowen, unde dan to lesten so hellel (holds) *hei der vrowen herte*, also wan men menit dat dei vrowe genesen si, so stervet dei vrowe rokelose, dat men nicht en-weit wat er schellet (ails her).' If expelled with the foetus:

‘*dei oppe deme assche wesset, dei vrucht heit gemeinliken kuttenslotel.*’—Si viennent li ver ès cors, qui montent jusquau cuer, et font morir d’une maladie c’on apele *mort-sobitainne*, Ruteb. 1, 257. ‘Grew in his heart the *zage-wurm*,’ shrink-worm, Burc. Waldis 174^a; die *wurme* ezzenet uns daz *herze*, Diemer 290, 10; the miser’s *heart-worm*, Festiv. of Conan 180.—*Bulimus*, vermis lacertae in stomacho hominis habitans, Oehler’s AS. gl. p. 276; *bulimus, werna*, Diut. 168. *Wurme* wuohsen in ime houbet (in their heads), Kschr. 715. 852; ‘the *worm* in man or beast, that we call *faztun* (?)’ Mone 8, 406.

Toothache, MHG. *zan-swer*, Freid. 74, 10 (Kl. schr. 2, 115). Headache caused by cross black elves, Hpt 4, 389. Spasms in head and breast with cough are called *tane-weczal*, J. Lindenbl. p. 167 (yr 1404), conf. *bauer-wetzel*, Gr. βήξ. *Tana-weschel* is personified in Fastn. sp. 468. ON. *qvef*, cough, cold in head. In the Wetterau: *krammel* im hals, rasping in throat; *woul*, violent catarrh, conf. OHG. *wuol* (1181-2).

p. 1160.] *Gelesuht* u. *fich*, Diut. 3, 45. Marcellus no. 100; *fik* in the chest, Mone 8, 493; bleeding, running *vig* 8, 409. ON. *gula*, morbus regius, jaundice; morbo regio *croceus* effectus, Greg. Tur. 5, 4.—MHG. *misel-suht*, Servat. 728. 1570; *musilsuht*, Kschr. 4293; hiez (bade) die misels. *abe-gân* 726. 4067; *misel-siech*, Urst. 123, 69. ON. *lík-brá*, lepra, Fornald. s. 3, 642. Biörgyn p. 107; *líkbrár*, leprosus. M. Neth. *packers*, leprosus, Maerl. 2, 227; *lasers, lazers*, Kausler’s Altn. denkm. 1, 482-3; OHG. *horngibruoder*, leprosi, Graff 3, 301; MHG. *made villic, made-wellic, aissel-villic*, Myst. 1, 418; O. Slav. *prokaza*, lepra, Miklos. 34; Gael. *lobharach, muireach*, leprosus. The Lex Roth. 180 has ‘leprosus aut daemoniacus,’ and 233 ‘mancipium lepr. aut daem.’—The Sl. *trud* is in Jungm. tetter, ringworm, in Miklos. 94 dysentheria, hydropisis. OHG. *hrub*, scabies, conf. Graff 4, 1155; AS. *hruf*, ON. *hrufa*. *Citir-lús* vel *rúdigé*, Gl. Sletst. 25, 169; *citarih*, Graff 4, 1155; *tetra-fic*, Hattemer 1, 262^b; *zetern*, flechte, Hpt 4, 390; AS. *teter*, Engl. *tetter*, impetigo; Austr. *zitterich*. Gr. λειχήν impetigo, Sl. *lishái*, Serv. *litai*. A kind of itch is in Austr. *bam-hakl*, woodpecker.—ON. *skyrbiugr*, Dan. *skjörbug*; *schorbock*, Garg. 149^a; *scharbock, scorbut*, scorbutus. AS. *þeor* on fêt, in eágum. The *burzel* is a contagious disease, Augsb. chr., yr 1387. Mone 6, 257;

bürzel, *gunbürzel*, Frisch 1, 157. 383. Sl. *kratel*, an ailment that makes one leg shorter, Vuk sub v.; MHG. *ir bein* (legs) *diu habent die mûchen*, Frauenl. p. 192, our *mauke*, malanders, Frisch. A bleeding boil is called *hund schüttler*, Panzer 2, 305; *daz yn daz knallen-ubel angee!* Fries's Pfeiferger. p. 118 (yr 1388).

p. 1160.] Entré sui en *mal an*, Aspr. 15^a.

p. 1163.] Smallpox: Serv. *kraste*. Die blattern (pocks) fahren auf, Lpz. avant. 1, 271. *Urschlechten*, *urschlichten blattern*, conf. *urslaht*, Gramm. 2, 790.—The story of a *daemonium meridianum* is told by Cæs. Heisterb. 5, 2. The 'destruction that wasteth at noonday' is trans. in AS. psalms ed. Thorpe p. 253 *on midne dæge mære deoful*; in Wiggert's Fragm. p. 3 von theme *diuuele mittentagelichen*; in Windberg ps. p. 431 *vone aneloufe unde tiuele deme mittertagelichen*; in Trier ps. von aneloufe unde deme *divele mitdendegelicheme*; conf. the midday mannikin, evening mannikin, Börner 249. *Pshipoluitza*, Wend. volksl. 2, 268; conf. *metil* and *kuga* (p. 1188). At noon the gods take their siesta, the ghosts can range freely then, and hurt mankind: a shepherd in Theocritus will not blow his reed while Pan takes his noonday nap. With the spell of 'the *hünsche* and the dragon,' conf. 'rotlauf und drach,' Hpt 7, 534. 'God send thee the fever, or the boils, or the *hünsch!*' so prays the peasant against his fellow man, Keisersb. Sins of the lips 38^a.

p. 1163.] There are healing drinks, magic drinks: *drinc of main*, potus corroborans, Erceldun's Tristram 2, 40-2; *drinc of night*, philtum 2, 48. 51; conf. *ôminnis dryckr* (p. 1101); *li lovendris*, Trist. ed. Michel 2106 (for 3 years); Engl. love-drink, Fr. *boivre damour* 2185. A sick man is *fuldled back to health*, supra (p. 331); into his trifling wound she *blew*, Gellert 3, 426. A blind king is cured by washing in the *water of a chaste wife*, Herod. 2, 111. H. Estienne's Apol. pour Herodote. Keisersb. Omeiss 52^d. (Pref. xxxviii).

p. 1165.] Ich kan die leute *messen*, Gryphius's Dornr. 90; *meten*, Gefk. Beil. 167: 'the third woman declared he had lost the *measure*, and she must *measure* him again,' Drei ernz. p. 361; *berouchen u. mezzen*, Hag. Ges. Ab. 3, 70. Is this alluded to in 'ich *mizze* ebener dan Gêtz, diu nie dehein man übermaz'? Helbl. 3, 327; *messerinnen*, Etnn. Maul. 657. Carrying a *jewelled*

chain about one is a remedy, Bit. 7050—55 (Suppl. to 1218 mid.).

p. 1166.] Whether a man is troubled with the *white folk*, is determined thus: Take 3 *cherry twigs*, and cut them into *small pieces*, saying, 'one not one, two not two, etc.' up to nine, till you have 81 pieces; throw these into a bowl of water, and if they float, the patient is free of the white folk; but if some sink, he is still afflicted with them in the proportion of the sunken sticks to the swimming ones. In Masuria, N. Preuss. prov. bl. 4, 473-4.

p. 1166.] We pour *water* on one who has fainted: *daz man mit brunnen si vergôz, unde natzte-se under'n ougen*, Kl. 1566; *si lac in unsinne unz* (senseless till) *man mit wazzer si vergôz* 1978. Wet grass is laid on those that swoon, Ls. 2, 283. To strike a *fire*, or to puff it, is good for a burn in the foot, erysipelas and sore eyes, Müllenh. p. 210.

p. 1168.] Poenit. Ecgb. (Thorpe p. 380): (*þa cild*) æt wega gelætum þurh *þa eorðan tihð*. Creeping through *hollow stones*, Antiqu. ann. 3, 27; conf. Kuhn on Vrihaddêvatâ in Weber's Ind. stud. 1, 118-9. *Hollow round stones* are fairy cups and dishes, Scott's Minstr. 2, 163. These are often ment. in old records: *ad durechelen stein* (yr 1059) MB. 29^a, 143; *petra pertusa*, Procop. 2, 609; *pierre percée*, Schreib. Taschenb. 4, 262-3 (Kl. schr. 2, 42).—At Lauenstein a ruptured child is pulled through a *split oak* by its *godfathers* bef. sunrise; the more carefully the tree is then tied up, the better will the rupture heal; but no one will have that oak, for fear of getting the rupture. The same thing is done with a *young maiden ash*, Barnes p. 326. Sometimes the hair merely is cut off and passed through, Meier's Schwäb. sag. 528. A horse is cured by putting a silver penny inside the split of an aspen or hazel, Mone 6, 476.—In England they often pull a sick child through an *ash*, Athum '46, Sept. 5, no. 984. They tie the tree up with thick string, or drive *nails* into it. Trees so nailed together are often met with in the woods: one was found full of nails, Hone's Tablebk 2, 466; conf. the Vienna 'stock am eisen,' Ziska's Märch. p. 105. If you have the toothache, walk silently into a wood on a Thursday morning, take a nail with you, pick your teeth with it, then drive it into *a tree*, Nilss. 4, 45. There is a tree near Mansfeld studded all over with nails, DS.

no. 487. In England a child that has the hooping cough is *drawn three times* through an opening in a hawthorn hedge. Apâlâ, afflicted with a skin-disease, offers a Soma-sacrifice to Indra, who in token of gratitude heals her by drawing her through *three openings in his car*, Weber's Ind. stud. 1, 118. 4, 8.

p. 1172.] When a headache will not go, they *wind* a string three times *round the man's head*, and hang it up in a *tree* as a noose; if a *bird* flies through it, he takes the headache along with him, Temme's Altmk p. 83. If you *lay* a child's chemise, in which it has suffered the *schwere noth* (fit of epilepsy), on the *cross-ways*, the disease will pass over to him who walks, rides or drives that way, Medic. manlaffe 167. A hatchet-wound is healed by *tying up the tool* that dealt the dint.

Herre, mit Gotes helfe
wil ich, daz *reine welfe*
iuwer kint wol generen (keep alive). Diocl. 4504.

Jaundice can be transferred to the *lizard*, Mone 7, 609. Sick men are wrapt *in the hide* of a newly killed *stag*, Landulph. in Muratori 4, 81. Wilman's Otto 3, 244. A sickly child is *swathed in the skin* of a newly slaughtered sheep (in Shamyl's camp), Allgem. Ztg '56, p. 3323^b. The *superimposition of warm flesh* occurs in a witch-trial, Schreib. Taschenb. 5, 213.

p. 1172.] The *deer-strap* must be cut off the live animal, Agric. Vom hirsche p.m. 238-9; conf. 'man sol den *erhel-riemen* (lorum nauseae) *sniden* dem der smacke (sapor) wil verderben, Tit. 2621. The tooth of a weasel killed in a particular way is picked up from the ground with the left hand, wrapt in the *hide* of a newly killed *lion* (or maiden *hind*), and laid on the gouty feet, Luc. Philops. 7. On the healing virtue of a *chamois-bullet*, doronicon, see Etnn. Unw. d. 180. A skin-inflammation is called *wolf*:

Der siechtuom ist des êrsten klein,
und kumt den herren in diu bein,
und ist geheizen der *wolf*. Ottok. 91^b.

p. 1173.] Kl. schr. 2, 146. Certain *worms* or *beetles* are recomm. for dog-madness. 'Maz-leide buoz' in the note = cure for queasiness (meat-loathing). There is a health-giving dish,

into which the *slaver* of *black* and *white snakes* has trickled, Saxo Gr. ed. M. p. 193-4. Ein iglich tier (every beast) daz wurde gesunt, der im gaebe (if one gave it) *hundes-blut*, Renn. 19406; *blood* heals wounds, Lanc. 25397-428. In the Engelhart and Poor Henry, leprosy is cured by the *blood* of innocent babes; 'man swendet druosen mit nüechterner *speicheln*,' fasting men's spittle, Renn. 5884.

p. 1173.] A *yellow bird* by his look removes jaundice; it is also cured by drinking out of a waxen goblet with a raven-ducat lying at the bottom, Unw. doct. 147. Biting is good for a bite: *beiti* (mordax aliquid) við *bitsóttum*, Sæm. 27^b. The huk is healed by *pot-hooks*, Lisch's Meckl. jrb. 6, 191, hip-gout (?) by *gelding*, Greg. Tur. 10, 15.

p. 1175.] To the M. Latin *ligamentum* answers the Gr. *παράρτημα*, appendage, Luc. Philops. 8; *breviis ac ligaturis*, MB. 16, 241 (yr 1491); *obligatores*, Ducange sub v. Pertz 3, 100. Were *wolf's teeth* hung on people like the foal's tooth p. 658 n. ?

Ob ieman wolle tumben spot
und einen *boesen wolves zan*
mit ergerunge henken dran. Pass. 3, 70.

Ir truogt (wore) den *eiter-wolves zan*. Parz. 255, 14.

Daz ich minne, ist mir niht *an-gebunden*, ez ist mir an-geborn, MSH. 3, 233^b. Parentes vero ejus, intelligentes eum diaboli immissione turbati, ut *mos rusticorum* habet, a sortilegis et ariolis *ligamenta* ei et *potiones* deferebant, Greg. Tur. Mirac. S. Mart. 1, 26. Accidentibus ariolis et dicentibus, eam *meridiani daemonii* incursum pati, *ligamina* herbarum atque incantationum verba proferebant 4, 36. Illa de sinu *licium* protulit *variis coloris* filis intortum, cervicemque vinxit meum, Petron. c. 131. Finn. *tyrä*, prop. testiculus, then 'globulus magicus nocivus, instar testiculorum, *hominibus et pecudibus immitti solitus*.' Fromm. on Herb. p. 230 quotes: *imago argentea*, per incantationum modos multique artificii virtute constructa, quae adversus incantationes jam factas est valde potissima.

p. 1177.] In Arabic a conjurer is called *breather on the knots*, who ties the nestel, and breathes or spits on it, to complete the charm, Rückert's Hariri 1, 451. Sura 113 of Koran. *Fluoch*

(a curse), der mîne wambe *besperret* (bars up), Mar. 153, 38. The witch throws the padlock over a loving pair at their wedding, to breed hatred betw. them, Bechst. Thür. sag. 3, 219. People choose the same day for being bled, Trist. 380, 3 [this appar. belongs to 1139?]. A lighted wick dipt in one's drink, and so quenched, lessens the drinker's enjoyment of love, Marcell. no. 94. Kl. schr. 2, 142.—Labour is obstructed by *nine witch-knots* in the hair, 'the kaims (combs) of care,' Minstrely 2, 400. A *shaggy cap* is good for women in *child-bands* (-birth), Herold in Oechsle's Bauernkr. p. 35. A difficult labour is lightened by *making two babies of wax*; or are they merely to deceive the sorceress? DV. 1, 274-9. A man clasps his hands over his knees, and the labour is stopt; they make believe it is over, he lets go, and it goes on again, Asb. Huldr. 1, 20. *Belts* relieve the labour, Ossian, Ahlw. 3, 436. 450; þâ tók Hrani *belt-it*, ok lagði um hana, ok litlu síðar (soon after) varð hun létтари, Fornm. s. 4, 32.

The Lettish Laima *spreads the sheet under* those in labour; the zlotá bába watches over births, Hanusch 337. 356. Ἄρτεμις βολοσίη, Procop. 2, 576; αἱ κύσκουσαι ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, ἀξιοῦσθαι συγγνώμης ὅτι διεκορήθητε, Sch. on Theocr. 2, 66. *Juno Lucina*, fer opem, serva me obsecro, Ter. Adelphi iii. 4, 41.

Swelh wîb diu driu liet (3 canticles) hát,
 sô sie ze keminâten gât (takes to her chamber),
 in ir zeswen bevangen (clasped in her right),
 sie lîdet (will suffer) unlangen
 kumber von dem sêre,
 wand in unser Frôwen êre
 g'nist sie (she'll recover) des Kindes gnaedeclîchen . . .
 Swâ diu buochel driu sint behalten,
 diu Maget wil der walten (Virgin will manage),
 daz da nehein kint
 werde krumb noch blint. Wernher's Maria 128-9.

p. 1177.] The cure for *poisoning* is descr. in Megenberg 275, 27. To the foot of one bitten by an adder is tied a stone from a virgin's grave, Luc. Philops. 11.

p. 1179.] 'Man sol *genaedige heilige* verre in vremden landen soochen,' MSH. 3, 45^b [Chaucer's 'seeken straungë strondës, to fernë halwës']. The sick are healed on the *grave of the pious*

priest, Pertz 2, 82. The myth of the herb that grows up to the skirt of the statue's garment is also in Walth. v. Rh. 138, 21-58 (p. 1191 mid.). *Relics* bring luck, Al. Kaufmann's *Cæsarius* p. 28, and the M. Neth. poem of Charles, Hpt. 1, 104. Miracles are also wrought on Pinte's grave, Renart 29481.

p. 1180.] Coins were laid at the feet of a statue which had cured, or was to cure, fever; silver coins were stuck on its loins with wax, Luc. Philops. 20.

Stabat in his ingens annoso robore quercus,
una nemus; *vittae* mediam *memoresque tabellae*
sertaque cingebant, *voti* argumenta *potentis*. Ov. Met. 8, 743.

A woman cured of toothache thankfully hangs waxen gums on the grave, Pertz 10, 522; a man whom the saint has delivered from chains hangs up a chain, *ibid.*; so in *Cæs.* Heisterb. 7, 29. Liberated prisoners hang their chains on the trees in the goddess's grove, Pausan. ii. 13, 3; those in Ma. on the saint's tomb, St. Louis 96, 2; *conf.* Scheible 6, 988-9. 997 and RA. 674. 'My mother made a vow that she would hang a votive tablet in the chapel if I recovered my hearing,' Bronner's *Life* 1, 40. Hooks to which diseased cattle had been tied, also crutches after a cure were left lying in the chapel, Müllenh. p. 105, and at healing springs, Ir. *märch.* 2, 78. In some places the inscription may still be read: 'hat geholfen,' hath holpen, M. Koch's *Reise* 203. A waxen house is vowed, that the dwelling house may not be burnt down, St. Louis 84, 19.

p. 1182.] To OHG. *sterpo*, *pestis*, *lues*, corresp. the AS. *steorfa*. The *schelm* I explain fr. *schwert*, GDS. p. 235-6: der *schelme* *gesluoc*, Hpt 5, 552; der *schalm* *slüeg* *überal*, LS. 2, 314; *eh dich der schelm schlecht*, Garg. 102^b; der *sch.* *schlägt*, Mone's *Bad. gesch.* 1, 219; *schelmen-grube*, *-gasse*, *-acker* 1, 215 *seq.* Leopr. 75-6; *keib* und *schelm*, Mone's *Anz.* 6, 467-8, *schelmig* u. *kebig* 8, 407.—OHG. *suhltuomi*, *pestilens*, *corruptus*, Graff 2, 212; *staramilo*, *stramilo* 6, 712. Diut. 1, 279; der *brechen*, *plague*, Panz. *Beitr.* 1, 23; *dying* of the *brechen*, H. Sachs 3, 64^c (*cholera* ?); *pisleht*, *pestis*, Graff 6, 778 (= *sleht*, *clades*, Diut. 1, 183); der *gêhe tót* in Pass. 316, 90 is *apoplexy*; der *schwarze tod* Müllenh. no. 329; 'how a pestilence could thus fall fr. the stars, and overrun the world,' Ph. v. Sittew. *Zauber-becher* p. 238;

die pestelenz *stöszt an*, Platter's Life 66. 71-2.—The Serv. *kratel* is a fabulous disease that kills in one night, worse than the plague; the dead man has *one foot shorter* than the other, hence the name (*krátak*, curt, Suppl. to 1160 end). *Ποινή* is a personif. plague that robs mothers of their children, Paus. i. 44, 7. With Apollo conf. Oðinn in Sæm. 5^a: *þleygði* Oðinn, ok í fólk um *skaut* (shot). The Lettons think it an omen of pestilence, if the *auskuts* shears the backs of the sheep in the night, Bergin. 142.

p. 1183.] The angel that smites all in Ezek. 9 is called *der slahende engel*, Diemer 327-8. 2 Sam. 21, 16-7. Deliverance from the plague is effected by a snow-white angel, Greg. Tur. 4, 5. Angels and devils go about during the plague, Sommer p. 55; *der sterbe erbizet* (bites to death, an angel with drawn sword), Griesh. 2, 28; raging death *rides* through the city on a pale horse, Judas 1, 327; in times of pestilence, Hel (m.) *rides* about on a three-legged horse, butchering men, Müllenh. p. 244; *ich hör auch das menlin kum*, pestilenz, es fahet an (begins), Keisersb. Om. 24.¹

p. 1184.] The black death rises as a *black fog*, Müllenh. no. 329; the plague comes in sight as a *blue mist*, Somm. p. 73, as a *cloud*, a *viper*, Villemarq. Bard. bret. 120. The plague, in the shape of a *fog*, winds into a wasps' hole, and gets *plugged in*, Kulpa in D'Elv. 110; she comes in at the window, a *black shape*, passes into a bored hole, and is *pegged in*, Kehrein's Nassau 54. *Φοίβος ἀκερσεκόμης λοιμοῦ νεφέλην ἀπερύκει*, Luc. Alex. 36. N. Marc. Cap. 30.—The plague proceeds from the *throats* of pursued wolves, Forcell. sub v. Hirpi. Et nata fertur pestilentia in Babylonia, ubi de templo Apollinis, ex *arca aurea*, quam miles forte inciderat, spiritus pestilens evasit, atque inde Parthos orbemque implesse, Capitolinus in Vero 8. With the plague that is conjured into a lime-tree, agrees the *spider* that is bunged in and let out again, which also runs about the country as a *sterbet*, Gotthelf's Erzähl. 1, 84.

p. 1189.] The Great Plague is called *pestis flava*, Welsh *y fâd fâlen*, San Marte's Arthur-s. 29. 323. With the leg. of Elliant conf. Volksmärch. aus Bret. p. 185—8. Souvestre 206-7. On

¹ *Domus Thiederici*, Thietm. Merseb. 4, 21; 'Αδριανού πύργος, τάφος, Procop. B. Goth. 2, 22; *turris Crescentii* or *Dietrichs-haus* in the leg. of Crescentia and the Two Dietrichs. In Wackern. Lb. 990, Ditterich builds the *Engel-borg*; it is called *Sorsen-burg* in Myst. 1, 103.

the Lith. *Giltine*, see N. Preuss. prov. bl. 8, 471-2. German plague-stories may be seen in Woeste's Volks-überl. 44, Panz. Beitr. 1, 29 and Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 83. The *pest-frau* is dressed in white, Bader no. 431. The plague creeps, crawls in the dark, Schmidt's Westerw. id. 89. The Swed. Plague-boy reminds of the girl who in Denmark indicates deaths to the kindred *with a twig*, Molb. Hist. tidskr. 4, 121; three plague-women walk through the town with *scythes*. The plague-maiden appears in *wet garments* and with a *little red dog*, Bunge's Arch. 6, 88.—When pestilence rises out of Mit-othin's grave, the body is *dug up* and *hedged in with stakes*, Saxo Gr. ed. Müll. 43 (Suppl. to 609). The abating of plagues by *burying in a hill* occurs in Sagebibl. 3, 288. The *cow's-death*, an enormous bull, approaches like the plague, Müllenh. no. 328. In time of plague, the first *head of cattle* that falls is *buried* with a young shoot or a willow planted in its mouth, Superst. I, 838. Müllenh. no. 327; or a bull is *buried alive*, Panzer 2, 180, a *calf* or *cow* sacrificed (pp. 608. 1142). At Beutelsbach near Stuttgart, an old woman during a cattle plague advised that the hummel (parish-bull) should be *buried alive*: wreathed in flowers they led him in state to a deep pit; three times the mighty beast broke his way out, but the third time he choked. Hence the Beutelsbacher are named Hummelbacher.—The plague flies at people's necks as a butterfly, *fillerte*, Woeste's Volks-überl. 44-5. The *Kuga*, like Berhta, can't bear to see the dishes not washed up. A strange bird sings from the tree: 'Eat pimperl, and you'll all be well!' Herrlein's Spessart 217. Rochholz 2, 390-1; somewhat differently in Schöppner no. 962. Leoprechting 101. Bader no. 270. Panzer 2, 161. Schönwerth 2, 380. 3, 21.

 CHAPTER XXXVII.

HERBS AND STONES.

p. 1190.] Acc. to Galen (De fac. simpl. 6, 792-3) a Greek, *Pamphilus*, about the time of Claudius, wrote of herbs in alphabetic order, collecting their names and the superstitions about their virtues in sacrifices and incantations. Were the book extant, it would be valuable for mythology and language.

Possibly the names of plants interpolated in MSS. of Dioscorides are out of Pamphilus.

1. HERBS.

p. 1191.] Kein dinc hât ûf der erden an kreften alsô rîchen hort (of powers so rich a store) sô *steine*, *kriuter* unde *wort*, Troj. 10860; *steine*, *krût* sint an tugenden rîche, *wort* wil ich darobe (above them) an kreften prîsen, MS. 1, 12^b; quæ *carmine* sanet et *herbis*, Ov. Met. 10, 397. *Wurzen* kraft u. aller *steine* meisterschaft, MS. 1, 195^b; *würze* des waldes u. *erze* (ores) des *goldes* u. elliu abgründe, diu sint dir Herre künde, MS. 2, 230; der *steine* kraft, der *würze* wâz, Wh. 2, 14. What is the distinction betw. *krût* and *wurz*? Ein *krût*, des *würze* (whose aroma) er wunden helfen jach (asserted), Parz. 516, 24, conf. 516, 27: er *gruobse*, i.e. the wurz (= wurzel, root). Kraut is *picked*, wurzel *dug out*; flowers too are *picked* (Walth. 39, 16. Hpt 7, 320) or *gathered* (Walth. 39, 1). Also: *crût lesen*, Lanc. 29301.—Ein *edel krût*, Hpt 4, 521; *unedel* bluot (ignoble blood) 7, 321 (p. 1195); durch sîne *edel* ez (daz *krût*) tragen, Warn. 1944; *tugent-frühtic* kriutel, MS. 1, 88^a; ich brich euch *edle kreuter*, Mone 6, 460; *φάρμακον ἐσθλόν*, Od. 10, 287. 292; ein *edles kraut* patientia samt dem kreutlein benevolentia, die gaben also süszen ruch, das es mein herz u. sel durchkruch. Healing herbs are 'herbes *demanières*,' Ren. 19257-69; *surdæ*, hoc est *ignobiles* herbae, Pliny 22, 2, not showy, e.g. grass.—Heil-wurz is fetched from an *inaccessible mountain* by the wild merwoman, Hpt 5, 8 (Suppl. to 1192 mid.), as dictamnus is by Venus from *Ida*, Aen. 12, 412. The *Idæan bed of flowers* is also in Petron. 127; the Homeric *νεοθηλέας ποίης* is in Hesiod too, Theog. 576; a woodland bed [of flowers?] is Erech's and Euid's *betle-wât* (-curtain), Er. p. 216. Vuk 1, no. 224; mit rôsen was ich umbestaect, Tragemund. Where the maiden *stood* in the garden, *bloom* the fairest flowers, Rhesa dainos 296; die boume begunden *krachen*, die rôsen sêre *lachen*, Ges. Abent. 1, 464. Another *planta e capite statuee nascens* is in Athenæus 5, 497. Liebrecht's Gervas. 124. Gesta Rôm. K. 138. Moss growing in a *death's head* is supposed to have magic power. There is a superstition about peas sown inside a *skull*.

p. 1192.] Plants are dear to God; He called them forth.

Whether to pick beautiful flowers, or *dur Got stân lán* (for God's love let them stand)? Hpt 4, 500. The marrubium indeed is *gotes-vergeten*, *gotis-v.*, *gotz-vergessen*, Mone 4, 240-8. 8, 493. 407; *gotis-vergeszene*, Summerl. 57, 51. Θεῶν ἄγρωστις, ἰν Κρόνος κατέσπειρε' Glaucus, having found and eaten it, becomes immortal, Athen. 3, 83-4.—*Αἷμα Ἄρεως* (blood of Ares), *nardus montana*, Dioscor. 1, 8, *lilium* 3, 106; *αἷμα Ἑρμοῦ*, *verbena* 4, 60; *αἷμα Ἀθηνᾶς* *chamaepitys* 3, 165; *αἷμα Ἑρακλέους*, *crocus* 1, 25, *centaurium minus* 3, 7; *αἷμα τιτάνου*, *rubus* 4, 37. So: γόνος Ἑρακλέους, *myrtus silv.* 4, 144, *elleborum alb.* 4, 148; γόνος Ἑρμοῦ, *anethum* 3, 60, *buphthalmus* 3, 146; γόνος ἥρωος, *polygonum* 4, 4 (is γόνος here semen, or as the Lat. version has it, *genitura*?). The flower *Αἶας* first springs up after the hero's death, Paus. i. 35, 3. Plants often originate from drops of blood (p. 827), as the flower on Sempach field shoots up where Leopold has fallen, Reber's Hemmerlin p. 240. The poison-plant *ἀκόνιτον* grows out of Cerberus's drivel (Ov. Met. 7, 415. Serv. ad Virg. Geo. 2, 152), as the herb *trachonte* does from dragon's blood, Parz. 483, 6.—*Ἀριστολοχία* (corrup. into osterluzei) has reference to *Ἄρτεμις λοχεία*, and is given to women in childbed. *Herba Chironis* alsing, Mone's Quellen 289^a; *herba S. Petri*, *ibid.* The Pol. *Dziewanna* is both *Diana* and *verbascum thapsus*; Boh. *divizna* (wonder-flower) is our *himmelbrand* (Suppl. to 1196). *Baldrs brâ* stands on a par with *supercilium Veneris*, Diosc. 4, 113 and *jungfrauen aug-braune* (virgin's eyebrow), *achillea millefolium*, *Nemnich*; *conf. will-fräulein-kraut*, *achillea moschata*, Stald. 2, 451. AS. *Sâtor-lâðe* (p. 247). *Woens-kruid*, *angelica*? Coremans 53. *Visumarus*, son of summer, of the sun? (Suppl. to 1212 end).—The centaur was first pointed out by the centaur *Chiron*; a herb is named *achillea*, bec. discovered by Chiron's pupil *Achilles*. *Venus* culls *dictamnus* on *Ida* for her wounded *Aeneas*, Aen. 12, 412. The *μῶλυ* plucked out by *Hermes* is, acc. to Dioscor. 3, 46-7, *ruta silvestris* and *leucoium silvestre*. An angel in a dream reveals the *sowthistle* (p. 1208); the wounded *Albert* is shown the remedial herb in a dream, Felsenb. 1, 232-4; an angel tells of a remedy in a dream, Engeli. 5437 seq. One herb the *Mother of God* has covered with her cloak, Klose's Breslau p. 102; the empereriz having fallen *asleep* on a rock in the sea, *Mary* appears and bids her *pull up the herb*

that grows under her head, Méon N. rec. 2, 71-3. Maerl. 2, 226. Wackern. Lb. 995, 29. Frau *Babehilt* digs up and grates herbs for wounds, Ecken-l. 173—6. The *mermaid* urges the use of mugwort, the *vila* of odolián (pp. 1208. 1212). The *vila* gathers herbs (bere bilye) for Marko, Vuk 2, 218 (ed. '45).

p. 1194.] In the leg. of Glaucus and Polyidus a *snake* brings the herb that reanimates the dead, Apollod. Bibl. 3, 3; conf. KM.³ 3, 26. A *weasel* in the wood culls the red flower that quickens, Marie 1, 474. *Birds* pick herbs, and teach their uses to man, e.g. the spring-wurzel (p. 973). A *raven* comes flying with the wound-healing *leaf*, Völs. saga c. 8. If a *swallow's* chick grows blind, she fetches a herb, lays it on, and restores the sight; hence the herb's name of *chelidonium*, celandine, Dioscor. 2, 211. GDS. 204; and Meigenberg tells the same tale of *schell-wurzel* (celandine).¹ *Harts* shew the hart-wort (hirsch-wurzel, -heil), Meigenb. 398, 22—25. With Norweg. *Tyri-hialm* (Tiwes-helm) coincides Ἄρεος κυνή, Babr. 68, 4. Does OHG. *wat-wurzel*, Graff 1, 768 stand for *Watin-wurzel*?

p. 1195.] Mary has the most herbs named after her, see Fries's Udfl. 1, 87. Similar to the wine *Liebfrauen-milch* is Ἀφροδίτης γάλα, Aristoph. in a lost play p. m. 154^a; ἡδύς γε πίνειν οἶνος Ἀφροδ. γάλα, Athen. 10, 444^d. *Marien-milch* however is polypodium vulg., said to have grown out of the drops of milk that Mary scattered over the land, F. Magnus. 361 note; conf. the Span. *leche de los viejos*, *leche de Maria* = wine. *Marienbett-stroh* is Engl. *lady's bedstraw*, *lady in the straw*, Hone's Yrbk 814.—*Frua-mänteli*, malva rotundifolia, Wolf's Zts. 2, 54. *Vrowen-hâr*, *Minnen-hâr*, capillus Veneris, Mone 4, 241; conf. Venus's eyebrow (Suppl. to 1192 mid.). *Nennich* sub vv. *cypripedium*, *adiantum*. *Marien-thräne*, -tear, resembles Ἥρας δάκρυον, verbena, Diosc. 4, 60. *Labrum*, *lavacrum*, *concha Veneris* = *dipsacus sitibundus*, bec. it gathers dewdrops. *Margarethen-schöckla*, -shoe, put in a box, becomes a black worm.

¹ A field-flower, *euphrasia* or *myosotis*, is called *augen-trost* (eye's comfort), Nethl. *oghen-troost*; also *augen-dienst* (Blumentrost, a family name at Mülhausen); conf. 'den ich in minen ougen gerne burge,' Wolfr. 8, 4; ze sumere die ougen trösten schoene wise (fair meads enchant the eye); lovely ladies were ὀφθαλμῶν ἀλγηθῶνες, eye-smarts. Dages eage, *primula veris* [?], M. Engl. daies eyghe, daisy, Alex. 7511. Clover too is called *ougen brehende*, but Engl. *eye-bright* is *euphrasia*. Ich tuon dir in den ougen wol, Winsbekin 4, 4; er ist mir in den ougen niht ein dorn, MS. 1, 16^v. 2, 98^a; ob ez ir etelichen taete in den ougen wê, MS. 1, 68^a. GDS. 209; conf. *friedeles ouga*, Mone 8, 405. Hpt. 6, 332.

p. 1195.] Flowers are picked and presented to ladies, Hpt 7, 320. Some herbs engender strife, esp. among women: ononis spinosa, *weiber-krieg*, women's war, Lat. altercum; Serv. *bilye od omraze*, herbs of hate, that makes friends fall out, Vuk 1, 305 (ed. '24). Boh. *bily* is one particular plant, tussilago. Herbs were broken off with the *pommel of a sword*, Lanc. 12013, picked with the *left hand*, bare-footed (see selago). They are gathered acc. to days of the week: on Sunday solsequium, Monday lunaria, Tuesd. verbena, Wednesd. mercurialis, Thursd. barba Jovis, Frid. capillus Veneris, Saturd. crowfoot (? p. 247). Superst. H, cap. 31-2.

p. 1196.] Pliny 26. 5, 14 calls *condurdum* herba solstitialis, flore rubro, quae e collo suspensa strumas comprimit; conf. Plaut. Pseudol. i. 1, 4: quasi *solstitialis herba* paulisper fui, repente exortus sum, repentino occidi.—*Herba Britannica* is called in Diosc. 1, 120 ἄλιμος, οἱ δὲ βρεταννική, in 4, 2 βρεταννική ἢ βεπτοιική, conf. Diefenb. Celt. 3, 112. Cannegieter de Britenburgo, Hag. Com. 1734. Abr. Munting de vera herba Brit. Arnst. 1698. C. Sprengel's Diosc. 2, 571. GDS. 679. An OHG. gl. of the 12th cent. has 'herba Brit., *himel-brant*,' Mone 8, 95; perh. '*hilmibranda* = maurella' in Graff 3, 309 stands for himilbranda. *Himmel-brand*, *-kerze* = verbascum thapsus, white mullein, Schm. 2, 196; and *hilde-brand*, verb. nigrum, 2, 178. *Himmelbrand*, *brenn-kraut*, *feld-kerze*, *unholden-kerze* = verb. thapsus, says Höfer 2, 52; *unholden-kraut*, Boh. *divizna*, Jungm. 1, 371^a (Suppl. to 1192 mid.). Instead of '*hæwen-hýðele*, *britannica*,' Mone's Quellen 320^a has the forms *hæwen-hyldele*, *hæwen-ydele*; may *hylde*, *hilde* be akin to *helde*, *heolode* (hiding, hidden)?—*Tonnoire*, fleur du tonnerre, coquelicot, poppy, Grandgagnage's Voc. 26; *donner-bart* (-beard) is sedum telephium. A fungus ἴτον in Thrace grew *during thunder*, Athen. 1, 238; subdued thnnder generates mushrooms, Meghadûta, p. 4.

On *lotus* see Klemm 1, 112-3; *lotus caerulea*, Bopp's Gl. 39^b. 46. Sprengel's Diosc. 2, 622; white and blue *lotus*, Fries's Udf. 1, 107.

p. 1199.] Mir wart ein krût *in mîn hant*, Ls. 1, 211; does that mean 'stole in unperceived'? conf. φῦ ἐν χειρί, Passow 2, 1042. Si sluoc daz krût mir *ûz der hant*, Ls. 1, 218. Of the aster atticus, Dioscorides 5, 118 says: ξηρόν δὲ ἀναιρεθὲν τῆ

ἀριστερῇ χειρὶ τοῦ ἀλγοῦντος, in the patient's *left hand*. Of the bark of the wild figtree, Pliny 23. 7, 64: *caprifico quoque medicinae unius miraculum additur, corticem ejus impubescentem puer impubis si defracto ramo detrahat dentibus, medullam ipsam adalligatam ante solis ortum prohibere strumas*. *Three roses are picked off in five picks*, Amgb. 48^b (conf. wishing for 3 roses on *one stalk*, two roses on *one branch*, Uhl. Volksl. pp. 23. 116. Reusch no. 12. Meinert's Kuhl. 95; offering 3 roses, Uhl. p. 257-8).—A Swed. account of *digging up the rönn* (rowan) in Dyb. '45, 63. Am abend soltu sic (the vervain) *umkreissen mit silber u. mit golde u. mit siden* (silk), Mone 6, 474. When the root is pulled out, the hole is filled up with corn, to propitiate the earth (Suppl. to 1241). The plant is *plucked suddenly*, and *covered with the hand* (Suppl. to 1214): *du solt ez* (the shoot) *ûz der erden geziehen vil lihte*, En. 2806 and 2820—5, where Virgil has no shoot to be pulled up, but a branch to be torn off. *La sainte herbe qu'a son chief trueve . . . tot en orant l'erbe a coillie*, Méon N. rec. 2, 73.

p. 1202.] The grasses growing through a sieve remind one of the words '*purk aern in-wyðð*' (p. 1244). It is curious too, that an elder should be considered curative when it grows in a hollow willow-tree out of seeds that thrushes had swallowed, Etnn. Unw. d. 161-2. There are herbs, the sight of which allays hunger: *esuriesque sitis visis reparabitur herbis*, Ecbas. 592.

p. 1204.] The mightiest of magic roots is *mandrake*: *abollena alrun*, Sumerl. 54, 37. How to pull it out is also descr. in Oeuvres de Rutebeuf 1, 474: *Ceste dame herbe* (conf. *la mère des herbes*, artemisia, Suppl. to 1212 beg.), *il ne la trest ne giex* (Jew) *ne paiens ne sarrazins ne crestiens, ains la trest une beste nue, et tantost come ele est traite, si covient morir cele beste*. In like manner the root Baaras is pulled up by means of a *dog*, Joseph. 7, 25. Armenian '*manrakor* or *loshtak*, a man-like root, is pulled out by a [dog?] to which it is tied; in coming out it *moans in a human voice*,' Artemius of Vagarshapat, transl. by Busse (Halle '21) p. 106.—Mandragora grows in Paradise, where the *elefant* goes to look for it, Karajan. *Μανδραγόρας*. *Πυθαγόρας ἀνθρωπόμορφον*, '*Ῥωμαῖοι μάλα κανίνα*, Diosc. 4, 76. The *alraun* is carved out of a root (p. 513n.). Panz. Beitr. 1, 250. Un vergier a li peres Floire, u plantés est li *mandegloire*, Flore

244. *Mandragora tvalm*, Mone 8, 95; von senfte der alrûnen wart mich *slâfen*, Frauenl. 6, 26; ὑπὸ μανδραγόρα καθεύδειν, Luc. Timon 2 (ed. Bip. 1, 331—3); ἐκ μανδραγόρου καθεύδειν, Luc. Demosth. enc. 36.—On the *alrûne* in Frauenlob's Minneleich 15, 2, Ettmüller says p. 286: 'they seem to have believed that *mandrakes* facilitated birth.' This is confirmed by Adam Lonicerus in his *Kreuterbuch* (1582) bl. 106^a. '*Alraun* rinden dienet zu augen-arztneyen. Dieser rinden drey heller gewicht schwer, für der frawen gemächt (women's chamber) gehalten, bringet ihnen ihre zeit, treibet auss die todte geburt.' *Alrûnen* heizit er virbern (he is said to have about him): swenne er wil, sô ist er ein kindelîn, swenne er wil, sô mac er alt sîn, Cod. Pal. 361, 12^b. 'He must keep an *araunl* by him, that tells him all he wants to know,' H. Jörgel 20, 3. The *mandragora* is put into a white dress, and served twice a day with food and drink, Spinnr. evangel. Tuesday 2; conf. the tale of the gallows mannikin, Simpl. 3, 811.

p. 1204.] Oðinn sticks the thorn into Brynhild's garment only, and throws her into a sleep (Kl. schr. 2, 276). In Tirol the schlaf-kunz is called *schlaf-putze*, Zingerle 552. 'Hermannus dictus *Slepe-rose*,' Hamb. lib. actor. 127, 6 (circ. 1270). The hawthorn is *sentis canina, lignea canis*, Athen. 1, 271. Breton *gars spern*, thorn-bush, in the story of a fair maiden. Nilsson 6, 4.5 maintains that on *barrows* of the bronze age a *hawthorn* was planted and held sacred; and the same among Celts (Kl. schr. 2, 254, 279).

p. 1207.] *Mistletoe* grows on the hazel, lime, birch, fir, willow, and esp. oak, Dyb. Runa 2, 16. AS. *ûc-mistel*, *viscum quereuum*. *Mistila*, a woman's name, Mone 5, 492. Trad. Fuld. 1, 130. Schannat 445. Many places named after it: *Mistlegau* near Baireuth; *Mistelouwa*, Mistlau, near Crailsheim, Stälin 1, 599; *Mistelbach*, Frauend. 272, 18. Kaltenb. Pantaid. 184^b; ad *Misteleberge*, Lacomblet (yr. 1054) no. 189; *Mistelveld*, Lang's Reg. 2, 397 (yr 1248). 3, 55 (yr 1255). Bamb. calend. p. 142; *Mispilswalde*, Lindenbl. p. 24; *Misterhult* i Småland, Dybeck '45, 80. A sword belonging to Semingr is called *Mistilteinn* in *Hervarars*. (Fornald. sög. 1, 416).—*Mistil* = *tuscus* (l. *viscus*), Hpt 5, 326. 364. In some parts of Germany they call mistletoe *kenster*, *kinster*. Walloon *hamustai*, *hamu-*

staine, Grandgagnage 1, 270 and *henistai*, *hinistrai*= kinster, canister, Grandg. Voc. 23-4. Engl. *misseltoe*, *mistletoe*, Hone's Daybk 1, 1637-8. And *naren-tacke* is mistletoe, bristly plant (p. 1247, l. 11).—Nilsson would trace all the Scand. mistletoe cultus to the Druidic, Dybeck '45, 79. 80. Ein *mistlein paternoster*, MB. 18, 547 (yr. 1469); *mischtlin paternoster*, *mispel* and *nich-mistlin paternoster*, Ruland's Handlungs-b. yrs 1445-6-7. (Pref. viii.) Mistletoe must be cut on a *Midsummer-night's eve*, when sun and moon are in the sign of their power (conjunction?), Dyb. '44, p. 22. For the oak mistletoe to have any power, it must be *shot* off the tree, or *knocked down* with stones, Dyb. '45, p. 80. In Virgil's descr. of the sacred bough, Aen. vi.,

137. *aureus* et foliis et lento vimine ramus,
 141. *auricomos* quam quis decerpserit arbore fetus,
 144. *aureus*, et simili frondescit virga metallo,
 187. et nunc se nobis ille *aureus* arbore ramus,

this aureus fetus is merely compared to (not ident. with) the croceus fetus of the mistletoe; conf. Athen. 3, 455-7. An oak with a golden bough occurs in a Lett. song, Büttner no. 2723. Armor *huelvar*, aft. *heller*; Wel. *uchelawg*, *uchelfa*, *uchelfar*, *uchelfel*, *holliach*, Jones p. 391^b. Lett. *ohsa wehja* *∞lohta*, oak-mistletoe, from *ohsols*, oak, and *∞lohta*, broom, plume; *wehja* *∞lohta* is a plant of which brooms are made. Does *wehja* mean holy? conf. *wehja wannags* (Suppl. to 675). Serv. *lepak*, *viscum album*, also *mela*, of which Vuk p. 394 says: If a mistletoe be found on a hazel, there lies under that hazel a snake with a gem on his head, or another treasure by the side of it.

p. 1208.] Welsh *gwlydd* usu. means mild, tender, *gwilydd* is violet. *Valerian* is in Finn. *ruttoyuri*, plague-wort; another Boh. name is *kozljik*. A rare word for valerian is *tennemarch*, Nemnich. Moue 8, 140^a. Hpt 6, 331. Worthy of note is the Swed. tale about the mooring of *Tivebark* and *Vendelsrot*, Dyb. '45, p. 50. The Serv. name *odolián* resembles a Polish name of a plant, *dolega*, for *doleka* means upper hand; conf. Vuk's Gloss. sub. v. *odumiljen*. *Odilienus* is a man's name, Thietmar 4, 37; so is Boh. *Odolén* (Kl. schr. 2, 393). *Nardus* is fragrant, esp. the Indica; *nardus Celtica* is *saliunco*. *Νάρδος πιστική πολύτιμος*, John 12, 3 is in Goth. *nardus pistikeins filu-galaubs*.

p. 1208.] Acc. to Martin's Relig. d. Gaules, *Belinuntia* comes fr. Belenus (Diefenb. Celt. 1, 203. Zeuss p. 34), and is a herba Apollinaris; Apollo is said to have found it, Forcell. sub v. Russ. *bēlena*, Pol. *bielun*, Boh. *blen*, *bljn*, Hung. *belendfu*. Engl. *henbane*, *gallinae mors*.

p. 1208.] On *eberwurz*, see Reuss's Walafr. Strab. Hortulus p. 66. Great power is attrib. to the carlina, Dyb. '45, p. 72. Another thistle is in Sweden called *jull-borste*, *ibid.*, reminding us of the boar *Gullin-bursti* and of *eberwurz*. As Charles's arrow falls on the sow-thistle, so does Cupid's on a flower to which it imparts miraculous power, love-in-idleness, Mids. N. Dr. 2, 2; and other healing herbs are revealed in dreams. In another dream a grey smith appears to the same king Karel, and with his pincers pulls nails out of his hands and feet, Hpt 1, 103.

p. 1209.] An AS. Herbal says of *Betonica*: þeos wyrt, þe man *betonicam* nemneð, heo bið cenned on maedum and on claenum dūnlandum and on gefriðedum slowum. seo deah gehwæðer ge þaes mannes sawle ge his lichoman (benefits soul and body). hio hýne scyldeð wið (shields him against) unhyrum *niht-gengum* and wið *egeslicum gesihðum* and *swefnum*. seo wyrt byð swyðe hāligu, and þus þū hi scealt niman on Agustes mōnðe *būtan íserne* (without iron), etc. MHG. *batónie* (rhy. Saxōnie), Tit. 1947: *betoene* (rhy. schoene), Hätzl. 163, 86. *Κέστρον* 'Ρωμαῖοι οὐεπτοικὴν καλοῦσι, Diosc. 4, 1.

Verbena is akin to *veru* and *Virbius*, says Schwenck pp. 489. 491; it stands for *herbena*, says Bergk. It is sacred, and therefore called *ἱεροβοτάνη* and *herba pura*, qua coronabantur bella indicturi, Pliny 22. 2, 3. 25. 9, 59. Wolfg. Goethe's Dissert. p. 30-1. It is called *περιστερειόν*, bec. pigeons like to sit by it; also *ferraria*, Diosc. 4, 60: *ἡ σιδηρῆτις* 4, 33-4-5. OHG. *ísarna*, *ísenîna*, Graff 3, 864. 1, 491; *ísincletta* 4, 555. Sumerl. 24, 9; *ísenarre*, Sumerl. 40, 54; *íserenbart* 66, 40. MHG. *ísenhart*, Mone's Anz. 4, 250 and Quellen 309^b. *Eisen-kraut*, as we still call it, is thrown into St. John's fire (p. 618); conf. 'Lay aside the Johnswort and the *vervain*,' Whitelaw p. 112. Nethl. *ízerkrūd*, Swed. *jern-ört*, Dan. *jern-urt*. There was a spell for *digging up vervain*, Mone 6, 474. AS. *æsc-wyrt*, Hpt. 5, 204; *æsc-prote*, Lye sub v. GDS. 124.

p. 1209.] *Madelger* ist ain gut erut wurtz. swer si grabn wil, der grab si an Sant Johans tag ze sun-benden (solstice) an dem abent, und beswer si also dri-stund (adjure it 3 times thus): 'Ich beswer dich, *Madelger*, *Ain wurtz so her*, Ich manen dich des gehaiz den dir *Sant Pettrus* gehiez, Do er *sinen stab dri-stund durch dich stiez*, Der dich usgrüb Und dich haim trüg: Wen er mit dir umb-fault (whom he with thee begirds), ez sy fraw oder man, Der mug ez in lieb oder in minn nimer gelaun. In Gotz namen, Amen.' wihe si mit andern crutern. Kräuter-heilkunde (yr 1400) in the Giessen Papierhs. no. 992, bl. 143.

p. 1211.] *Fern*, *bracken*. Gr. *πτέρις* fr. its feathery foliage.* Lat. *filix*, It. *felce*, Sp. *helicho*, Fr. *fougère*. *Filix herba*, *palmes Mercurii* (Suppl. to 159); *filicina*, *filix minuta*, AS. *cofor-fearn*. Celt. *ratis*, Wel. *rhedyn*, Bret. *raden*, Ir. *raith*, *raithneach*, Gael. *raineach* (conf. *reinefano*), Pott 2, 102. Adelung's *Mithr.* 2, 68 from *Marcell.* c. 25 (Kl. schr. 2, 123). Finn. *sana-yalka* (word-foot), Esth. *sona-yaly*, Böcler's *Abergl.* gebr. d. Esten 144. Lith. *bit-krėsle* (bee's chair) = *tanacetum vulg.*, *Nesselm.* 226. 331. Serv. *pouratish*, *tansy*, *tanacetum crispum* (fr. *po-vratiti*, to turn back? ON. *burkni*, *filix*, *polypodium*, Swed. *bräken*, *Vesterb.* *fräken*, Dan. *bregne*. Again, ON. *einstapi*, *Jonsson's Oldn.* ordboc, Norw. *einstabbe*, *einstape*, *Aasen* 79^b. *Nemnich* sub v. *pteris*. Swed. *ormbunke*.—Den wilden *varm* treten, *Parz.* 444, 7. 458, 17; *latentis odii filix* excrevit, *Dietmar* in *Pertz* 5, 736; *filix* iniquitatis exaruit 5, 742. *Fernseed makes invisible*, *Wolf's Ztschr.* 2, 30: we have the receipt of *fernseed*, we walk invisible, 1 *Henry IV.* 2, 1; Swed. *osynlighets gräs*. As *fernseed* in *Conrad* is thrown to the shad (*schaid-visch*, *Beheim* 281, 28), so *bugloss*, which is said to blind all animals born blind, is scattered to fishes, *Rudl.* 12, 13. 1^b, 28. 32—48. After walking naked to the cross-roads and spreading out a pocket-handkerchief, one expects *fernseed*, *Zehn ehen* 235.—On Christmas night, high and low used to walk in the *fernseed*; there you might wish for anything in the world, the devil had to bring it. The *Wend. volksl.* 2, 271^a makes it blossom at Midsummer noon: get hold of the blossom, and all the treasures of

* So, from the Slav. *par-iti*, to fly, *peró*, wing, feather, *Hehn* derives not only the redupl. Slav. and Lith. *pa-part*, *pa-prat*, but the Teut. *farn* and even the Celt. *ratis* which stands (more Celtico) for *pratis*. *Hehn's Plants and Anim.* p. 484.—TRANSL.

earth lie open before you. Conf. the Slovèn. riddle: 'kay tsvete brez tsveta?' what blossoms without blossom? Answ. *praprot*. In Tirol, if you step on an *irr-wurz*, you immed. find yourself plunged in a bog or a carrion-pit. A story of the *irr-kraut* in Stöber's Neujahrstollen 32-3; conf. Lett. songs in Büttner nos. 1593. 1912.

p. 1212.] *Artemisia*, Fr. armoise, O. Fr. *ermoize*, is called in Champagne *marrebore* or *marrebore* (marrubium?), which is supp. to mean la mere des herbes (Rutebeuf I, 257), as in fact *artemisia* is called *herbarum mater* in Macer. Rutebeuf's *Dit de l'erberie* I, 257 makes *ermoize* the first of healing herbs: Les fames sen ceignent le soir de la S. Jehan, et en font chapiaux seur lor chiez, et dient que goute ne avertinz ne les puet panre n'en chiez, n'en braz, n'en pie, n'en main; mais je me merveil quant les testes ne lor brisent, et que li cors ne rompent parmi, tant a l'erbe de vertu en soi.—The Germ. word for it occurs as a man's name *Peybos* (yr 1330), *Bamberger verein* 10, 107, and *Beypoz* (yrs 1346-57) 10, 129. 136-8. 145. Even Schannat no. 348 has the name *Beboz* (see Kl. schr. 2, 399. Dronke's Trad. Fuld. 420); and '*beyposs*=*artemesia*' in *Vocab. Theuton.* (Nuremb. 1482) d. 7^a. At last, in *Vocab. ex quo Eltnil* 1469, '*attamesia*=*byfuyss*,' and also '*incus*=*eyn anfusse*,' the *f* in both being appar. Mid. Rhenish.* '*Bismolten*, *artemisia*, est nomen herbe, volgariter *byfus* in ander sprach bock,' *Voc. incip. Teuton.* '*Bibes* ist ain crut: wer fer welle gaun, der soll es tragen, so wirt er nit müd sere uf dem weg, der tüfel mag in och nit geschaden; und wo es in dem hus lit, es vertribt den zober,' *Heilmittelbuch* of 1400 in the Giess. hs. no. 992, bl. 128^b. '*Artemisia*, *beyfuss*, *sonnenwendel*,' J. Serranus's *Diet. Latino-Germ.* (Nürnb. 1539) 65^b; '*in dem bifüs*,' Mone's *Anz.* '34, 337. Superstitions about it, *Panz. Beitr.* 1, 249. '*St John's coals* (touchstones) are found fr. noon to vespers of John's day *under the beyfuss*; alias non *inveniuntur per annum*,' Mone 7, 425.—*Artemisia* is *zimber*, *zimbira* in *Hattemer* 3, 597^a; *hergott-hölzel* in *Nemnich* p. 466. AS. *tagantes helde*=*artemisia* (*tragantes*, for *τραγάκανθα*?), Mone's *Quell.* 320^a (conf. p. 1216 n.). OHG. *stapa-wurz*, *stabe-w.*, *abrotonum*, *Graff* 1, 1052. Sumerl. 60, 2; our *stabwurz*, southern-

* The corruption of *biböz* into 'our meaningless *beyfuss*' is a fair example of Folk-etymology: the herb is good for the pedestrian's feet.—TRANSL.

wood. OS. *staj-wurt*, dictamnium, dittany, Diut. 2, 192. Artemisia is *buggila* in Hattemer 1, 314^{ab} and Mone 8, 400; *bugel* 6, 220; *bugge* 8, 405; *buggul*, Voc. opt. p. 51^a; *φασὶ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὀδοιπορίαις μὴ παρατρίβεσθαι τοὺς βουβῶνας, ἄγνου ῥάβδον ἢ τῆς ἀρτεμισίας κρατουμένης* (groin not galled if one carry a switch of agnus castus or artemisia), Diosc. 2, 212. Gallic *πονέμ*, Dacian *ζουόστη* (conf. *ζωστήρ*, girdle), GDS. 208. Diefenb. Celt. 1, 172. Ir. *mugard*, AS. *mucg-wyrt*, GDS. 708. Boh. *černo-byl*, Pol. *czarno-byl*, Slovèn. *zhernób* (black herb); Serv. *bozhnye drutze*, God's little tree.

To Gothic names of plants, add *vigadeinó*, *τρίβολος* (Suppl. to 1215). On equisetum, see Pott's Comm. 2, 27. OHG. *grensinc*, nymphæa, potentilla, clavus Veneris, Graff 4, 333; MHG. *grensinc*, Mone's Anz. 4, 244-6. In a Stockholm MS. we find the spell: Unse leve vrowe gink sik to damme, se sochte *grensinc den langen*. do se en vant, do *stunt he un bevede*. se sprach: 'summe den soten Jesum Crist, wat crudes du bist?' 'Junkfrowe, ik hete *grensinc*, ik bin *das weldigeste kint*. ik kan den kettel kolen, ik kan alle dink vorsonen, ik kan den unschuldigen man van den galgen laten gan; de mi bespreke un ineges dages up breke, dem were God holt und alle mannen kunne un golt sulven.' in den namen des Vaders un des Sons, etc. Is *grensinc* fr. *grans*, prora, bec. it grows in front of your boat?

Clover, trifolium, Dan. *klever*, Germ. *kle*: *nüblüttlets klee* (p. 1079 mid.). Esp. significant is the four-leaved (p. 1137 end): *klewer veer*, Müllenh. pp. 410. 557; *clover cinquefoil*, Bret. *märch*. 89. 93; to send trefoil and wine, Arch. v. Unterfranken iv. 3, 169. Clover is called *himmel-kraut* in Bavaria: schön *blüet's himel-kraut*, Schm. 2, 196, conf. *himmel-blüe*, rainbow, *himmel-brand*, mullein (Suppl. to 1196); *hergotts-brot* (-bread), head of clover blossom, Schm. 2, 231, conf. *brosam-kraut*, Superst. I, 369; *Gotis-ampher* (-sorrel), *alleluja*, Sumerl. 54, 35.—Icel. *smári*, trifol. album; Jutl. *smäre*. ON. *qvaisu-gras*, trifol. fibrinum, good for colic and hysterica passio (Suppl. to 1159 beg.). Swed. *väpling*: superstit. of the *fyr-väpl.*, *fem-väpl.*, Dybeck '48, p. 22. Gall. *visumarus*, Diefenb. 1, 46 (Suppl. to 1192 mid. Kl. schr. 2, 156. 171). Ir. *shamrock*, in O'Brien seamrog (Kl. schr. 2, 156), GDS. 302. Welsh *meillionen*, Armor. *melchen*, *melchon*. Clover used in Persian sacrifices, Herod. 1, 132.

p. 1213.] Our *gunder-männlein*, *gundel-rebe*, is a tiny blue flower, whereas OHG. *gunde-reba* = acer, maple; *gunderebe*, acer, balsamita, Mone 7, 600. In a charm: 'guntreben gér (maple shoot?), I toss thee up to the clouds,' Mone 6, 468.

p. 1213.] Morsus diaboli, *devilsbit*, see Dybeck '45, 52. AS. *ragu* (ragwort) is glossed by 'mosicum, mossiculum,' perh. mosylicum; otherw. *ragu* is robigo. Lye has also 'Cristes maeles ragu, Christi crucis mosicum, herba contra ephialten valens.' Schubert p. 197: *ragwurcz*, orchis.

Serv. *stidak* (shamefaced), *caucalis grandiflora*: it has a white blossom, with a little red in the middle. This red, they say, was greater once, but grew less every day, as modesty died out among men, Vuk sub v.

Holder (wolf's-claw?), when eaten, causes vomiting or purging, acc. as it was shelled over or under one, Judas 1, 169. *Lycopodium complanatum*, ON. *jafni*, Dan. *jävne*, Swed. *jemma*, Vesterb. *jamm*.

p. 1214.] A plant of universal healing power is *heil-aller-welt*, *agrimonia*, Mone 8, 103; *aller frowen heil*, MS. 2, 48^a; *quotes mannes heil*, Hpt. 2, 179. Lisch's Meckl. jrb. 7, 230; conf. the ointment *mannes heil*, Iw. 3452. Er. 7230.

p. 1214.] *Dorant* seems a corrup. of *andor*, *andorn* (horehound): trail your shirt in blue *tharand*, N.Pr. prov. bl. 8, 229. Gothl. *tarald*, ägglung, ett gräs för hvilket trollen tros sky, Almqv. 464^a. Hold up thy skirt, that thou graze not the white *orand*! M. Neth. *orant*, Mone 6, 448. Holst. *gäler orant*, Müllenh. no. 425.—'A herb that says, *Be wol-gemut*, (of good cheer)!' Hoffm. Gesellschaftsl. 136; die braune *wolgemut*, Ambras. lied. p. 212. Pol. *dobry mysli*, good thoughts. The plant must be plucked *hastily*, and *hidden*: ἐμμαπέως τὸν ὀρίγανον ἐν χερὶ κεύθει, Athen. 1, 262; ὀρίγανον βλέπειν, look sour, as though you had bitten marjoram.

Porst, *porse* is strewn under the table, to sharpen a guest's appetite, Fries's Udfl. pp. 109. 110; conf. *borsa*, myrtus, Graff 3, 215.

p. 1214.] OHG. *hart-houwi* (-hay) must, I think, be the *harten-aue* which the girl 'murdles' to find out if her lover loves her, Firmen. 2, 234. Fiedler's Dessauer volksr. 98. In Sweden this *hypericum perforatum* has to be one of the *nine sorts of*

flowers that make the Midsum. nosegay; the picking of it is descr. in Runa '44, p. 22-3: you lay it under your pillow, and notice what you dream. Again, that plant with St-John's-blood sap (Müllenh. p. 222) is the hart-hen, Schub. p.m. 184. Schütze's Holst. id. 1, 117-8.

OHG. *reinfauno*, Graff 3, 521, Swed. *renfaue*, tansy, seems to be sacred to elves, Fries's Udfl. 1, 109; it helps in difficult childbirth. Does the name denote a plant that grows on boundaries [rain=strip of grass left betw. hedgeless cornfields]? conf. *rein-farn*, Kl. schr. 2, 44.

p. 1214.] Was *widertân* orig. widar-dono, formed like ælf-pona? yet it is *wedertam* in Sumerl. 55, 49. The country-mouse in Rollenhagen, when visited by the town-mouse, lays down a bundle of *widderthan*, that gleams like a red poppy. *Widertthonmoos* (-moss) is polytrichum commune, Schub. p.m. 210, otherwise called golden *frauen-haar* (conf. the holy wood-moss of the Samogitians, and the special gods for it, Lasicz 47). Frisch calls *widertthon* a lunaria; the osmunda lunaria is named *ankehrkraut* (sweep to-), and is supp. to give cows good milk:

Grüsz dich Gott, *ankehr-kraut*!

ich brock dich ab, u. trag dich nach haus;

wirf bei meinem kuhel (lay flesh on my cow) finger-
dick auf. Höfer 1, 36.

p. 1215.] *Weg-wîse*=solsequium in Albr. v. Halb. 129^b; *wege-weis*=cichorium intybus, Nemnich; conf. AS. *for-tredde*, our wege-tritt. Dâ wênic *wege-rîches* stuont, Parz. 180, 7; other names are *weg-luge* (Stald. 2, 439) from 'luogen,' and 'Hûnslein bei'm weg' (or is it 'hâuslein bei dem weg,' as in Fischart's Onomast. 221?). Serv. *bokvitza*, plantago, fr. bok=side; Boh. *čekanka*, fr. čekati=wait [Russ. *popútnik*, *podorózhnik*, fr. pútĭ, doróga=way].—Dicitur quod tres rami *corrigiolae* (wegetritt) collectae in nomine Trinitatis et cum oratione dominica, suspensi in panno lineo, maculam oculi sine dubio tollunt, Mone 7, 424. Das edle kraut *weg-warte* macht guten augenschein, Ambras. lied. p. 18; item es spricht alwärtus, die *wegwartwurtzeln* soltu niecht essen, so magstu nit wund werden von hauen noch von stechen, Giess. papier-hs. no. 1029 (conf. p. 1244). 'Advocati consueverunt se munire sambuco et plantagine ut

vincant in causis' is Bohemian, like that about the child's caul (p. 874n.). The above names remind us of Goth. *vigadeinó* = tribulus (Suppl. to 1212 mid.), as the Gr. *βάρτος* is perhaps from *βαίνω*, and the Lat. *sentis* akin to Goth. *sinþs*, *via*; yet conf. Kl. schr. 5, 451 seq. GDS. 211.

p. 1215.] Of the *leek* an ON. riddle says: 'höfði sínu vísar á helvegum, en fótum til sólar snýr,' his head points to hell, his feet to heaven; to which Heiðrekr answers 'höfuð veit í Hlökkynjar skaut, en blöð í lopt,' Fornald. s. 1, 469 (conf. the *βολβόλ* in Aristoph. Clouds 187—193). *Sára-lauk* síóða, boiling wound-leeks, means forging swords 1, 468. With the leek men divine, Dyb. '45, p. 61; it drives evil spirits away, Fries's Udf. 1, 109. *House-leek*, *sempervivum tectorum*, Swed. *tak-lök*, wards off misfortune 1, 110. 'Radix allii victorialis' is *neun-hömmelere* in Stald. 2, 236; in Nemnich *neun-hemmerlein*, *sieben-hemmerlein*. OHG. *surio*, *surro*, m., *cepa*, *porrum*, Graff 6, 273.

p. 1215.] The *rowan* or *rönn* (Dyb. '45, 62-3) is called wild ash, mountain ash, vogelbeer-baum, sperber-baum, AS. *wice*, Plattd. *kwieke*, Wolf's Ztschr. 2, 85. Men like a staff made of *pilber-baum*, *sorbus aucuparia*, Possart's Estl. 163. Finn. *pihlava*, *sorbus*, is planted in holy places: *pihlayat* pyhille maille, Kalev. 24, 71. 94. Renvall sub v.

p. 1216.] *Hab-mich-lieb* and *wol-gemut* (Suppl. to 1214) are herbs of which wreaths were twined, Hätzl. 15^b; 'ein krenzlin von *wolgemuot* ist für sendez trüren guot,' good for love-sickness 162-3.

p. 1216.] A wort, that the mermaid dug on the mount that might not be touched, makes whoever eats it understand the *wild beast, fowl and fish*, Hpt. 5, 8. 9. A herb accidentally picked opens to him that carries it the *thought and speech of others*, Ls. 1, 211-8. Herb *chervil blinds* or gives *double sight*, Garg. 148^a. Ges. Abent. 2, 267. Whoever carries herb *assidiose* in his hand, commands spirits, Tit. 6047. When the dew falls in May on the herb *parbodibisele*, one may harden gold in it, Tit. 3698-9. Cattle are made to eat *three blooming flowers*, the *blue* among them, so as not to be led astray into the mountains. Hpt 4, 505.

p. 1216 n.] AS. *ælf-þona* is expl. by *þona* or *þone*, *palmes*, *pampinus*, conf. OHG. *upar-dono*, *sudarium*; is *alb-dono* then a cloth spread by the elves? If *ælf-þone* be fem. and = OHG.

alb-dona, *dona* must be *pampinus* (our *dohuc*, *springe* or *noose*), coil, tendril, and so *alfranke* (p. 448), Hpt 5, 182. AS. *helde* is sometimes *ambrosia*. Is *hwätend* (*iris Illyrica*) equivalent to soothsaying flower? for *Iris* is at once messenger of the gods, and rainbow, and a plant which the Slavs call *Perunica*, thunder-flower. Finn. *wuohen miekka*, *caprae ensis*, is also *iris*, sword-lily.—Other notable herb-names in AS. are: *Oxan-slipa*, *primula veris*, E. *oalip*, *cowslip*, Dan. *oxe-driv*, *ko-driv*, Swed. *oxe-lägg*. *Hundesfred*, *centauria*. *Eofor-brote*, *apri guttur*, *scilla*. *Lust-möce*, *ros solis*, *Nemnich drosera*, Stald. 1, 336 *egelkraut*.—*Mädere*, *venerea*, Mone's Quell. 320^b; Lye has *müddere*, *rubia*, E. *madder*; Barnes sub v. *madders*, *mathers*, *anthesis*, *cotula*. *Metere*, *febrifuga*, Sumerl. 56, 58; and *melissa*, *metere* 57, 59 (Suppl. to 1244). *Muttere*, *mutterne*, *caltha*, Stald. 2, 226; Finn. *matara*, *mattara*; 'lus gnu *mhathair* gnu *athair*,' flower without mother or father: 'a plant resembling flax, which grows in springs,' Armstr. 368^b.—*Wædo-bend*, *cyclamen convolvulus*, E. *woodbind*, *withe-bind*, M. Neth. *wede-winde*, Maerl. 3, 205; conf. *weendungel*: 'ik keune dat kruud, sede de düvel, do hadde he *weendungel* freten,' Brem. wtb. 5, 218 (AS. *lung*, pl. *lungas*, *aconitum*, *helleborus*).—*Mageðe*, *magode*, *buphthalmus*; conf. 'hay-maiden, a wild flower of the mint tribe,' Barnes. *Biacon-weed*, *chenopodium*, *goose-foot*, Barnes. *Gloden*, *caltha*; also *gludene*, *glwedene*. *Boðen*, *lolium*; conf. *beres-boto*, *zizania*, *meres-poto*, Graff 3, 81. *Leloðre*, *lapathum*. *Gearewe*, *millefolium*, *yarrow*, OHG. *garewâ*. *Æthel-ferding*, *-fyrding*, a wound-healing plant, from *ferd*, *fyrd* = *army*, *war*? *Brôðer-wyrt*, *herba quaedam strictum pectus et tussim sanans*, Lye. *Hals-wyrt*, *narcissus*, from *hâlsian* to make whole?

Peculiar OHG. names: *olsenich*, Mone's Quell. 285^b; *olsnie*, *baldimonia*, *herba thuris*, Sumerl. 55, 11. 57, 26. Ducange sub v. *ramesdra*. Graff 2, 512. *Striph*, *stripha*, Graff 6, 751. *Ertgallâ*, AS. *eorð-gelle*, *centaurea major*, *cornflower*. *Hrosse-hûf*, Graff 4, 1180. Add the plant-names in the Wiesbaden glosses, Hpt 6, 323.

Names still in use: *brändli*, *satyrium nigrum*, Stald. 1, 216, small, but scented; it is the Romance *waldser*, *valser*, Mone's Anz. '39, 391 (*gerbrändli*?), conf. *wald-meisterlein*, *asperula odorata*, M. Neth. *wal-mêster*, Mone 6, 448. *Herba matris silvae*,

Wallach. *mama padura*, wood-mother, wood-wife, Schott 297. *Manns-kraft*, *geum urbanum*, Hess. Ztschr. 4, 81. *Tag und nacht* 4, 94. Sumerl. 58, 29; Ssk. *dies et nox* in one word, Bopp's Gl. 27^b; Pol. *dzien i noc*, *melampyrum nemorosum*, Linde 1, 595^a. *Partunni-kraut*, *stachys alpina*, Hess. Zts. 4, 84. *Braut-treue*, *erica*, acquires a red tinge, Wächter p. 13; *braut im haar*, Sommer's Sag. p. 61.—*Berufs-kraut*, *anthyllis vulneraria*, Somm. p. 61; *vermein-kraut*, maidenhair, Schm. 2, 587; conf. *beschrei-kr.* (p. 1195). *Eisen-breche*, *sferra-cavallo* (p. 974), E. moonwort, *lunaria*, Hone's Yrbk 1551. *Maus-ohrlein*, mouse-ear, *herba clavorum*, nailwort, makes horses willing to be shod 1550. *Rang* = *teufels-zwirn*, *clematis*, Vilmar in Hess. Zts. 4, 94. *Druten-mehl*, *hexen-mehl*, semen *lycopodii*, is sprinkled over sore babies. *Wind-hexe*, rolling flax, a steppe weed, Russ. *perekatí-pole* (roll over field), whose balls drift like thistledown, Kohl's S. Russia 2, 113-4.

2. STONES.

p. 1218.] Rare stones are called 'steine, die kein gebirge nie getruoc, noch diu erde brâhte für,' Troj. kr. 2954. They are known to Jews: it is a Jew that can tell Alexander what stone it is, Alex. 7075; that master of stone-lore, Evax of Arabia, Lanz. 8531. *Boundary-stones*, *drei-herrn-steine* are pounded to powder, and drunk as medicine, Ph. Dieffenb. Wander. 2, 73. Other healing stones are ment. in Lohengr. str. 652, defensive helmet-stones in Aspremont 20. 40-1. A stone that tells you everything, Norske folke-ev. 1, 188; a stone taken in the mouth gives a knowledge of foreign tongues, Otnit Ettm. 3, 32—25. Rhön 126; another, put in the mouth, enables you to travel over water, H. Sachs i. 3, 291^c. Simplic. 5, 12 p. 548-9; and there was a stone that made you fly, Ges. Abent. 3, 212-7. The *stone of fear* keeps you from being frightened: 'he hung a *schreck-stein* on him, Pol. maulaffe 298.

Quattuor in cunctis sunt insita mythica gemmis,
durities, virtus, splendorque, colorque perennis

Gotfr. Viterb. p.m. 367^b.

Rings, *finger-rings* derive all their virtue from the stones set in them. A vingerlîn that repels magic, and makes you aware of

it, Lanc. 21451 seq.; one that makes invisible (p. 871). So a *girdle* with a *precious stone* in it makes whole, Bit. 7050—55.

The *orphanus*, wanting in Megenberg, is ment. by Lessing 8, 175-6. Similar to the orphan is the stone *claugestian* on the helmet, Roth. 4947 seq. *Paer se beorhta beág brogden wundrum eorcnanstánnum eádigra gehwâm hlifað ofer heáfde; heáfelan lixað þrymmê bipeahte*, Cod. Exon. 238; his *eágan ontýnde, hálge heáfdes gimmas* 180, 7; is seo, *eággebyrd* (oculus Phoenicis) *stáne* gelicast, gladum gimme 219, 3. *Hyaena bestia cujus pupillae lapideae sunt*, Gl. ker. 146. Diut. 1, 239; and Reinhart's eyes are supp. to be *carbuncles*, Reinh. 916 seq. One stone is *oculus felis, oculus mundi, bellocchio*, Nemnich 2, 747-8.—Precious stones take the place of eyes, Martene's Thes. anecd. 4, 6 (Wachsmuth's Sitten-gesch. 2, 258): in the sculptured skull of St Servatius, stones blaze instead of eyes. Swed. *ögna-sten, ögon-sten*, eye-stone, means the pupil; Dan. *öie-steen*, ON. *auga-steinn*; and Alexander's stone, which outweighs pure gold, but rises in the scale when covered with a feather and *a little earth*, is an eye-stone, Lampr. Alex. p. 140—3; see Schlegel's Mus. 4, 131-2-3. Gervinus 1, 549 (ed. 3). *Pupus, κόρη ὀφθαλμοῦ*, Ducange sub v. It is Oriental too to say 'girl of the eye'; yet also 'mannikin of the eye,' Gesenius, Pref. xlv. (ed. 2). GDS. 127.

p. 1218 n.] *Scythis succinum* (amber) *sacrium* (not *satrium*), Pliny 37. 2, 40; *ubicunque quinta argenti portio inest (auro), electrum vocatur* 33. 4. 23. *Prünt-golt*, *electrum*, Gl. Sletst. 39, 391. Amber is in Russ. *yantárĭ*, Lith. *gentáras, giutárus*, Lett. *dzinters, zihlers*, conf. OHG. *sintar*=scoria, GDS. 233; Esth. *merre-kivvi*, sea-stone, Finn. *meri-kivi*. On the confusion of amber with pearl, see both Schott in Berl. acad. Abh. '42, p. 361 and H. Müller's Griechenth. 43. Pol. *bursztyn*, Boh. *agštejn, akšten*. M. Neth. *lammertynstén*, *succinus*.

p. 1219.] The pearl: ON. *gimr*, m., *gemma*, Sæm. 131^b, also *gim-steinn*; AS. *gim, gim-stán*. With MHG. *mer-griez*, conf. 'daz *griezende mer*,' Fragm. 45^c. The *diamond* was taken to be crystallized water: 'a little frozen wässerli,' Anshelm 2, 21; *fon diu wirt daz is dâ zi* (thereby turns the ice into) *christallan sô herta, sô man daz fiur dar-uber machôt, unzi diu christalla irglnot*, Merigarto 5, 25; conf. *ísiné steina*, ice-stones, O. i. 1, 70 and

'crystal made of ice,' Diez's *Leb. d. troub.* 159. 165. On the Ssk. *marakata*, see Bopp's *Gl.* 255-9. 266; *chandra-kârta*, *gemma fabulosa*, *quae radii lunae congelatis nasci creditur* 118^a.

p. 1221.] The *λυγγούριον* is also named by Dioscor. 2, 100. Of a *stag's* tears or eyes comes a stone. The *dragon's head* contains a diamond, Bosquet 205-6. The *toad-stone*, which occurs e.g. in Wolf's *Deut. sag.* p. 496, is likewise in Neth. *padde-stên*, Boh. *zhabye kamen*, O. Fr. *crapaudine*, Roquef. sub v.; the French still say of diamonds, 'il y a *crapaud*.'—There is a serpent's egg, which 'ad *victorias litium et regum aditus mire landatur*,' Pliny 29. 3, 12. One *Segerus* has a 'gemma diversi coloris, *victoriosos efficiens qui ea utuntur*,' Cæs. Heisterb. 4, 10. *Sige-stein*, Eracl. p. 214. Hahn's Stricker p. 49; *seghe-stên*, Rein. 5420; *sige-ring*, Hpt 3, 42; *hüet dich vor* (beware of) *alter wîbe gemein, die können blâsen den sigel-stein*, Hätzl. 93^b, 34; *sigelstein snûden*, Wolkenst. 40, conf. 'ein *bickel giezen*,' *Fragm.* 38^c. Remm. 13424, *bickel-stein*, *Fragm.* 21^c. Can *sigelstein*, *sëgelstein* have been the *magnet*? ON. *sëgel-steinn*, sailing stone. —The *swallow-stone*, which grows in the crop of a firstborn swallow, is known to Diosc. 2, 60; conf. Schm. 3, 399: *schürf* (rip) *schwalben auf*, so *vindestu darinne ein roten* (red) *stain*.

p. 1222.] Georg Agricola (1546) *De re metallica libri XII* (Basil. 1657) calls *belemnites* *alp-schos*, p. 703^b; *brontia* *donnerstein*, *wetterstein*, *gros krottenstein*, *cerauniu* *der glatte donu*, *der glatt wett*, *der glatte gros krott*. 704^a; *ombria* *donderst*, *wett*, *grosz krott*. 706^a. The thunder-bolt has healing power, Ph. Dieffenb. *Wander.* p. 33; the ON. for it is *skruggu-steinn*; and we often find *þórsteinn* as a man's name, e.g. Egilss. 476. Another Finnic name for the bolt is *Ukkaisen nalkki*, U.'s wedge; Lith. *Laumes papas*, L.'s pap, Nesselm. 277^b. 353^b, and LG. *marettett*, the (night-)mare's teat, N. Pr. prov. bl. 2, 380. *Silex* is in ON. *hiegetill*, quasi *rorem generans*.

p. 1222.] The *diamond* can only be softened by goat's-blood, Pliny 37, 4. August. *De civ. D.* 21, 4; conf. N. Cap. 69. Er. 8428. Ms. 1, 180^a. Parz. 105, 18.

The *carbuncle* is taken from the unicorn's forehead, Parz. 482, 29; *hebt den moed van een Espetin*, want hi draegt *karbonkelen* in sin hoorn, Ndr. Heemskind p. m. 12. The carbuncle shines in the darkest night, and puts out other stones, Hartm. büchl. 1500.

Reinh. 920. Morolt 45. Gr. Rud. 8, 10 (*Fätte-lys* are in Dau. superstition small stones, which the spirits had for lamps, Molb. Dial. 663). The carbuncle pales its lustre when the hero dies, Rol. 196, 19; it lies 'ze Loche in dem Rîne,' Ms. 1, 15^a. Sommer on Flore p. xxvii. 1667.

The *magnet*: ON. *leiður-steinn*, Landn. 1, 2; E. *loadstone* [i.e. leading, as in loadstar]. Prov. *aziman*, *ariman*, *ayman*, Fr. *aimant*, Sp. *iman*. MHG. *age-stein*, Diut. 1, 60-1. Trist. 204, 14. 36. M. Neth. *tóch-stén* diese up-tóch, Maerl. 3, 124. It has been used in navigation since the 13th cent., Bible Guiot 633—653; legend of the loadstone, Altd. w. 2, 89.

Stone-coal is called 'Türken-blut-stein, stein-öl 'Turken-blut, Stald. 1, 329.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SPELLS AND CHARMS.

p. 1224.] On the power of the *three words*, Kalev. 9, 34. 161; conf. Arnim's Märch. 1, 47. [Tibetian and Mongolian writers dilate on the force of each syllable in the Buddhist formula 'om mani padmi hom.']. Singing and saying turn to magic: *ἐπωδὴ ἱατρῶν*, Plato's Charmides p. 156-8; *θελεκτήριον*, charm, incantation; *verba puerpera dixit* (Lucina), Ov. Met. 10, 511. OHG. *pi-galan* (be-sing) in the Mersebg spell; *galdr gala*, Sæm. 97-8-9; *ríkt gól Oddr*, *ramt gól Oddrûn*, bitra *galdra* 240^a. Fr. *charme* is fr. *carmen*: un *bon charme* vos apprendré, Ren. 7650; *carminare* plagam, to charm a wound (away), Altd. bl. 2, 323; conf. 'er sprach zer wunden *wunden-segen*,' Parz. 507, 23. The sorceress is *ansprecherin*, Mone's Anz. 7, 424; conf. *berufen*, *beschreien*, becall, becry, Etnn. Maulaffe 546-7. ON. *orð-heill*, Sæm. 120^b. Finn. *sanoa*, to say = conjure; *sanat*, conjuration, Castrén.

Blessings are pronounced more esp. at morning and evening: swer bí liebe hát gelegen (had a good night), der sol dar senden sînen *morgen-segen*, MS. 2, 169^a; *gesegenen unde tiefe besuern*, Mar. 188, 30 (conf. 'tiefe fluochen,' p. 1227); *besworn sîs du vil tiure!* Ges. Abent. 3, 53; einem die krankheit *absegnen* (bless

one's illness away), Thurneysen 2, 92.—Cursing is MHG. *verwâzen*: var hin *verwâzen*, MS. 2, 172^b; nu var von mir *v.* Ls. 3, 77; nein pfui sie heut *v.*! Tit. 600, 2; *verfluochet* u. *verwâzen* wart vil ofte der tac, dâ sîn geburt ane lac (the day that his birth was on), Arm. Heinr. 160; and the contrary: gehoehet (extolled) sî der sîeze tac, dâ dîn geburt von êrste an lac, Winsbekin 1. To *verwâzen* answers the O. Fr. *dahê*, *duhez*, *dehait*, *dahet*, *dehez*, *dehé*, *daz ait*, often preceded by *mal* or *cent*, Garin 1, 10. 209. 2, 46. Ren. 404. 1512. 9730. 11022. Méon's N. réc. 1, 202. 232. 4, 12. Orange 1, 202. 2, 151, etc. Trist. 3072. Aspr. 1^a. 46^b. 23^b. Ferabr. lix^a. As Walloon *haitî* = *sain*, and *mâhaitî* = *malsain* (Grandgagn. 1, 265), we may suppose a Celtic origin (Suppl. to 952).—Einen *mit fluoche bern* (smite), Mart. 163^c, mit dem fluoche *seilen* 226^a (*flüeche liden*, Walth. 73, 5; fluoch *bejagen*, MS. 2, 137; in sih selbon *luadun* (they loaded) mihilan fluah, O. iv. 24, 30); *bîst* unde *flók*, Upstand. 1837 (the Goth. *beist* ?); *digen* einen, precari, imprecari, Gramm. 4, 655. AS. *wyrigean*, maledicere, Homil. 2, 30. ON. *bólva*, diris devovere, Sæm. 186; *rögga*, a diis mala imprecari (lit. to fold? akin to *röggr*, *röggar*, pallium plicatum?). O. Slav. *kliáti*, pres. k'nu, Serv. *kléti*, pres. kunem [Russ. *kliásti*, *klinátî*], to curse.

p. 1224.] The AS., beside *hwistlian*, has *hwisprian*, to whisper. MHG. slangen (snake's) *wispel*, Diut. 1, 58; *wispler*, who sweetly *wispelt* to the fishes, Gesta Rom. ed. Keller p. 65. OHG. *winisón*, to mutter. Apuleius p. m. 79 speaks of *magicum susurramen*. Piping too has a magical effect: il dit un charme que il avoit aprins, trois fois *siffla*, Garin 2, 104. A shirt laid lengthwise on the table is *bemurmured* till it stands upright, jumps about, and lies down again; you judge by this of the owner's illness, Etn. Medic. maulaffe 269, 270. Neth. *luisteren* is both to listen and to speak low; the witch is a *luister-vink*, *luister-zuster*.

p. 1226.] MHG. *rûnen* is to whisper: 'daz ir mit ir *rûnet*, you whisper to her'; 'daz si mit iu niht *rûnen* kan,' MS. 2, 83^b.

Runes were also cut on the roots of trees: *risti á rôtina rûnir*, *riôðraði í blôði*, qvað *sîðan yfir galdra*, *gêck öfug ok andsælis* (against the sun) *um trêtt*, *með mörg römm um-mæli*; he then throws the wood into the sea, and lets it drift to one's de-

struction, *Grettissaga* c. 85; *scera á rötum rás víðar*, *Sæm.* 29^a. Rune-sticks had things *wrapt* and *woren* round them, *Sæm.* 195^b, like the Fris. *tênar*; *lagði á staf* 94^a; *hete-rúne* bond, *Cod. Exon.* 416, 6; *inwit-rúne* 279, 7; *helli-rúna*, like *M. Neth. hel-scouwinghe?* *Parton.* 20, 13; *hell-raune*, *Mathesius* 1562, 154^b; *liosta hel-stöfum*, *Sæm.* 145^b, *conf. faesta feikn-stafu* 41^b. *For-nald.* s. 1, 436. *AS. fúcn-stæf*; *bregða blunul-stöfum*, *Sæm.* 193^b, at *gaman-rúnom* 25-6, *í val-rúnom* 160^b, *mál-rúnar* 214^b, *rúnar villar* 252^a, *vilt rísta* 252^b.

p. 1227.] The might of the Word is extolled by *Freidank* 67, 1:

Durch wort ein wilder slange gât (snake goes)
zœ manne, da 'r sich toeren lât (lets be fooled);
durch wort ein swert vermîdet (forbears)
daz ez nieman versnîdet (cuts no one);
durch wort ein îsen nieman mac
 verbrennen, gluot ez allen tac.

Er sprach *ein wort mit grim*, *daz sich der bere ûj-slôz* (opened), *Altsw.* 80; *jâ möht ich sît einen boum mit mîner bete* (prayer), *sunder wâpen*, *nider geneigen*, *MS.* 1, 51^a. A *runur-belti* opens any lock, drives all disease away, *Färöiske qvæder* pp. 228. 286; two dwarfs *cut vafrogi with runes* 138. 140. Song can burst fetters, *Somadeva* 1, 134. *ON. þoku-rîsur* call up mist and darkness, *Formn.* s. 3, 97-8. A *letter* was tied round the sword, *Wigal.* 4427. 7335, as runes had formerly been carved on it. Men used to bind certain things by oath, e.g. *swords*, *Altd. bl.* 1, 43. *Ligamenta aut etiam scripta* in *contrarietatem alterius excogitare*, *Lex. Visig.* vi. 2, 4.

p. 1228.] Let one or two *good wishes* precede the curses:

Got müeze im êre mêren (add honour) !
 zuo flieze im aller sælden fluz,
 niht wildes mîde sînen schuz (shun his shot);
 sîns hundes louf, sîns hornes duz (tooting)
 erhelle im u. erschelle im wol nâch êren! *Walth.* 18, 25.

conf. the curse, *Ls.* 2, 425. Here is a beautiful blessing:

Der sumer sî sô guot (be so kind),
 daz er die schoene in sîner wunne (bliss)
 lâze wünneclîche leben (let blissful live) !

Swaz wol den ougen tuot (whate'er delights the eye),
 und sich den liuten lieben kunne (can please),
 daz müeze ir din Sælde geben,
 swaz grüenez ûf von erden gê,
 oder touwes obenan nider rîsen muoz (may trickle down),
 loup (foliage), gras, bluomen und klê (clover) !
 Der vogel doenen (melody) geb der schoenen
 wünnelichen gruoze (blissful greeting) ! MS. 2, 183^a.

Again: ze heile erschîne im tages sunne, nahtes mâne, und
 iegslîch stern ! MS. 2, 174^a; dîn zunge grüene iemer, dîn herze
 ersterbe niemer ! Trist. 7797; Got lâze im wol geschehen !
 MS. 1, 74^b; Got des geve en jummer hêl, dat kraket (so that
 it roars), Wizlau 9, 28.

Curses are far more frequent and varied: mîne vlüeche sint
nîht smal, Beneke 377. They operate quickly: ein *swinder* fluoch,
 MS. 2, 71^b; mit *snellem* fluoche, Tit. 2588; ein *wilder* fluoch,
 Wolkenst. 42. They hold men like a vice: uns *twinget* noch des
 fluoches *zange*, MS. 2, 166^a. They *alight, settle, cling*: solten alle
 vlüeche *kleben*, ez müezte lützel liutes leben, Freid. 130, 12; der
 fluoch *bekleip*, Hpt 5, 516; dem muoz der fl. *bekliben* 5, 550; der
 fl. *klebet* 8, 187. They *burn* you up, Nalus p. 177. They take
flight, they turn home as birds to their nest, Berth. 63; die flüche
flohen um die wette, Günther 163.—Strong above all is the
curse of the dying: þat var trûa þeirra î forneskju, at *orð feigs*
manns mætti mikit, ef han bôlvaði ô-vin sînum *meðnafni* (cursed
 his unfriend by name), hence names were suppressed, Sæm. 186^a.
 Sigfrit, wounded to death, *scolds*, Nib. 929, 3. 933, 4 (see *schelten*
 below). A father's blessing bigs the toun, A *mother's curse* can
 ding it down. A *mother's curse* is not to be turned aside,
 Holtzm. 3, 144. Effectual too is the *pilgrim's curse*, Gudr. 933,
 and the *priest's*, Holtzm. Nib. 117. The curse of *aged men* that
 fear God works fearful woe, Insel Felsbg 1, 22. *Carters* have
 curses on the tip of their tongue, Philander 2, 345; so have
officers, Gellert 4, 145.

Oaths and curses coll. by Agricola nos. 472—502; *spell-bindings*
 in Ls. 1, 410-1. 2, 424—8. Sæm. 85. Fornald. s. 3, 203-4; a
 song of curses on Otto III. in Pertz 2, 153. De Vries of Hoofts
 Warenar 97—100; Servian curses in Talvj 2, 385. Vuk nos.
 152-4-7. 162. 219. 393.

The savage heartiness of the cursing is set forth in a number of strong phrases: 'his cursing was *cruel* to hear,' Etnn. Unw. d. 743; 'he set up a *cursing* and *scolding*, no wonder if the *castle had sunk* into the ground, Schweinichen 2, 70 (daz se dâ *fluochten* niemen, unde daz Hagenen kint bleip *unbescholten*, Gudr. 933, 4); er fahet an (begins) ze flûchen u. ze schweren, dass das *erdtreich* *möcht undergon* (?); 'cursing, enough to *send stones flying* into the sky,' Käserei 126; 'he swore fit to make the *sky bow down*,' Wickram's Rollw. 9; 'cursing, so that it *might have thundered*,' Garg. 149^a; 'cursing, till the *rafters crack*,' Diet. sub v. balke; 'he curses *all signs* (omens), till the floor cracks,' Hebel 44; to curse *all signs*, Stald. 2, 468 (p. 1105 end); 'swearing till the *toups jump*,' Firmenich 2, 262 (conf. the krotten-segen, Garg. 230^a); 'he curses *one leg* off the *devil's haunch*, and the *left horn* off his head,' Garg. 232^a; 'he cursed the *nose* off his face,' Schuldban 27 (?).—Ejaculations that call upon God to curse and crush, are the most solemn: daz ez *Got verwâze!* Er. 7900; sô sî ich verwâzen vor *Gotes ougen!* Herb. 1068; daz in *Got von himele* immer gehoene! Gudr. 1221, 4; '*God's power* confound thee!' Melander 2, no. 198; *Hercules dique* istam perdant, Plaut. Cas. ii. 3, 57; qui illum *di* omnem *deaeque* perdant 61: *Got du sende* an mînen leiden man *den tût*, daz ich von den *ülven* werde *enbunden*, MS. 1, 81^a (p. 1161); swer des schuldig sî, den *velle Got* u. nem im al sîn êre 81^b; Serv. *ubió ghu Bogh*, Vuk (ed. nov.) no. 254.—M. Neth. curses use the word 'over' in consigning to the devil: nu *over* in duvels ere, Lumb. 4, 62; *over* in's duvels name 4, 1088; nu *over* in der duvele hant 7, 638; nu *over* in's duvels geleide, Karel 2, 4447. MHG. der tievel *var ime in den mant* (get in his mouth), Reinh. 1642; dass dir der henker *in den rachen führe* (in your throat), Felsenb. 3, 443; dass dich! (devil take, underst.); dass dich das wetter verborne, Meland. 2, no. 362; ir letz' die *slach der schauer* u. *kratz der wilde ber*, Wolkenst. 30.—ON. eigi hann *iötnar*, *gálgi görvallan*, Sæm. 255^a; tröll hafi þik allan, ok svâ gull þit, Kormakss. p. 188; far þu nu þar er *smyl* hafi þik (to one's ship on landing), conf. the formula of benediction in Kg Horne, 143.*

* With the curse 'daz die vor *kilchen* laegen!' conf. also 'Joh. vor *Ckilun*,' Oestr. arch. 6, 173; ein jár vor *kilchen* stân, MS. 2, 121^a; muoter diu ir kint lát vor *spítal* oder *kirchen* ligen, Renn. 18376; an ein *velt* legen (in un consecr. ground), Berth. 230. 330; *begrëbnisse uf dem veldë*, Gefk. Beil. 10.

Du scholt varen in dat *wilde brók*, Mone's Schausp. 2, 100-1; an den *wilden wolt* 2, 101; conf. 'ze holze varn,' Kolocz 262; Klinsôr und waerest *über sê*, MS. 2, 6^a; versigelen müez er *ûf daz mer* von wibe u. von kinde 1, 6^a. Lett. *ey vilkam*, go to the wolves; *vilkeem apendams*, wolves eat thee, Stender 360; so ezzen si die *wilden krân*, Keller's Erz. 196; þitt skyli hiarta *hragnar slíta*, Sæm. 232^a; dat uch de *raven* schinnen, Karlm. 140, 23; des müezen si die *wolve* nagen, Altd. w. 2, 56; ir herzen müezen *krânvuoz* nagen, MS. 2, 119^b; den vermîden (shun him) *rôsen*, u. alle *zitelôsen* (daisies), u. aller *vogellîne sanc* 2, 63^a; ich schaffe daz ir aller *fröiden strûzen* ie widerspenic müezen wesen 1, 4^a; Marke du *versink* 2, 79^b; ut te *paries inclinans* obruat, ut te *afflicta senio arbor caeduave* obruat, Meland. 2, no. 198.—Death, disease and sorrow are often imprecated: nu iz dir (eat to thyself) den grimmen *tôt*, Ges. Abent. 2, 667; wolde Got, waere dîn *houpt fûl* (rotting in the ground), Renn. 12192; daz dich *aezen* die *mâden* (maggots), Helbl. 1, 1212; daz diu *ougen* im *erglasen* 2, 512 (a Gaelic curse: *marbhphaisg*, the shroud over thee!); sô er müeze *erknûven* (?) 8, 227; hin ze *allen sûhten* 2, 745 (conf. *alles*, *aller*, Dict. 1, 213); sô dich diu *suht benasche* 1, 1202; Got geb dir die *drüs* u. den *ritten*, Pasq. 1, 157; diu *suht* an iuvern *lôsen kragen* (neck), Reinh. p. 302. *Dahaz aie* parmi le *col*, Méon N. réc. 1, 202. 232; *mau-dahet ait* et el *col* et el *nes*, Orange 5, 2650; *cent dehez ait* parmi la *cane*, Trist. 3072; tu ut *oculos emungare ex capite per nasum* tuos, Plaut. Cas. ii. 6, 39; dass du die *nase in's gesicht* behältst, Reuter olle kam. 3, 25-6. 48. 301; da var diu *suht* in iuwer *ôren*, MSH. 3, 438^a; *wé* dir in die *zende* (teeth), Ben. 324; la male *gote aiez as dens*, Ren. 14322; daz in der munt werde *wan* (without) *der zungen*, Parz. 316, 4; daz *si* (the tongue) *verswellen* müeze, u. ouch diu *kel* (gullet), MS. 2, 5^a; dîn *zunge* müeze dir werden *lam*, Morolf 1150; in müezen *erlâmen die knûbel* (their nibblers, teeth?), Hpt 6, 492. Mod. 'may you turn sour.' Lith. kad tu *suruktum* (shrivel up). *Wâfen* über diu *ougen*, etc., woe to the eyes wherewith I saw thee, woe to the arms wherein I held thee, Ettm. Ortn. 7, 2; daz er immir *ubil jâr* muoze haben, Ksrchr. 6958, conf. malannus (p. 1160 end).—There is a curse beginning 'Als leit sî dir (so woe be to thee), Karajan, Teichn. 41; conf. 'Als unglück dich (= auf dich?) fliege, Kell. Erz. 244, 31: mîn sêle sî *ungeheilet*, Rab. 79; daz si sîn

ǵunëret (they be dishonoured), MS. 1, 194^a. ON. *vön sê su vættr vers ok barna*, Sæm. 214^b; *wan, waere er swerzer dan ein kol*, MS. 2, 100^b; *der werde z'einem steine* 1, 6^a; on the contrary 'Be born a man,' Somadeva 1, 7. 1, 81. *Vervluochet sî der tac, diu wîle* (day, hour), Mai 137, 38. 138, 1; *conf. vloecte die wîle*, Lanc. 12224-755. 16250; *sô hazz mich allez daz sî*, Helbl. 15, 677.

p. 1228.] (*Rutam serentes*) *prosequuntur etiam cum maledictis*, Pallad. Rutil. 4, 9. Women *boiling yarn* must keep *telling lies*, or it will not turn white.—A solemn adjuration is in Swed. *mana neder* (to charm down?), Runa '44, 60; M. Neth. *manen, bemanen*, Belg. mus. 2, 116-7. Finn. *manaan*, monere, adjurare; *manuus* exsecratio.

p. 1229.] With *helliránu* take the prop. name *Walarína*, Karajan 67, 16, and the *sepulcrorum violatriæ* mentioned after 'adultera' and 'malefica' in Lex Burgund. 34, 3. Grôa sings nine *galdra* to her son, and the *galdr* is called *fiölnytr*, Sæm. 97^b. Conversely the child talks with the mother at her grave, Rhesa dainos 22, and Svegder wakes his dead mother in the hill, DV. 1, 264. *Eulogics sung at the grave-mound* are also ment. in Hallbiörn p. 859. *Raising the dead* comes easy to christian saints, but it was more than Zeus could do: *τούτων ἐπὸδὸς οὐκ ἐποίησε*, Aesch. Eum. 649. '*Linguae defuncti dira carmina ligno insculpta supponere*' forces him to speak, Saxo Gr. ed. M. 38. The tongue sings aloud after the head is cut off, Ecke 239.

p. 1230.] *Wolvesdrüzzel's* and other magic is ascr. to Simon:

Bindet man ime die vnoze unde die hende,
 schiere lôsit er die gebende ;
diu slôz heizit er ûfgân (bids the locks open),
 nihein îsen mac vor im bestân.
 in hulzânen siulen (wooden posts)
 machet er die sêle,
 daz die linte waenent daz sie leben.
 alde ronen heizit er bern, etc. Kaiserchr. 2118.

Much the same is told of Oðinn, Yngl. saga c. 7.

p. 1230.] *Es regnet u. schneiet* alles von sacramenten u. *flûchen*, Albrecht's Fluch. ABC. 45. Men spoke contemptuously

of *aniles veteranarum fabulae*, Pertz 6, 452^b, and *altes wibes fluochen*, Ges. Abent. 3, 78.

p. 1231.] Kl. schr. 2, 1 seq. *Hera duoder* = AS. *hider* and *þider*, Hpt 9, 503^a. Wright 289^b. *Suma clúbódun umbi cunio-widi*; so three white maidens pick and pull at flowers and wreaths, Müllenh. p. 350. Freyr also sets free fr. bonds (Suppl. to 215). Grôa sings :

Þann gel ek inn fimta
 ef þer *fiöturr* verðr
 borinn at bôg-limum ;
 Leifnis elda læt ek þer
 fyr legg af kveðna,
 ok *stöckkr* þá *láss* af *limum*
 en af *fótum fiötur*. Sæm. 98^a.

Minne sô *bint* die minneclîche, oder aber mich *en-bint* (love bind her too, or unbind me), Keller's Rom-vart 651; conf. *beado-rûnan onbindan*, Beow. 996; 'to burst bolts and fetters,' St Louis 86, 7. 96, 2. Dietm. of Mersebg says: *legimus, quod unius captivi vincula, quem uxor sua putans mortuum assiduis procuravit exequiis, toties solverentur, quoties pro eo acceptabiles Deo Patri hostiae ab ea offerrentur, ut ipse ei post retulit, cum domum suam liber revisit*, Pertz 5, 740.—Side by side with bond-spells stand the *wound-blessings*: den *wunt-segen* man im sprach, St Louis 1531; conf. the *houpt-segen*, ougen-s., pferit-s. and *wunden-segen* in Hpt. 4, 577. By magic spell a *wound* is quickly healed, Holtzm. Ind. sag. 2, 176. The sword also receives blessing: *swertes segen*, Frauenlob p. 77; *segent* er im daz *swert*, Mai 83, 39; *segem dîn swert*, Altsw. 64.

p. 1234.] Kl. schr. 2, 1 seq.; to the passages there quoted p. 12, add: *ze holz varn*, Hpt 2, 539; *ze holze, ze walde varn*, Hahn's Stricker 9, 13. 10, 33. 11, 78; *vuor zi walde*, Diem. 110, 1; *dîn setzen ist noch niht ze holz* (thy stake is not yet lost), Fragm. 23^b. With the first line of the Spell, conf. *Petrus u. Paulus gingen to holt un to brok*, Lisch 9, 226. Balder's foal must be the horse that was burnt with him, Sn. 18.—One more spell for a lamed horse runs thus :

Jeg red mig (I rode) engang igjennem et led,
 saa fik min sorte fole vred (my black foal got hurt) ;

saa satte jeg kjöd mod kjöd, og blod mod blod,
saa blev min sorte fole god.

Floget (ON. *flog*, dolor acer) botas genom denna lösning: '*floget* och *flömdet* skall fly ur brusk och ben i stock och sten, i namn Fader,' etc. Då att upropas trenne gänger: '*trollet satt i berget*, hästen (horse) feck floget, spott i hand, slå i mun, bot i samma stund,' Rääf. Esthonian spells in Krentzwald and Neuss p. 97-8-9. 122-3. On the cure for dislocation in Lapland, see Castrén's *Reise* 153. Ernst Meier p. 516. We still say of a platitude, it wouldn't cure a lame jade. To the spell in Cato, add the formula '*mota et soluta*,' Grotefend's *Rud. Umbr.* 4, 13. A similar spell in Atharva-veda, 4, 12: 'Setting up art thou, setting up, setting the broken bone; set this one up, Arundhati! What in thee is injured, what is broken, thy Maker set it right again, *joint to joint*. Come marrow by marrow, and *joint by joint*; what is gone of thy flesh, and eke thy bone, shall grow; *marrow to marrow* be joined, *skin with skin* arise, blood arise on thy bone; whate'er was broken, set right, O Herb! Arise, walk, haste thee away, fair as a chariot runs on wheel, felloe and nave. Stand firmly upright! If it broke by falling in pit, or a stone being thrown have hit, together, as parts of a chariot, *fit limb to limb the Elf* (ribhu)!'

p. 1235.] Cod. Monac. lat. 536 sec. xii. has the spell altogether in narrative form: *Nesia* nociva perrexit vagando per diversas plateas, quaerens quem laedere posset; cui occurrit Dominus et dixit: '*Nesia*, quo vadis?' 'Vado ad famulum Dei N., ossa fricare, nervos medullare, carnes exsiccare.' Cui dixit Dominus: 'praecipio tibi in nomine Patris, etc., ut deseras famulum Dei, et *pergas in desertum locum*.' So in *colic of the head or belly*, the spell-speaking old woman grasps the painful part, presses it tightly together, and says 9 times: 'in the name of God, etc., *lady mother*, I seize thee, I squeeze thee, *do go to rest in thy chamber* where the Lord created thee,' N. Pr. prov. bl. 3, 472. In Masuria they say: 'Depart, *ye white folk* (biale ludzie, p. 1157) fr. this christened Gottlieb, out of his skin, his body, his blood, his veins, his joints and all his limbs. Far in the sea is a *great stone*, thither go, thither sail, there drink and there devour, by the might of God, etc.,' *ibid.* 3, 474. And for the *evil eye*:

'Dropped the dew from the sky, from the stone, on the earth. As that dew vanishes, has vanished, is blown away in air, so may *thrice nine enchantments vanish, perish in air and be blown away,*' *ibid.* 3, 475.

p. 1241.] *Wahs*, wax, is fr. *wahsan*, to grow, as *cera* fr. *crescere*; conf. 'Des genuhtsam *nam zuo*, als ein *teic* wol *erhaben*,' grew as a dough well risen, *Ges. Abent.* 2, 446. To 'bere *pâ turf tô cyrcean*' in the AS. *bôt* (p. 1237 beg.) corresp. the '*cespitum terrae super altare ponere*,' *Kemble* no. 177. The spells in it, and the laying of a broad loaf in the first furrow, are illustr. by *Pliny* 25. 4, 10: '*hac (radice panaces) evulsa, scrobem repleri vario genere frugum religio est ad terrae piammentum.*' *Bebelii Facetiae* p. 72: *supplicationes circum agros frugiferos fieri solitae.* As cakes were baked for Bealtine, so were 'Siblett cakes after wheat-sowing,' *Hone's Yrbk* 1596.—Old spells spoken at *flax-sowing* in *Schaumburg*, *Lynker* nos. 319, 320, in *Bavaria*, *Panzer* 2, 549—551, in *Thuringia*, *Meland. Jocos.* tom. 2 no. 503. The *Wallachians* *dance* to the hemp (pentru cinnib), the dancer *lifting* her arms as *high* as she can, that the hemp may grow high, *Schott* p. 302. At *Newyear's* midnight the *Esthonian* farmer throws a handful of each sort of grain on to the shelf, crying 'God grant the grain this year may grow *that high*,' *Possart's Estl.* 171.

p. 1242.] In *Stricker's* farce of the *Thieves*, *Sant Martin* professes to guard the oxen in the stall, *Hahn* pp. 22—27; and a blessing for swine says '*Johannes* videat illos, *Martinus* expascat,' *Hattemer* 1, 410^a. The 'Abraham's garden' in the herdsman's spell occurs elsewh. too: *durch den Abrahamschen garten*, *Orendel* 1240; *ez leit uns in Abrahames garten*, *MSH.* 3, 223^b. A *Finn.* song in *Kantel.* 1, no. 176 says, *Jesus* guards the flock. *Suutar* and *Etelü* (mother nature) watch the cattle, *Kalevala* (*Castrén* 2, 50).

p. 1242.] *Haltrich* found a *Germ. bee-spell* in the pasteboard cover of a book (no. 245 of *Schässburg* school library) entitled *Disput. de Deo*, etc. *Claudiopoli* 1570: *Maria* stund auf eim sehr hohen berg. sie sach einen suarm bienen kommen phliegen. sie hub auf ihre gebenedeyte hand, sie verbot in da zu hant, versprach im alle hilen u. die beim versloszen, sie sazt im dar ein *fus*, das *Zent Joseph* hat gemacht: 'in das solt ehr phliügen (into

this shall ye fly), u. sich seines lebens da genügen.' In nomine, etc. Amen.

p. 1243.] 'They made *willow-flutes* and *elder-pipes*,' Garg. 193^a; han *spelude barken* af all slags träd (could play the bark off any kind of tree), Arvidss. 2, 311; han *sp. b.* af hårdaste träd 2, 314; han *lekte barken* af björke, af boke-trü (birch, beech) 2, 317; gerath wol (turn out well), pfeifen-holz, *ich pfeif dir ja wol darzu, oder du wirst zum bolz*, Garg. 213^a; will das holz nit zu'n pfeifen geraten, *ich pfeif im dan wol*, so will ich singen, so gerat's zum bolz, *ibid.* Other rhymes for loosening bark in Woeste p. 20. Firmenich 1, 294. 352. 426. 442. 2, 102. Panzer 1, 269. Fiedler 97.

p. 1244.] What herb is *febrifuga*? for which Sumerl. 56, 58 gives *metere* (Suppl. to 1216 n., mid.); Gl. Sletst. 39, 405 febrifugia *matirna*; Dioscor. 3, 7 centaurium minus, multiradix, 3, 126 conyza, intybus; '*featherfowl*, the plant feverfew,' Barnes. —A spell like the AS. one, in which the disease is bidden withdraw, is in Serv. called *ustuk*, fr. *ustuknuti*, to retire; and the herb employed is likewise *ustuk*. Not only witches, but *rats* and *mice* are sung away, as by the famed rat-catcher of Hameln. In Ireland it is a gift of hereditary poets, Proc. of Ir. Acad. 5, 355—366.

p. 1245.] With the AS. idiom agrees the MLG.: *ic en-can den honger niet genesen*, Ver Ave in Belg. mus. 6, 414; conf. M. Neth. *ghenesen*, *ghenas*=sanare, Lanc. 1996. 8458. Maerl. 3, 190. 2, 111; but also=sanari, Maerl. 2, 156, was *genesen*=sanatus erat 2, 135.

p. 1247.] *Maren*, nightmares, Gefk. Beil. 151. *Bocks-mahrte*, spectre, Kuhn in Hpt 5, 490; *kletter-m.*, *drück-m.*, Sommer p. 46. Slovèn. *mora*, both mare and nightm., fr. *morim* (I throttle)? *kiki-mora*, nightm., Hanusch 333. In the eastern parts of Mittelmark, *murraue* means oppressive as nightmare, but also a being like the Harke or Holle of other places, that has tangled eyebrows, that mats the hair and knits up branches of fir trees, Hpt 4, 386. 5, 488. A *drom* of the *mère*=maar-zopf? Dint. 1, 439. *Mare-zitz*, -teat (Suppl. to 1222). Ir. *tromluidhe*, nightm., fr. *trom*=heavy.—Of 7 boys or 7 girls born in succession, one becomes a nightmare. Nightmares slip through a buckle-hole in your belt, and press you, Müllenl. p. 242-3-4;

dich hât *geriten* der mar, Ges. Abent. 3, 60. Where the maar has alighted on the corn, it turns black or full of cockles; the hop on which she has sat spoils, Wolf p. 689. On maar-spells, see Hpt 7, 537-8. Altogether like the Hennebg spell is one fr. Kuhland:

Olle wasser wote (wade),
 olle baemer blote (un-blade, disleaf),
 olle baege staige (mountains climb),
 olle kieche-speitze maide (spires avoid)! Meinert p. 44.

And they are found in other parts too, Leopr. 26. Panzer 1, 269. Kuhn p. 461.

p. 1248.] With the spell ‘Sprach jungfrau Hille: *blut stand stille!*’ conf. the adjuring of blood in Hpt 4, 391, and the frequent formula: *stant pluot fasto!* Kl. schr. 2, 29; *stand still, du wildes blut!* Mone 6, 469; *daz du verstandest, u. nit mê gangest* 7, 420; *dô verstuont daz bluot vil gar*, Walth. v. Rh. 138, 11; *verstellen*, to stanch, Mone 6, 460. 7, 420. In a spell for stanching blood, the history of iron is related, Kalev. rune 3 (nov. ed. 9). There is a plant named *bluot-stant*, Sumerl. 56, 66; a Thracian herb *ἰσχ-αιμος*, Welcker’s Kl. schr. 3, 29. Fris. ‘*blôd sketta,*’ protect, Richth. 236, 13.—In the names *Blut-stülpe*, *Blut-gülpe*, *stülpen* is to stanch, M. Neth. *stelpen*, Lanc. 3593. Part. 90, 15; *stelpte mans bloet*, Lanc. 42658, wonden *gestelpt* 44470; *thaz bluot iru firstulti*=se sisteret, O. iii. 14, 22; and *gülpe* resembles the Norse *Gylfi*. MHG. *daz bluot verstraeten*, Pantal. 228.

Sîne wunden si besach (she examined),
 ir *segen* si darüber sprach. Wigam. 5267.

‘Holy Tumbo bless this wound away’ (p. 528-9. Suppl. to 1231 end).—Fingerworm-spells, see Happel in Mannhdt’s Ztschr. 3, 2. E. Meier’s Sag. no. 464-5. A red, a white, and a black worm in Mone’s Ndr. lit. 337; white, black, grey and green in a Cod. Dresd. M. 21^a. ‘Christus in petra sedebat’ sounds like ‘Tumbo saz in berke,’ Kl. schr. 2, 29; Rother *ûf eime steine saz*, Roth. 442. [Pillicock sat on Pillicock’s hill, K. Lear].

‘God the Lord went over the land, there met him 70 sorts of *gouts* and *goutesses*. Then spake the Lord: Ye 70 *gouts* and

goutesses, whither would ye? Then spake the 70 g. and g. : We go over land, and take from men their health and limbs. Then spake the Lord : Ye shall go to an elder-bush, and break off all his boughs, and leave unto (naming the patient) his straight limbs. In the name, etc.'—Conf. 'flaugk blatter u. nicht zubrist, das gebeut dir herr Jesu Christ,' fly, pustule, and burst not, so bids thee, etc. (1597), Wolf's Ztschr. 1, 280.

p. 1248.] *Zeter und weide* liegen in streite, Hpt 4, 390 ; conf. 'die hünsche und der drache' (p. 1163).

p. 1249.] *Animals* are appealed to : 'I pray thee, swallow,' Schm. 3, 362 ; adjuro te, *mater aviorum* (p. 1242). One's own powers are summoned up : Finn. *nouse luontoni*, surge vis mea ! Renvall 1, 294^b. Again, there are particular *words* of great magic power : *berlicke, berlocke ! policke, polucke, podrei !* Fr. Arnim's Märch. no. 8 ; Fr. *brelique breloque ! berlik berloc*, Biondelli's Dial. 133 ; conf. Boh. *perljktudes*.

PREFACE.

p. xxiv.] The difference between the *Norse* and the *German* system of gods appears the more considerable, when we reflect that our Eru, Phol, Saxnot, Beowulf, Isis, Zisa and Sindgund were unknown to the North ; that in Germany thus far not a vestige is discoverable of Heimdall, Loki or Hoenir (Färö. Höner, not Høener) ; and that of Meili, the son of Oðinn and Fiörgyn, hardly anything is known but the bare name.—Thôrr was preëminently worshipped in Norway, Freyr in Sweden, Oðinn in Denmark (p. 160-1). Hâlogi, Thôrgerðr and Irpa seem to be local deities of Hâloga-land (F. Magnusen p. 981).

p. xxiv.] The result of a new religion coming in is *mixture* with the old, which never dies out entirely. The old faith then becomes a *superstition*, as Nilsson 6, 3 very clearly shews.

p. xxvi.] When the rage for the outlandish and satiety with the home-grown had passed away (*tanta mortalibus suarum rerum satietas, alienarumque aviditas*, Pliny 12. 17, 38), there set-in the equally unwarranted *historical and geographical* explanation of Myths, the study of whose inner sense is yet to seek.

Deified heroes and saints, genealogies beginning with a god for ancestor, mark the point where myth and history touch.

p. xxix.] *Wolfdietrich* has this other point of likeness to *Odysseus*, that he wears St George's shirt, as O. does the scarf of *Leucothea*. A further resemblance betw. the German mythology and the *Greek* comes to light in *Artemis* and *Hecate*, who remind us of *Berhta*; see the *Copenhagen Edda*, pref. xxvii. seq. The ideas of *Meleager* and *Norna-gestr* (p. 853 end), of *μεσογαία* and *middil-gard* (p. 794), of *ὄμφαλός* and the *dille-stein* (p. 806), of *Cerberus* and the *hell-hound* (p. 997), of *κηρύκειον* and the *wishing-rod* (976-7), and of *sieve-turning* (p. 1108) are closely allied; and *ἥλιος*, ON. *sól*, Goth. *sáuil*, coincide even verbally (p. 701 end). With *Roman* usage agree our *dislocation-spells* (p. 224-5) and *lustration of highways*, RA. p. 73. On the other hand, the *Zeus-Jupiter* is in other nations split up into *Wuotan*, *Donar* and *Zio*, or *Radegast*, *Perun* and *Svetovit*, or *Brahma* and *Vishnu*, or *Gwydion* and *Taranis*.

p. xxx.] *Celtic* influence on Germ. mythology is pointed out by *Leo* in *Malb. Gl.* 1, 39; from it *Nilsson* 6, 13-4 derives the *mistil-teinn* and *Baldrs-brand*, believing as he does that many parts of *Scandinavia* were once peopled by *Celts*. Their gods *Taranis*, *Hesus* and *Teutates* answer to *Jupiter*, *Mars* and *Mercury*, see *Stälin* 1, 111-2. 109. GDS. p. 120.

p. xxx.] To the old words common to the *Slavic* and *Teutonic*, add Goth. *gulþ*, OHG. *kold*, Sl. *zóloto*, *zláto*; Goth. *þaúrnum*, OHG. *dornu*, Sl. *trn*, *teórn*. The Sl. *Siva* = *Ceres* corresp. to ON. *Sif*, *Sitivrat* to *Saturn*, *Priya* to *Frowa* (p. 303), and *Prove* to *Frô*.

p. xxxiv.] The harmonies of *Indian* mythol. with ours may be largely added to. Thus the *Liliputian* floating on a leaf is similar to *Brahma* and *Vishnu* (p. 451), *bald-headed Oðinn* and his day of the week to *Buddha* (p. 129 n. *Iduna* 10, 231), *Vishnu's wheel* to *Krodo's* (p. 249), *Prithivî* to *Fria* (p. 303), *Yama* the death-god and his rope, the cow of creation, etc., to the corresp. German notions, *Garuda's wings* to our *wind* (p. 633), *madyamalôka* to *middilgard*. *Bopp* in *Gl.* 71^b says *Kâli* is akin (not indeed to *Halja*, but) to *hveila*, a while.

p. xxxviii.] Points of contact betw. *Paganism* and *Christianism*. On what is christian in the *Edda*, see *Copenh. Edda*,

pref. xxvi. seq., and consider the Last Judgment, the angel's trumpet like Heimdall's horn (p. 234), Surtr like 'death *the last enemy*,' 1 Cor. 15, 26. While the heathen often admitted foreign gods into the ranks of their own, and assimilated them, as the Greeks did sometimes to conciliate other nations; Christianity was exclusive, and hostile to all heathen gods. Yet even the Christian church, involuntarily or designedly, has adopted some heathen gods and practices. That saints of the Catholic church often receive divine homage, is acknowl. by Seb. Frank, *Zeitb.* 2, 243^a; conf. A. W. Schlegel's *Oeuvres* 1, 219. Kingston's *Lusit. sketches*, Lond. '45. The saints *heal* (p. 1163 end): the Servians call Kosman and Damian *vratshi*, soothsayers, physicians, Vuk's *Wtb.* 82; John the Baptist foretells to Aeda the splendour of the race that shall spring from her daughter Oda, *Pertz* 6, 307. The saints *make rain* (p. 174-5); as *water-saints* they bring succour in a storm (*Suppl. to 637*): nay, nuns in German legends often take the place of *white ladies*, and munkar in Sweden turn up as *jättar*, *Runa* '44, 13. The saints pacify God's anger:

Des mugen si in *stillen*,
 swâ er zornic ûf uns wirt. Pass. 312, 56.
 Mûeze sîn unser *vorspreche* (advocate),
 daz Got mit zorne iht reche (not wreak in wrath),
 swâ wir haben gesündet. Servat. 1705.

God's anger and that of the saints are estimated about equally in curses: 'habbe he Godes unmitl'tse and Sancti Martines!' *Kemble* 2, 4;

Des haben in Sant Geôrgen haz
 und Gotes vluoch umbe daz! Helbling 8, 915.

'Hilf Sanct Anna selb-dritt!' A. and the other two, *Aushelm* 3, 252.

Mary above all other saints received a heartfelt adoration, which, if not in the first centuries, yet very early, was promoted esp. by women, *Zappert* 16. *Epiphan. adv. hæres.* p. 1058 (ed. Paris, 1622). Like Hulda, she is called 'gudmoder,' *Asbjörns.* no. 8, and is a 'spiuister,' *Zapp.* 13. If in the legend of *Crescentia Peter*, like a second Woden, appears as an old man, con-

ducts the heroine back from the rock in the sea, and endows her with the gift of healing, or himself heals (KM. no. 81); in other legends Mary takes the place of Peter, and shows the empress a medicinal herb. Both Christ and Mary leave the print of their fingers and toes on the rock, like the giants (p. 546), or devils (p. 1022); conf. 'ons Heren spronc,' our Lord's leap, Maerl. 2, 116. The O.Norw. Gulapings-laug p. 6 speaks of 'signa til Krist pacca (thanks) oc Sancta Mariu til *års oc til friðar*,' exactly as was done to Freyr (p. 212). Mary helps in childbirth, bestows rain, appears among harvesters, kisses and dries them, Maerl. 2, 248. 285-6. She instead of the Dioscuri makes light shine on the masts (p. 1137 beg.); she or her mother St Anne carries people from distant lands through the air (Hist. de la Bastille 4, 315), as Oðinn did (p. 146, Hading), or the devil (p. 1028). They make two Virgin Marys visit each other, carrying the inferior one to the grander. Childless couples cry to St Verena, and she gives them heirs, Pertz 6, 458—460, like Oðinn and Frigg, Völs. saga c. 2; conf. the beginnings of many KM.

p. xliii.] The christian God merely sends his messengers upon earth, as in Gregor 2678: swenn dich unser Herre dîner sælden ermante, u. dir sînen boten sante, den soldest du enphâhen baz. But the heathen gods *came down* themselves: fôru at kanna heim allan, Sn. 135. (KM.³ 3, 146). Zeus, Hermes and Plutus appear in Lucian's Timon; conf. Aristoph. Lysistrata 808, Birds 1549; whenever 3 gods seek a lodging, Hermes is sure to be one, GDS. 123. Zeus coming as an unknown guest, a child is served up for him to eat, Fragm. hist. Gr. 1, 31. The Dioscuri also travel unrecognised among men, Preller 2, 72.—What the Lithuanians tell of Perkunos's (or the Saviour's) encounter with the horse and ox, the Esthonian legend relates of Jesus, Neus 435. Perkunos and Pikullos travel, and give gifts to men, Tettau and Temme's Ostpr. u. Litth. sagen p. 28. Also the horse, ox and dog put up at men's houses, and reward hospitality by giving their years, Babr. 74.

In such wanderings there keeps recurring the antique incident of the divine visitor granting *three wishes*. 'Theseus Hippolytum, cum *ter optandi a Neptuno patre habuisset potestatem*,' Cic. de Nat. D. 3, 31; het ich *drîer wûnsche gewalt*, MS. 2, 145; conf. KM. no. 87. Of this kind is the Breton fairytale of the

artful moustache, to whom Christ and Peter allow 3 wishes: he asks for a pretty wife, the winning card, and a sack in which to shut the devil up. When Peter denies him entrance into heaven, he flings his cap in, and so takes possession. Echoes of the player who wants to get into heaven, and is refused (p. 818 n.), are found in the *Warnung* 2710—2806; so brother Lustig and Jack the gamester wish to get into heaven, *KM.* no. 81-2. Lat. poem of *Ma.* p. 343, conf. the farce of the miller who sits on his sack behind the gate of heaven, *Altd.* bl. 1, 381. Gamester Jack's request for the tree from which no one can get down resembles a story in *Hone's Daybk* 1, 447. *Panzer* 1, 94; the casting of dice for the soul is also in *Cæs.* *Heisterb.* 5, 34. *Somm. sag.* 175-6. The incident of the thieving cook meets us in *Aviani Fab.* 30: *sed cum consumti dominus cor quaceret apri, impatiens fertur cor rapuisse coquus.*

Christ, being on a journey with Peter, pulls one ear out of a sheaf, and burns it at the candle; the grains keep spirting out till they form quite a heap. This happens in a barn, where lazy Peter has been cudgelled by a peasant; and he gets another backful of blows in the inn, because he will not play. Then the Lord made for these peasants boughs on their trees, whose hardness blunted their axes, as the request of a rude set of people for vines is also granted, but the wine is as good as their manners. In a farrier's shop Christ cuts a horse's foot off, shoes it, and puts it on the beast again. Peter will not stop to pick up half a horseshoe, but Christ does, and buys cherries with it, which Peter is glad to pick up one by one to quench his thirst. In the merry gest of the blind man whose wife sits up in the appletree, or the *LG.* poem in *Dasent* xxvi., Peter and the Lord act the part of Pluto and Proserpine in Chaucer's *Marchantes* tale, and of Oberon and Titania in Wieland's *Ges.* 6, 87. Again, Christ walks with two apostles and three disciples, and comes upon the girl carrying water, *Wend. volksl.* 2, 314. Peter catches the haddock, as the *Ases* do *Loki*, and he *Andvari*; conf. *Wolf's Ndr.* sag. p. 706, and his *Pref.* to *Zingerle* 2, xx. Peter comes from heaven to earth on leave, *II. Sachs* iii. 1, 240, also i. 94^b. St Peter sits on the roof, throwing pears down, and St Claus throws rotten apples up, *Garg.* 75^b. Of a like stamp are the folktales of St Jost and the Bavarian, *Renner* 24583, of St Nicolas and the

Bavarian, *Bebelii Facet.* p. m. 1136. The return of saints to heaven is thus descr. in the *Warnung* 1767 :

Die heiligen habent sich ûfgezogen (hoisted up),
von der kuppel (dome) sint si geflogen
ûf zuo ir Schepfaere.

Here also I must call attention to *Peter* and *Paul* coming to aid the Christians in battle, *Lohengr.* pp. 116—9. 158—160. Pref. lxxxi. Youths (or knights) clothed in white appear on the walls of Rhodes, to repel the Turks, *Detmar* 2, 417 (yr 1480). Angels too are called *wîges wîse* in *Hêlj.* 149, 10; they appear two at a time, and armed, p. 989. This shining pair of champions reminds us of the *Alci* (p. 366), and of the *Dioscuri* who on their white steeds help the fighters, *Cic. Nat. D.* 2, 2; conf. ed. *Creuzeri* p. 213-4. *Justin* 20, 3. *Florus* ed. *Jahn* 14, 14. *Suet. Nero* c. 1. *Klausen's Aeneas* 664-5. 707. *Maerl.* 3, 148. 174. The Galatians quail before the rider on the white horse, *Luc. Dial. mer.* 13; already in *Herod.* 8, 38 two armed and superhuman beings pursue and slay the foe.

p. xlvi.] The sky darkens when a villain is begotten or born, *Pertz* 2, 154; but nature rejoiced when *Georis* was begot, 261; conf. the *Alexander-legend* in *Maerl.* 1, 264. With *Frôdi's* blissful age conf. *O'Kearney's Gabhra* p. 104: 'They say the times were so prosperous and the produce of the earth so abundant, that when the kine lay down the grass reached above the top of the horns. Hence it is said that cows, whenever they lie, give utterance to three moans in remembrance of the good old times that once had been, and lamenting the hard days in which they live.' So we hear of a *Truce of God* under *Numa*, *Klaus. Aen.* 953, and under *Solomon*, *Diem.* p. 113-4. The lines fr. *Godfrey of Viterbo* are based on *Isai.* 2, 4: et conflagabant gladios suos in vomeres, et lances suas in falces, conf. *Passional* p. 17. *Jorn. de regn. succ.* p. 45. *Ksrchr.* 630.

p. xlviii.] The Germ. reverence for woman is also expr. in: *êre wol die muoter dîn*, *Pass.* 224, 25. In a *Serv.* song a daughter calls her mother '*bèla tzkvitze*,' white little church, *Vuk* 1, 17. no. 27.

p. xlix.] The good and evil of the New are hinted by *Paus.* i. 24, 4 in the words: ὄστις δὲ τὰ σὺν τέχνην πεποιημένα ἐπίπροσ-

θεν τίθεται τῶν ἐς ἀρχαιότητα ἡκόντων (become old-fashioned),
conf. Lessing 8, 246.

p. li.] Even God, Christ and the Holy Ghost came to be imagined as sitting in the wood, as the old gods had been, Pröhle's Märch. f. d. Jugend p. 17.

p. lii.] The descent of all gods from a God of gods is assumed even by Helmold 1, 83. In India Brahma, Vishnu, Siva are the *three* supreme gods; all the rest are under these; their trinity is designated by the sacred word *óm*=*aum*, Brahma being *a*, Vishnu *u*, Siva *m*, Bopp's Gl. 61^a. GDS. 122. Beside this trinitarian view, we find a dual conception of deity according to sex, as father and mother, or as brother and sister: thus arose Niördr and Nerthus, Freyr (Frô) and Freyja (Frouwa), Berhtolt and Berhta, Faírguneis and Fiörgyn, Geban and Gefjon, Hruodo and Hreda. With the Germ. sunne, masc. and fem., conf. Lunus and Luna, Liber and Libera, GDS. 122.—*Twelve* gods are reckoned by Athen. 5, 330 (conf. Plato's Phædr. 246-7), and by Apuleius p.m. 59; τῶν δώδεκα ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν ἀγάλματα, Paus. i. 40, 2; si undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Jupiter, Plaut. Epid. v. 1, 4; duodecim deis, v. 2, 3; twelve adityas, Bopp 30^a; tredecim dii exceptis Brahma, Vishnu et Siva, Bopp's Gl. 160; vâro *ellifo* aesir taldir, Sæm. 117^b; 12 ases, 8 asins, Sn. 79. In like manner, Hrôlf's 12 heroes, Sn. 152. Fornald. s. 1, 100, Kaleva's 12 sons, the devil's 12 disciples (Suppl. to 986 end).

p. lii.] The arguments with which the Fathers and authors like Arnobius combat the folly of heathenism in respect of gods, temples, images and sacrifices, would equally condemn a good deal in the Catholic doctrine. Even a worldly delight in spring, flowers and the song of birds is attacked almost as fiercely as polytheism; thus in the Warnung 2243:

Einer anbetet daz vogel-sanc	One man worships the bird's song
unt die liechten tage lanc,	and the days so light and long,
darzuo bluomen unde gras,	flowers also and the grass,
daz ie des vihes spise was:	aye the food of ox and ass:
<i>diu rinder vrezzent den got.</i>	bullocks munch your god!

conf. 2077 seq. 2382 seq. From the Dualism that pits Evil

against Good as a power, our paganism is free ; for our ancestors, like the Greeks, throw Evil on the shoulders of a few inferior deities, or let it come out in mere attributes of the gods.

APPENDIX.

- I.—ANGLO-SAXON GENEALOGIES.
- II.—SUPERSTITIONS.
- III.—SPELLS.

ANGLO-SAXON GENEALOGIES.¹

AUTHORITIES: *Bedu*, Hist. eccl. 1, 15. 2, 5. *Nennius* (Nyniaw), Hist. Britonum, comp. in 7th or 9th cent.? the MSS. are of the 10th; ed. Gunn, Lond. 1819, p. 61. *Saxon Chron.*, begun at latest in 9th cent., continued and extended; ed. Ingram, Lond. 1823, pp. 15. 23-4. 33-4. 72. 95. *Asserius Menevensis* (d. 906 or 910), Beginn. of his *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, Lond. 1722, pp. 3. 4. *Ethelwerdus* (d. 1090), in Savile, pp. 833-4. 842. *Florentius Wigornensis* (d. 1118), ed. Lond. 1592, pp. 218-9. 221. 232. 274. 294, and a collective prosapia p. 566. *Simeon Dunelmensis* (circ. 1129), in Twysden p. 119. *Alfredus Beverlacensis* (d. 1138), ed. Hearne, Oxon. 1716. *Ordericus Vitalis* (b. 1075, d. after 1140), in Duchesne's *Scr. Norm.* p. 639. *Wilelmus Malmesburiensis* (d. 1143), in Savile p. 17. *Ethelredus* or *Ailredus Rievallensis* (circ. 1150), in Twysden p. 350-1. *Henricus Huntindouensis* (ends 1154), in Savile pp. 310, 313—6. *Galfredus Monemutensis* (circ. 1160), in *Scr. Angl.*, Heidelb. 1587. *Radulfus de Diceto* (ends 1196), in Twysden p. 530. *Joannes Wallingford* (d. 1214), in Gale p. 535. *Albericus trium fontium* (ends 1241), in Leibn. *Acc. hist.* 1, 186. *Matthæus Westmonasteriensis* (14th cent.), *Francof.* 1601, pp. 99. 142. *Thomas Otterbourne* (ends 1420), in Hearne's *Scr. rer. Angl.*, Oxon. 1732; most of the names dreadfully corrupt. A confused and corrupt Geneal. from a MS. of Nennius, in Gale's *Appendix* p. 116. The collections in *D. Langhorn's Chron. reg. Angl.* 1679, 8 are not to be despised: some of the sources he drew from are now lost.²

The Anglo-Saxons, who left Germany for Britain in the 5-6th centuries, carried with them data of the descent of their noblest families. These all go back to *Woden*, and some of them a great deal higher, naming a whole series of gods or

[¹ Conf. J. Grimm 'On Kemble's Geneal. of Wessex,' Munich '36 (Kl. schr. 5, 240 seq.)—EHM., i.e. Prof. E. H. Meyer, Editor of Grimm's D.M. ed. 4.]

[² Conf. the Geneal. tables coll. in Pertz 10, 314.—EHM.]

deified heroes as Wôden's ancestors. After the conversion to Christianity, they tried to connect this line of kings and gods with the O.T. tradition of the earliest race of man. Such an attempt to bring their still cherished heathen forefathers into harmony with the Noah and Adam of Holy Writ can only have been made very early, immediately after their adhesion to the new doctrine, at a time when the mind, convinced of the truth of the Bible story, was yet loth to part with its native tradition. As a church was often reared on the site of the heathen temple, as christian and heathen ceremonies were fused together somehow, and to fortify the new faith the débris of the old soil was thrown in ; so a simple-minded people might be allowed to retain genealogies interwoven with its past glory, and give them as it were a new groundwork. Later on, such a combination of irreconcilable facts would neither have been attempted nor thought necessary.

Beyond all doubt these pedigrees were pre-christian, were known to Angles and Saxons in their old home, and therefore must have been equally diffused among other German nations on the Continent : every part of them shows connexion with national names and old heathen poetry. I am inclined to credit the Frisians, Westphals, and also Franks with possessing similar genealogies, though the emigrant Anglo-Saxons alone have preserved them for us.

Our earliest authority for these pedigrees is Beda [d. 735], and he only mentions that of Kent, yet in such a way that we may safely suppose he knew them all. Succeeding centuries furnish fuller accounts.

These lists of names can have no chronological value as regards the oldest times ; it is only in giving the lines of A.S. kings that they become historical. But that detracts nothing from the importance of the legend.

We know that the Anglo-Saxons formed 7 or 8 distinct kingdoms, founded on a pre-existing diversity in the immigrant tribes, and thus answering exactly to the difference of their genealogies. The Saxon Chronicle says the Jutes occupied Kent and Wight, the Saxons Essex, Sussex and Wessex, the Angles Eastangle, Mercia and Northumberland. Of Wessex, the state that soon overtopped and finally swallowed up the rest,

the genealogy is the most fully preserved. Those of Kent, Mercia, Deira (Brit. Deifyr) and Bernicia (Brit. Bryneich, Northumbria) are also handed down in old documents. Less genuine, or not so well accredited in certain names, appear the lines of Eastangle, Essex and Lindesfarn-ey.

It is convenient to divide these genealogies in two halves, a *Descending series* and an *Ascending*. At Wôden's sons they begin to split, in him they all unite. I will take first the several lines that descend from Wôden, and then deal with the older stock, which is the same for all. Here I bring under one view—

WÔDEN'S POSTERITY.

KENT.	EASTANGLIA.	ESSEX.	MERCIA.
Wôden	Wôden	Wôden	Wôden
Wecta	Câserc	Saxneát	Wihltæg
Witta	Titmon	Gesecg	Wærmund
Wihtgils	Trigel	Andsecg	Offa
Hengest (d. 489)	Hrôthmund	Sweppa	Angeltheow
Eoric (Oesc)	Hrippa	Sigefugel	Eomær
Octa	Quichelm	Bedeca	Icel
Eormenric	Uffa	Offa	Cnebba
Æthelbeorht (567)	Tidel	Æscwine (527)	Cynewald
	Rædwald (d. 617)	Sledda	Creoda
	Eorpwald (632)	Sæbeorht (604)	Wibba
			Penda (d. 656)
DEIRA.	BERNICIA.	WESSEX.	LINDEFARAN.
Wôden	Wôden	Wôden	Wôden
Wægdæg	Bældæg	Bældæg	Winta
Sigegâr	Brand	Brand	Cretta
Swæfdæg	Beonoc	Fridhogâr	Queldgils
Sigegeát	Aloc	Freáwine	Ceadbed
Sæbald	Angenwit	Wig	Bubba
Sæfugel	Ingwi	Gewis	Bedeca
Westerfalcna	Esa	Esla	Biscop
Wilgisl	Eoppa	Elesa	Eanferth
Uscfreá	Ida (d. 560)	Cerdic (d. 534)	Eatta
Yffe		Cynric	Ealdfrith
Ælle (d. 588)		Ceawlin ¹	

[¹ Succeeded by the brothers Ceolric, Ceolwulf, Cynegils, Cwichelm, Lappenn. 1, 154-6.—EHM.]

I begin with the general remark, that *seven* sons are here ascribed to Wôden (for Bernicia and Wessex keep together till the third generation). But some chroniclers give him only *three*; thus William of Malmesbury, speaking of the Mercian line, says p. 17: *possem hoc loco istius (Idae) et aliorum alibi lineam seriatim intexere, nisi quod ipsa vocabula, barbarum quiddam stridentia, minus quam vellem delectationis lecturis infunderent. Illud tamen non immerito notandum, quod, cum Wodenio fuerint tres filii, Weldegius, Withlegius et Beldegius, de primo reges Cantuaritarum, de secundo reges Merciorum, et de tertio reges Westsaxonum et Northanimbrorum originem traxerunt.*'

Let us now examine the eight lines one by one.

KENT, the oldest kingdom, founded by the first invaders.—Beda 1, 15: 'duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres *Hengistus* et *Horsus*, erant autem filii *Vetgisi*, cujus pater *Vecta*, cujus pater *Voden*, de cujus stirpe multarum provinciarum regium genus originem duxit.'¹ Acc. to that, Hengest and Horsa would be only great-grandsons of Wôden, but one MS. supplies a missing link: 'filii *Victgisi*, cujus pater *Victa*, c. p. *Vecta*, c. p. *Voden*,' who is thus great-great-grandfather to those brothers. Herewith agree both Nennius: 'interea tres ceolae a Germania in exilium expulsae Britanniam advenerunt, in quibus dominabantur *Hors* et *Henegest*, qui et ipsi fratres erant filii *Guictglis*, *Guictlis* filius *Guicta*, *Guicta* filius *Guechta*, *Guechta* filius *Vuoden*; and the Saxon Chron. p. 15: '*Hengest* and *Horsa* that wæron *Wihtgilses suna*, *Wihtgils* wæs *Witting*, *Witta* *Wecting*, *Wecta* *Wôdning*, fram tham *Wôdne* âwôc eall ðre cynecynn, and *Sûdhanhymbra eác*.' In Ethelwerd the 3 links betw. Wothen and Hengest are *Withar*, *Wicta*, *Wyrhtels*; in Florence of Worc. 566, '*Vecta* sive *Wehta*, *Witta*, *Wihtgisilus*'; in Henry of Hunt. *Vecta*, *Wicta*, *Widgils*.

Hengest had a son *Eoric*, surnamed *Oisc* (Oesc), after whom all succeeding kings of Kent were called *Oiscingas*; after Oisc came *Octa*, *Irminric*, *Ethelbert*, Beda 2, 5. Oisc is called *Aesc* in Sax. Chron. and Ethelwerd. Florence has: '*Hengistus*, *Oricus*

¹ So in AS.: 'wæron thâ ærest heora lâtteowas and heretogan twegen gebrôthra *Hengist* and *Horsa*, hi wæron *Wihtgilses suna*, thæs fæder wæs *Wihta* hâten, and thæs Wihtan fæder wæs *Wôden* nemned, of thæs strynde monigra mægðha eýning-cynn fruman lædde.'

cognomine *Aesca, Octa, Irmenricus, Aethelbertus.*—The names *Hengest* and *Horsa* are taken from the horse; one might also suspect in *Wictgisl, Wicta, Wecta* the presence of *wieg*, OS. *wigg*, ON. *vigg* (equus), conf. Lat. *vehere*. The ON. *Veg-tamr* (way-tame, much travelled), as *Oðinn* once called himself, stands apart, though an old king *Wechtam* occurs in *Hunibald*. The *Wegdam* in *Otterbourne* p. 32 is accus. of *Wegda*. *Will. Malmesb.* p. 17 calls the head of the Kentish line *Weldegius*, prob. a corruption of *Weddeg*. The 'Traveller's Song, line 43, brings up a *Witta*, king of the *Swæfas* (Swabians); could this name serve to explain the obscure *wittu* in our *Hildebrand-lied*?

EASTANGLIA.—In *Florence* 566 (conf. 233): '*Woden, Casera, Titmon, Trigilsus, Rothmundus, Hrippus, Wihelmus, Vffa* sive *Wffa*, primus rex Orientalium Anglorum,' and 3 kings after him, *Titellus, Redwaldus, Eorpwaldus*. In *Gale's Appendix*: *Woden* genuit *Casser*, genuit *Titinon*, g. *Trigil*, g. *Rodnum*, g. *Kippan*, g. *Guithelm*, (g.) *Guechan*, ipse primus regnavit in *Britannia* super gentem *Eastanglorum*, *Gueca* g. *Guffan*, g. *Tidil*, g. *Eeni*, g. *Edric*, g. *Aldulph*, g. *Elric*; elsewh. from a differ. MS.: *Woden, Casser, Titinon, Trigil, Rodmunt, Rippan, Guillem, Guecha, Guffa, Tidil, Eeni*. In *Langhorn*: *Caseras, Tilmon, Trigisilus, Rothimundus, Hirpus, Quicelmus, Vffa*.¹ Of this *Uffa*, *Henry of Hunt.* 315: '*hoc regnum primus tenuit Vffa*, a quo reges *Orientalium Anglorum* *Vffingos* appellant, quod postea *Titulus* (al. *Titilus*) filius ejus tenuit, pater *Redwaldi* fortissimi regis *Eastangle*'; and *John Bromton's Chron.* ('*Twysden* p. 745): '*regnum Eastangliae inceptit ab Vffa rege, cui successit rex Ticulus*; isti duo non fuerunt multum potentes, quibus successit potentior aliis rex *Redwaldus*; *Redwaldo* vero defuncto, filius suus *Erpwaldus* in regno *Eastangliae* successit.' Of all these, *Beda* mentions only *Redwald* (yr. 616).² The *Sax. Chron.* p. 35 relates the baptism of *Eorpwald* in 632; speaks of his father *Reodwald* p. 32, yr. 617, or (more correctly) *Rædwald* p. 88, as one of the mightiest of AS. monarchs. So *Will. Malmesb.* p. 34: *Redwaldus*, primus idem que maximus apud *Orientalis Anglos*, a *Vodenio*, ut scribunt, decimum genu nactus (l. natus).'

¹ *Otterbourne* has only: '*Woden* genuit *Casere*, a quo regnum *Estanglorum* progrediens derivatur.'

² *Beda* 2, 15 (*Stevenson* 140, 21) does name four: *Eorpwald, Redwald, Tytilus, Vuffa*.—EHM.]

The older names seem good Saxon. *Hrippa*, *Hrippus* answers to *Hripo* in Falke's *Trad. Corb.* 7. 104-7. 312 and OHG. *Hriffō* in *Meichelb.* 430. *Rothmund* for *Hrôthmund*? a name that occurs in *Beow.* 2378. *Titmon* resembles *Tiadman* in Falke 114. *Trigil* may be the OHG. *Drëgil*, *Wolfdreëgil*, *Wolfdrigil*? though in that case we should expect *Thrigel*.¹ *Tidil* is appar. the *Tudil* of Falke 37 [and *Tital* in *Schannat* no. 426.—E.H.M.]. *Uffa* is the OS. *Uffo*, and prob. the same as the *Offas* of *Essex* and *Mercia*, for the *Trav. Song.* 69 says '*Offa* weold *Ongle*,' governed *Anglia*. *Eorþ* in *Eorþwald* is the OS. *Erp*, OHG. *Erpf*, conf. ON. *iarþr* = *fuscus*. *Cwichehm* is a good AS. name (*Sax. Chr.* 27. 30), of which *Wihelm*, *Guillem* are corruptions.

The *Casera*,² *Caseras* or *Casser* named as *Wôden*'s son is the same whom the *Trav. Song* celebrates as ruler of the Greeks, l. 39: '*Câsere* weold *Creacum*,'; and l. 151: '*mid* *Creacum* ic wæs and *mid* *Finum*,² and *mid* *Câsere*, se the winburga gewæld âhte, *wiolane* (= *welena*) and *wilna*, and *Wala rîces*,' who wielded winsome burghs, wealth, what heart can wish, and Welsh dominion. Here Saxon legend has turned the Latin *Caesar* into *Câsere*, and linked him to native kings, perh. in deference to that early opinion of *Wôden*'s having come from *Greekland* (p. 163 n.). Among Saxons and Angles of the 5-6th centuries there was prob. many a legend afloat about an old king *Kêsor*.

ESSEX.—Acc. to *Florence*: *Woden*, *Eaxneta*, *Gesecg*, *Antsecg*, *Sueppa*, *Sigefugel*, *Bedca*, *Offa*, *Aeswinus*, *Sledda*, *Sebertus*; for *Eaxneta* some MSS. have the truer form *Seaxnete*. *Henry of Hunt.* 313: *Saxnat*, *Andesc*, *Gesac*, *Spoewe*, *Sigewlf*, *Biedca*, *Offa*, *Erchenwin*, *Slede*, *Sibriet* (al. *Siberet*). *Matth. Westm.* p. 99: *Erkenwinus*, qui fuit filius *Offae*, q. f. *Bredecani*, q. f. *Sigewlf*, q. f. *Spetuae*, q. f. *Gesac*, q. f. *Andessc*, q. f. *Saxuad*, q. f. *Woden*. *Langhorn*: *Saxoneta*, *Gesacus*, *Andescus*, *Sueppa*, *Sigefugelus*, *Bedicanus*, *Ercenwinus*. *Alvredus Beverl.*: *Woden*, *Seaxeca*, *Gesecg*, *Andseng*, *Snoppa*, *Sigelugel*, *Becta*, *Osse*, *Eswine*, *Siedda*, *Sabertus*.²

Of these, *Aescwine* (*Ercenwine*) is named as the first king of *Essex*, *Sæbert* (*Sigebert*) as the first to adopt *Christianity* in 604

¹ *Cursor*, minister? conf. *Gothic thragjan*, *currere*, and in OHG. glosses *trikil*, *drikil* (*verna*), prob. the ON. *thrael*, *thrall*.

² *Otterbourne* says little, and that beside the mark: '*Woden* genuit *Watelgeat*, a quo regum *Essexiae* prosapia sumpsit originem'; conf. *Mercia*.

(Sax. Chr. 29). Then the name of Wôden's son is very remarkable: *Seawneát*, evid. the *Sarnót* named with Thunar and Wnodan in the Abrenuntiatio; in OHG. it would be *Sahs-nôz*, *Sahs-kinôz*.¹ *Geserg* and *Andsecg* seem to be related in meaning; *Bedera* answers to the OHG. *Patuhho*; *Sweppa* is Saxon.

MERCIA.—The Sax. Chr. p. 33-4: *Penda* wæs *Wybbing*, *Wybba* Crýðing, *Crýða* Cynewalding, *Cynewald* Cnebbing, *Cnebbu* Iceling, *Icel* Eomæring, *Eomar* Angeltheowing, *Angeltheow* Offing, *Offa* Wærmunding, *Wærmund* Wihtlæging, *Wihtlæg* Wôdening. At p. 72 the line is begun differently, and carried up to another son of *Wybba*: *Offa* wæs *Dhincferthing*, *Dhincferth* Eauwulfing, *Eauwulf* Osmôding, *Osmól* Eawing, *Eawa* *Wybbing*, *Wybba* Creoding, *Creoda* Cynewalding, and so on up to Wôden. In Florence 566: *Woden*, *Withelgeatus*, *Waga*, *Wihlægas*, *Wermundus*, *Offa*, *Angengeatus*, *Eomerus*, *Icelius*, *Cnebbu*, *Cunewaldus*, *Creoda* sive *Crida* primus rex Merciorum, *Wibba*; p. 232, with slight variations: *Penda*, qui fuit *Wibbae*, q. f. *Cridae*, q. f. *Cunewaldi*, q. f. *Cnebbae*, q. f. *Icelii*, q. f. *Eomeri*, q. f. *Angengeati*, q. f. *Offæ*, q. f. *Weromundi*, q. f. *Wihlægi*, q. f. *Wagae*, q. f. *Wothelgeati*, q. f. *Wodeni*. In the App. to Nennius (Gale 116): *Woden* genuit *Guedolgeat*, genuit *Gueagon*, g. *Guithlig*, g. *Guerdmund*, g. *Ossa*, g. *Origon*, g. *Eamer*, g. *Pubba*; ipse *Pubba* habuit ix filios, quorum duo mihi notiores sunt quam alii, id est, *Penda* et *Eauu*. In Ralph de Diceto p. 446: *Offa* fuit filius *Wingferd*, filii *Canwolf*, f. *Osmod*, f. *Epa*, f. *Wibba*, f. *Creoda*, f. *Cynewald*, f. *Cnibba*, f. *Yeil*, f. *Com*, f. *Angelreu*, f. *Offa*, f. *Wermund*, f. *Witlat*, f. *Woden*. In Matth. Westm. p. 142: erat enim *Offa* filius *Thinferthi*, q. f. *Eadulfi*, q. f. *Osulfi*, q. f. *Eoppae*, q. f. *Wibbae*, q. f. *Creoddae*, q. f. *Kinewoldi*, q. f. *Cnebbae*, q. f. *Ithel*, q. f. *Eomeri*, q. f. *Angelthean*, q. f. *Offæ*, q. f. *Wermundi*, q. f. *Withleig*, q. f. *Wagon*, q. f. *Frethegeath*, q. f. *Wodeni*. In Otterbourne p. 31: *Woden* genuit *Feothulgeath*, qui genuit *Vaga*, q. g. *Wichebeg*, q. g. *Vermundum*, q. g. *Offa*, q. g. *Engeltheon*, q. g. *Edomerum*, q. g. *Icel*, q. g. *Cuibban*, q. g. *Kynewaldum*, q. g. *Cridiam*, q. g. *Bilbam*, q. g. *Pendam* primum regem Merciorum. Langhorn seems to draw from Florence: *Vitelgeta*, *Vaga*, *Vitlegius*, *Veremundus*, *Offa* al. *Uffa*, *Angongeta*, *Eumerus*, *Icelius*, *Cnebbu*, *Cunewaldus*, *Crida*.

¹ Conf. the Götting. Anzeig. '28, p. 550.

Langhorn, Florence, Matthew and Gale's App. insert betw. Wôden and Wihtlæg two names that are wanting in Ralph and the Chron., *Wihtelgeát* (Frethegeat) and *Waga* (Gueagon). As Florence puts Angen-geát for Angel-theow, his *Vithelgeát* might elsewh. have been Vithel-theow, but Gale too has *Guedol-geat*.¹ Angen (Gale's 'Origon' is a misreading of Ongon) is unexceptionable, and Angentheow answers to the OHG. name *Angandio*, perh. to ON. *Angantýr*, which may be a corrup. of *Anganthýr*; the pure AS. form is *Ongentheow*, Beow. 3931. 4770. 4945-67, conf. *Incgentheow*, Trav. Song 232. *Offa* (miscopied *Ossa*), which occurs twice in the Mercian line, is likewise found in Beow. 3895. 3910. *Wihtlæg* seems faultless, Will. Malmesb. p. 17 has *Withlegius*, and even *Guithlig* in Gale confirms the short æ or e. Yet Ralph's *Witlat* agrees better with the ON. *Vigletus* in Saxo Gram. 59; and it is a point of importance to our whole inquiry, that the series *Vigletus*, *Vermundus*, *Uffo* of the Dan. genealogy (Saxo Gr. 59—65)² is so evid. the same as the Mercian. For Gale's 'Pubba' (AS. þ for p) read *Wubba*, *Wibba* = OHG. *Wippo*.³

DEIRA.—Sax. Chr. p. 24: *Ælle* wæs Yffing, *Yffe* Uscfreá-ing, *Uscfreá* Wilgising, *Wilgisl* Westerfalning, *Westerfalna* Sæfugling, *Sæfugl* Sæbalding, *Sæbald* Sigegeáting, *Sigegeát* Swæfdæging, *Swæfdæg* Sigegâring, *Sigegâr* Wægdæging, *Wægdæg* Wôdening, *Wôden* Fridhowulfing. Florence p. 221: *Ælla* fuit filius *Iffi*, cujus pater *Wnscfrea*, c. p. *Wilgelsus*, c. p. *Westorwalena*, c. p. *Seomelus*, c. p. *Suearta*, c. p. *Sæpugelus*, c. p. *Seabaldus*, c. p. *Siggeotus*, c. p. *Suebdegus*, c. p. *Siggarus*, c. p. *Weadegus*, c. p. *Wodenus*; and p. 566 with a few variations: *Wodenus*, *Weadegus*, *Siggarus*, *Suebdegus*, *Siggeotus*, *Seabaldus*, *Sæfugelus*, *Sueartha*, *Seomelus*, *Westerwalena*, *Wilgelsus*, *Wnscfrea*, *Iffus* dux, *Ælla* primus rex Deirorum. Otterbourne p. 32: *Woden* genuit *Wegdam*, qui genuit *Sigegarum*, q. g. *Swealdegem*, q. g. *Sigegeat*, q. g. *Etabalem*, q. g. *Stafugel*, q. g. *Westerfulducue*, q. g. *Wigilis*, q. g. *Ustfrea*, q. g. *Uffe*, q. g. *Ella* primum regem Sussex.⁴

¹ May we connect *Wedelgeát*, *Widhelgeát* with the national name *Wedergeátas*, Beow. 2984. 3224. 4753?

² The *Genealogia runica* in Langebek i. 32 has *Vithlek*, *Vermund*, *Uffi*; that at i. 27 gives *Vithlef*, *Vermund*, *Uffi*.

[³ On the line of Mercia, to which Offa II (757) belongs, see Lappenb. 1, 222; conf. the two Offas above (p. 388) —E.H.M.]

⁴ Some other writers also call the Deira genealogy the Sussex; yet Sussex lies some distance from Yorkshire.

Langhorn: *Vegdegus, Sigarus, Sæbdegus, Siggotus, Sebaldus, Sefugelus, Suarta, Somelus, Vestrofulenas, Vilgisilus, Buscreus, Iffius, Alla*. Gale's App. mixes up the Deira line with the Wessex: *Woden, Beldeyg, Brond, Siggar, Sibuld, Zegulfh, Soemil, Sguerthing, Guilgils, Ulfreu, Iffi, Ulli*.

As the Kentish borrowed some names from horses, so does this from birds, *Sæ-fugel* and *Wester-falena*, whom the Chronicle makes father and son, but between whom the other lists insert two more links, Seomel and Swearta (or Swearta and Seomel). There is also a *Sige-fugel* (al. Sigewulf) in the Essex lineage. I doubt whether *Sea-fola* in the Trav. Song 230 can have anything to do with this.—The mythic *Westerfulena* has perhaps a right to be regarded as ancestor of the Westphals, for the old form of that national name was *Westfulah*, and we know of a hero in the Wessex line who did give name to a branch of the nation. *Sæ-fugel* and *Sæ-bald* have their first syllable in common. *Swæfdæg* resembles the ON. *Svipdugr*, Sæm. 111 [Hrôlfkr. sag. c. 18—23], *Scibdugerus*, Saxo Gr. 9, though the *f* and *p* are at variance; and it is worth noting that his grandfather too is *Wæg-dæg*, and the head of the Wessex line *Bæl-dæg*. The relation of *Wæg-dæg* to the Kentish *Wecta* I shall discuss by and by in elucidating the Norse genealogy.

BERNICIA or Northumberland has its first two descendants of Wôden in common with Wessex.—Sax. Chr. p. 23 (yr. 547): 'her *Ida* feng tô rîce, thonon Nordhanhymbra cynceyn ærost onwôc. *Ida* wæs Eopping, *Eoppa*, Esing, *Esa* Inguing, *Inqui* Angenwiting, *Angenwit* Alocing, *Aloc* Beonoeing, *Beonoc* Branding, *Brand* Bældægging, *Bældæg* Wôdening.' Florence 218: *Ida* fuit filius *Eoppae*, qui fuit *Inqui*, q. f. *Angenwit*, q. f. *Aloc*, q. f. *Beonoc*, q. f. *Brandi*, q. f. *Beallegi*, q. f. *Wodeni*; but with variations and additions in the prosapia p. 566: *Bealdeagus*, *Brandius*, *Beornus* (for *Benocus*?), *Beorno*, *Wegbrandus*, *Ingebrandus*, *Alusa*, *Angengeat*, *Ingengeat*, *Aethelbrihtus*, *Oesa*, *Eoppa*, *Ida* primus rex Berniciorum. Otterbourne: *Woden*, *Belder*, *Brond*, *Benoc*, *Aloc*, *Agmintus*, *Inginus*, *Ensa*, *Ropa*, *Ida*. Langhorn: *Beldegus*, *Brando*, *Benocus*, *Beorna*, *Vegbrandus*, *Ingebrandus*, *Alocus*, *Angongeta*, *Ingongeta*, *Aethelbertus*, *Esa*, *Eoppa*, *Ida*. Bertram's ed. of Nennius gives in an appendix: *Woden* genuit *Beldeg*, g. [*Brand*, g.] *Beornec* [g. *Beorno*], g. *Gethbrond* [g.

Ingebrandus], g. *Aluson*, g. *Inguet*, g. [*Ingengeat*, g.] *Edibrith*, g. *Ossa*, g. *Eobba*, g. *Ida*.—Of these names, *Esa* seems to me akin to *ô*s, pl. *ê*s (deus divus), and *Ingui* is the ON. *Ingrî*, conf. *Ingunar freyr* and *Beow.* 2638 *freá Ingwina*, 2081 *eodor Ingwina*.

WESSEX.—Sax. Chr. p. 24: *Cerdic* wæs *Cynric*'s fæder, *Cerdic* Elesing, *Elesa* Esling, *Esla* Gewising, *Gewis* Wiging, *Wig* Freáwining, *Freáwine* Fridhogáring, *Fridhogár* Branding, *Brand* Bældæging, *Bældæg* Wôdening; the same at p. 95, except the spelling of *Fridhugár* and *Brond*, and the insertion of *Creoda* between *Cerdic* and *Cynric*. The same pedigree stands in an AS. document printed at the beginning of the AS. *Beda* of 1643, p. 5, and in *Spelman's Vita Alfredi* 1678, p. 199, except that the latter has *Winging* for *Wiging*, and both have the words 'Elesa Esling, Esla Gewising' on the margin, not in the text. Asser: *Cynric*, qui fuit *Creoda*, q. f. *Cerdic*, q. f. *Elesa*, [q. f. *Esla*], q. f. *Gewis*, a quo Britones totam illam gentem *Gegwis* nominant, [q. f. *Wig*, q. f. *Fraewine*, q. f. *Freothegar*], q. f. *Brond*, q. f. *Belde*, q. f. *Woden*; the sentences in brackets are apparently taken from *Florence*, and wanting in the MS. *Ethelwerd* p. 842: *Cynric*, *Cerdic*, *Elesa*, *Esla*, *Gewis*, *Wig*, *Freawine*, *Frithogar*, *Brond*, *Balder*, *Wothen*. *Florence* 219: *Cerdicius*, qui fuit *Eslae*, q. f. *Gewisii*, q. f. *Wigae*, q. f. *Freawini*, q. f. *Frethegarii*, q. f. *Brandii*, q. f. *Bealdigi*, q. f. *Wodeni*; again at p. 566: *Bealdeagus*, *Brandius*, *Freodegarius*, *Friawinus*, *Wigga*, *Gewisius*, *Esla*, *Elisius*, *Cerdicius* primus rex Westsaxonum, *Kenricus*. *Simeon of Durh.* 119: *Cinric*, q. f. *Creoda*, q. f. *Cerdic*, q. f. *Elesa*, q. f. *Gewis*, a quo Britones totam illam gentem *Gewis* nominant, q. f. *Brand*, q. f. *Belde*, q. f. *Woden* [same as in Asser]. *Will. Malmesb.* p. 41: *Woden*, *Beldegius*, *Brond*, *Fridegarius*, *Frewinus*, *Wigius*, *Givius*, *Eslius*, *Elicius*, *Cerdicius*, *Creodingius*, *Cinricius*. *Ethelred Rieval.* p. 350: *Woden*, *Bealdæg*, *Brand*, *Freodgar*, *Frewine*, *Wig*, *Gewis*, *Eda*, *Elesa*, *Ceordic*, *Creoda*, *Chenric*. *Otterbourne*: *Woden*, *Bealdeath*, *Brond*, *Frectegar*, *Freawinus*, *Wicca*, *Gewisse*, *Esla*, *Flesa*, *Ceredic*. *Langhorn*: *Beldegus*, *Brando*, *Fredegarus*, *Frevinus*, *Vigga*, *Geviscus*, *Esla*, *Elisius*, *Cerdicus*.

In this series of Westsaxon names, the chief stress is to be laid on Wôden's son *Bældæg* (*Beldeg*, *Beldig*, *Belde* in Asser and those who follow him, *Balder* in *Ethelwerd*), evid. the Norse *Baldur* son of *Odin*; *Freá-wine* too resembles the ON. *Freys*

vinr, still more *Frowinus* in Saxo Gr. pp. 59, 60; *Esla*, like the Northumbrian *Esa*, may come from *ôs, ês*. *Gewis* must have been a distinguished hero and sovereign, for a whole race to be named after him; even *Beda* mentions the fact, where he says of *Cynegils*, a successor of *Cerdic*, 3, 7: eo tempore gens Occidentaliū Saxonū, quæ antiquitus *Gevisse* vocabantur, regnante *Cynegilso* fidem Christi suscepit (yr 635); and again of *Bp. Byrinus*: sed Britanniam perveniens, ac primum *Gevissorum* gentem ingrediens, cum omnes ibidem paganissimos inveniret, etc.

LINDESFARAN.—These were a separate race, who had settled in a small island off the Northumbrian coast, and named it after them *Lindesfarena-cá* (*Beda*, 3, 17. 4, 12. Sax. Chr. ann. 780. 793), otherw. *Hálig eáland*, now Holy Island. I find their genealogy in *Flor.* 566: *Woden, Winta, Cretta, Quelpgilfus, Ceadbed, Bubba, Beda, Eanferthus*; another edition more correctly makes the fourth name *Queldgils*, the fifth *Caedbaed*, and adds *Biscop* after *Beda*, *Eatta* and *Ealdfrith* after *Eanferth*. *Bubba's* successor was prob. called *Bedeca* or *Baduca* (like one of the *Essex* line), for *Eddii vita S. Wilfridi* cap. 3 (*Gale* p. 45) relates of the Kentish king *Erconbert* (d. 664): Rex secundum petitionem reginæ, ducem nobilem et admirabilis ingenii quemdam *Biscop Baducing* inveniens ad sedem apostolicam properantem, ut in suo comitatu esset adquaesivit. *Biscop's* grandson *Eata* became (*Beda* 4, 13) one of the first bishops of *Lindesfarn*; but the grandfather himself, to judge by his name, must have held the same sacred office, perhaps elsewhere.

WÔDEN'S ANCESTRY.

So far we have dealt with *Wôden's* descendants. In treating of his *ancestors*, we shall again have to separate the purely *heathen* ones from those that were added after the *Bible* genealogy became known.

Some accounts reach back only 4 generations, others 8 or 16, stopping either at *Fridhwulf*, *Geát* or *Sceáf*. Generally speaking, *Sceáf* is the oldest heathen name in any of the pedigrees.

Wôden.	|	Finn.
Fridhuwald.	|	Godwulf (Folcwald).
Freáwine (Freáláf).	|	Geát.
Fridhwulf.	|	Tætwa.

Beaw.	Hathra (Itermôd).
Sceldwa.	Hwala (Hathra).
Heremôd (Sceáf).	Bedwig (Hwala).
Itermon (Heremod).	Sceáf (Bedwig).

The **Chronicle** p. 23 carries the Northumbrian lineage fr. Ida up to Geát: *Wóden* Freodholáſing, *Freodholáf* Fridhowulſing, *Fridhowulſ* Finning, *Finn* Godwulſing, *Godwulſ* Geáting; at p. 24 (under Deira), Wóden is called *Fridhowulſing*; at p. 95 (under Wessex) the line is given more fully and exactly: *Wóden* Fridhuwalding, *Fridhuwald* Freáwining, *Freáwine* Fridhuwulſing, *Fridhowulſ* Finning, *Finn* Godwulſing, *Godwulſ* Geáting, *Geát* Tætwaing, *Tætwa* Beawing, *Beaw* Sceldwaing, *Sceldwa* Heremóding, *Heremôd* Itermoning, *Itermon* Hathraing, *Hathra* Hwalaing, *Hwala* Bedwiging, *Bedwig* Sceáſing. **Nennius** p. 61 carries the Kentish line up to Geta: *Vuoden* filius *Frealof*, Fr. f. *Fredulſ*, Fr. f. *Finn*, F. f. *Foleguald*, F. f. *Geta*, qui ut aiunt filius fuit dei, non veri nec omnipotentis dei, sed alicujus ex idolis eorum, quem ab ipso daemone coecati, more gentili, pro deo colebant. **Asser** p. 4: *Woden*, qui fuit *Frithowalde*, q. f. *Frealuſ*, q. f. *Frithuwulſ*, q. f. *Fingodwulſ*, q. f. *Geata*, quem Getam jamdudum pagani pro deo venerabantur; qui Geata fuit *Cætva*, q. f. *Beaw*, q. f. *Sceldwea*, q. f. *Heremod*, q. f. *Itermod*, q. f. *Hathra*, q. f. *Hwala*, q. f. *Bedwig*. **Ethelwerd** p. 842: *Wothen*, *Frithowulſ*, *Frealuſ*, *Frithowulſ*, *Fin*, *Godwulſe*, *Geat*, *Tetwa*, *Beo*, *Scyld*, *Scef*. **Florence** p. 218 (under Northumbr.): *Wodenus*, qui fuit *Frithelasi* (for *Frithelafi*), q. f. *Finni*, q. f. *Godulſi*, q. f. *Geatae*; but on p. 294 (under Wessex): *Wodenus*, q. f. *Frithewaldi*, q. f. *Frealuſi*, q. f. *Frithewulſi*, q. f. *Finni*, q. f. *Godulſi*, q. f. *Gaetae*, quem Getam jamdudum pagani pro deo venerabantur, q. f. *Cedwae*, q. f. *Beawae*, q. f. *Sceldwii*, q. f. *Heremodi*, q. f. *Itermodi*, q. f. *Hathri*, q. f. *Walae*, q. f. *Bedwigi*. So the Wessex line in **Simeon Durh.** p. 119: *Woden*, q. f. *Frithuwald*, q. f. *Frealuſ*, q. f. *Fridrenwulſ*, q. f. *Geta*, q. f. *Cetwa*, q. f. *Beaw*, q. f. *Seldwa*, q. f. *Heremod*, q. f. *Itermod*, q. f. *Hatra*, q. f. *Wala*, q. f. *Bedwig*. **Will. Malmesb.** p. 41: *Wodenus* fuit *Fridewaldi*, *Fridewaldus* *Frelasii* (al. *Fridelafii*), *Frelasius* *Fimi*, *Fimus* *Godwini*, *Godwinus* *Gesii*, *Gesius* *Tectii*, *Tectius* *Beowini*, *Beowinus* *Sceldii*, *Sceldius* *Sceaf*, *Sceaf* *Heremodii*, *Heremodius* *Stermonii*, *Stermonius*

Hadrae, *Hadra* Gualae, *Guala* Bedwegii, *Bedwegius* Stresaei.
Ethelred Rieval. p. 351: *Woden*, q. f. *Fredewald*, q. f. *Freolof*,
q. f. *Frederewlf*, q. f. *Fingondwlf*, q. f. *Geta*, q. f. *Gearwa*, q. f.
Beu, q. f. *Celdwa*, q. f. *Heremod*, q. f. *Itermod*, q. f. *Hathra*, q. f.
Wala, q. f. *Beadwig*. **Henry Huntingd.** p. 310 (under Kent):
Woden, filii *Frealof*, f. *Fredulf*, f. *Fin*, f. *Flocwald*, f. *Jeta*, quem
dixerunt filium dei, scilicet alicujus idoli. **Ralph** (under Wessex)
p. 529: *Woden*, q. f. *Frederewald*, q. f. *Freolf*, q. f. *Fredewlf*, q. f.
Fringoldwlf, q. f. *Geta*, q. f. *Geatwa*, q. f. *Beu*, q. f. *Sceldwa*, q. f.
Heremod, q. f. *Itermod*, q. f. *Bathka*, q. f. *Wala*, q. f. *Beadwig*.
John Wallingf. p. 535: *Guodden*, q. f. *Frithewald*, q. f. *Frealaf*,
q. f. *Frethewlf*, q. f. *Fingoldwlf*, q. f. *Geata*, quem Geattam pagani
jamdudum pro deo venerabantur, q. f. *Cetirwa*, q. f. *Beau*, q. f.
Celdewa, q. f. *Heremod*, q. f. *Itermod*, q. f. *Hathra*, q. f. *Wala*,
q. f. *Beadwing*. **Alberic** p. 186: *Woden* iste fuit filius *Frithe-*
waldi, qui *Frelasii*, q. *Finnii*, q. *Godpulji*, q. *Gethii*, q. *Rethlii*, q.
Bedvii, q. *Sceldii*, q. *Scaef*, q. *Heremodii*, q. *Gwale*, q. *Bedwegii*,
q. *Steresii*. **Matth. Westm.** p. 142 (under Mercia): *Woden* fuit
filius *Frethewold*, q. f. *Freolaf*, q. f. *Frithewlf*, q. f. *Godwlf*, q. f.
Getae, q. f. *Cethwae*, q. f. *Beau*, q. f. *Selduae*, q. f. *Heremod*, q. f.
Itermod, q. f. *Hathrae*, q. f. *Walae*, q. f. *Bedwi*; but p. 166
(under Wessex): *Wodenus* fuit filius *Frethewold*, q. f. *Freolaf*,
q. f. *Frethewlf*, q. f. *Finni*, q. f. *Godulji*, q. f. *Getae*, q. f. *Teathwii*,
q. f. *Beau*, q. f. *Selduae*, q. f. *Seaf*, q. f. *Heremod*, q. f. *Itermod*,
q. f. *Hathrae*, q. f. *Walae*, q. f. *Bedvii*. **Otterbourne** (under
Kent): *Woden*, *Frederewald*, *Freolf*, *Fredewold*, *Fyngoldwelth*, *Geta*,
Getwa, *Beir*, *Sceldwa*, *Herende*, *Etermode*, *Athra*, *Wala*, *Bedwich*.

The three generations immed. before Wôden exhibit a number
of variations, which I will bring under one view:

Chron. (Wess.):	Fridhuwald	Fréáwine	Fridhuwulf
Asser:	Frithowald	Frealaf	Frithuwulf
Ethelwerd:	Frithowald	Frealaf	Frithowulf
Flor. (Wess.):	Frithewald	Frealaf	Fritheulf
Simeon:	Frithuwald	Frealaf	Fridrenwulf
John:	Frethewald	Frealaf	Frethewlf
Ethelred:	Frethewald	Freolof	Frederewlf
Ralph:	Frederewald	Freolf	Fredewlf
Matthew:	Fredewold	Freolaf	Frithewlf

Fréawine rests then on the single auth. of the Chron., and even there some MSS. have *Frealafing*, *Frealaf*. In the following, there is one link wanting :

Chron. (Northumb.):	. . . .	Freodholaf	Fridhowulf
Nennius :	. . . .	Frealof	Fredulf
William :	Fridewald	Frealaf	. . . .
Henry :	. . . .	Frealof	Fredulf
Alberic :	Frithewaldus	Frelasius	. . . .

And some have only one name to shew :

Chron. (Deira)	. . . .	. . . .	Fridhowulf
Flor. (Northumb.)	. . . .	Frithalaf	. . . .

But as some retain one name and some another, it is plain that the Wessex genealogy of the Chronicle is the complete and correct thing. *Fréawine* and *Fredláf* may be regarded as identical, no matter that *Fréawine* occurs again in the descending series of the Wessex line, for certain names often repeat themselves. If we accept the *Frithalaf* of Florence [and *Freodholaf* in the Chron. under Northumb.], we have then *Fridho*-wald, *Fridho*-láf, *Fridho*-wulf in immed. succession.¹

Finn and *Godwulf* are thrown into one as *Fingodwulf* in Asser, *Fingondwulf* in Ethelred, *Fingoldwulf* in John, *Fringoldwulf* in Ralph [*Fyngoldwelth* in Otterb.]. Both are wanting in Simeon, *Finn* in Matthew, *Godwulf* in Nennius and Henry. Instead of *Godwulf*, Nennius gives a *Folewald* (Folcwald), Henry *Flocwald* and William *Godwine*.

Geát (Geata, Geta, Jeta, Gesius) is present in all.

Tetwa, 'Tetwa, 'Tectius appears also as *Cætwa*, *Cetwa*, *Cethwa*, *Cedwa*, *Cetirwa*, and *Getwa*, *Geatwa*, *Gearwa*, *Rethlius*.

Beaw, *Beaw*, *Beau*, *Beawa*, *Beu*, *Beo*, *Beowinus*, *Bedvius*, *Beir*.

Sceldwa, *Sceldwa*, *Scyld*, *Sceldwius*, *Sceldius*, *Seldwa*, *Seldua*, *Celdwa*, *Celdewa*.

Heremód remains unaltered wherever it occurs, except that Otterb. has *Herecude*; but it is wanting in Ethelwerd.

Itermon, *Itermod*, *Idermod*, *Etermode*, *Stermon*; wanting in Ethelw.

¹ [Frišleif suggests the 'jomfrue *Fridlefsborg*' in the Dan. song of Tord af Hafsgaard, where the Swed. has 'jungfru *Froijenborg*.'—E.H.M.]

Hathra, Hadra, Hatra, Athra, Hathrus, Bathka; wanting in Ethelw.

Hwala, Hwala, Wala, Guala; wanting in Ethelw.

Bedwig, Bedwig, Bedwi, Beadwig, Bedwigus, Bedwegius, Bedwing, Bedwid; wanting in Ethelw.

Sccef, Scf, Seaf is not found in Asser or Florence or any writers that follow these two, but only in the Sax. Chr. and four other authorities (Ethelwerd, Alberic, Will. Malmesb. and Matth. Westm.); and even here with the important distinction, that whereas the Chron. puts him at the very end, as father of Bedwig, the other four bring him in near the middle, as father of Sceldwa and son of Heremôd.

Among the names are a few of more than common interest.

Fin is spoken of in the Trav. Song 53 as ruler of the Frisians: '*Fin Folwalding* weold Fresna cynne,' which confirms the statement of Nennius that his father's name was Folwald (or Folwalda). Again, *Fin* appears in Beow. 2129-55-86. 2286, and still as *Folwaldan sunu* 2172; so that the Kentish genealogy had preserved his name more truly than the others. Observe too, that it is side by side with *Fin* that Beow. 2159-86. 2248 introduces *Hengest*, a great name with the [Kentishmen; must not they have been a Frisian rather than a Jutish race?

Fin's grandfather, Folwald's father, *Geát*, was worshipped as a god; this is expressly affirmed by many chroniclers, while *Wôden*'s divinity is passed over in silence. We come across *Geát* in Beow. 3567-82, and if not in the Trav. Song, yet in another AS. lay (Conybeare 241): '*Geútes* frige wurdon grundleásc.' The Sax. Chr. and Ethelwerd make no mention of his godhood. Nennius and his transcriber Henry Huntgdñ designate him the son of a god, '*filius dei*,¹ non veri, etc. '; with him they close the Kentish pedigree, and do not name his father. But Asser and those who follow him, notably Florence, Ralph and John, say of *Geta* himself '*quem dudum pagani pro deo venerabantur*,' and then add the names of his father (*Cetwa*) and ancestors. At the same time they refer, absurdly enough, to a passage in Sedulius (*Carmen paschale* 1, 19. ed. Arevali. Romae 1794, p. 155), which speaks of the '*boatus ridiculus Gœtae*,' or as

¹ In myths the *son of a god* seems often ident. with the god himself, conf. Tacitus about Tuisco and Mannus.

Sedulius says in prose ‘ridiculi Getæ comica foeditate,’ evid. a character in a play of the Old Comedy. That the AS. *Geát* or *Gét* was from the earliest times, long before the migration to Britain, regarded as a god, will be proved presently by a Gothic genealogy, which quite correctly names him *Gaut*, as in OHG. he would be *Góz* or *Kóz*. In the Grimnismâl (Sæm. 47^b, conf. Sn. 24. 195) *Gautr* is the name that Odhinn bears among the gods themselves.

Tætwa is prob. to be expl. by an adj. *tæt*, lost in AS. but extant in ON. *teitr*, OHG. *zeiz*, meaning *laetus*, *hilaris*, *placidus*.¹ Both *Teitr* and *Zeiz*, *Zeizo* were in use as men’s names, but the great thing is that Odhinn himself is called *Herteitr* in the Edda, Sæm. 46^a. *Tætwa* might bear the sense of *numen placidum*, *benignum*, the ‘*gehiure*.’

The next three names, in the order *Beaw*, *Sceldwa*, *Sceáf*, give us a clear insight into the intimate connexion betw. these genealogies and the ancient poetry of the people. *Beaw*, *Beo*, *Beu* is no other than the elder *Beowulf* who appears at the very beginn. of the epic of *Beowulf*, and is called at l. 37 *Scyldes eafra* (offspring), at l. 16 *Scylding* (S.’s son), and who must be distinguished from the younger *Beowulf*, the subject of the poem. *Beo* stands in the same relation to *Beowulf* as the simple form of a name does to the compound in so many cases.²—*Scyld* (Beow. 51) resembles the mythic *Skiold* king of Danes (Saxo Gr. 5), and *Skiöldr* the Skânûnga godh (p. 161); *Skiöldr* in the Edda is Oðin’s son (Sn. 146. 193), from whom descend the *Skiöldûngar* (Sæm. 114-5), AS. *Scyldingas*. The termin. *-wa*, which makes *Sceldwa* a weak noun, is also seen in *Tætwa* as compared with *Teitr* and *Zeiz*, and arises out of the third decl., to which *skiöldr* = shield (gen. *skialdar*, dat. *skildi*) belongs, implying a Goth. *skildus* with gen. pl. *skildivê*.—In Beow. 7 *Scyld* is expressly called a *Scêfing*, son of *Sceáf*. About this *Sceáf* the AS. chroniclers have preserved a remarkable tradition with which his very name is interwoven (*sceáf*, *sheaf*, OHG. *scoup*, *scoubis*), and which is still current in the districts whence the Saxons migrated. As far as I know, *Ethelwerd* is the first who alludes

¹ *Laetus* is perh. for *daetus* (Goth. *tatis*), as *lingua*, *levir*, *lautia* for *dingua*, *devir* *dautia*.

² So *Wolf* means the same as *Wolfgang*, *Regin* or *Regino* as *Reginhart*, *Dieto* as *Dietrich*, *Liuba* as *Liebart*. Hence *Beowulf* and *Beowine* mean one thing.

to it, and that precisely in tracing up the Westsaxon lineage, p. 842: 'ipse *Scef* cum uno dromone advectus est in insula oceani, quae dicitur Scani, armis circumdatus, eratque valde recens puer, et ab incolis illius terrae ignotus, attamen ab eis suscipitur, et ut familiarem diligenti animo eum custodierunt, et post in regem eligunt.' Then, with some variations, Will. Malmesb. p. 41: 'iste (*Sceáf*), *ut quidam ferunt*, in quamdam insulam Germaniae Scamptam (al. Scandeam), de qua Jordanes historiographus Gothorum loquitur, appulsus navi sine remige puerulus, posito ad caput *frumenti manipulo*, dormiens, ideoque *Sceaf* est nuncupatus, et ab hominibus regionis illius pro miraculo exceptus et sedulo nutritus, adulta aetate regnavit in oppido quod tum Slaswich, nunc vero Eitheisi (al. Hurtheby)¹ appellatur; est autem regio illa Anglia Vetus dicta, unde Angli venerunt in Britanniam, inter Saxones et Gioshos constituta.' And, in almost the same words, Alberic and Matth. Westm.; the former says: 'in Scania insula quae est in Dania,' and again 'Sleswyk, quod Hartebi dicitur.' Matthew: 'in quamdam insulam Germaniae, Scandalin nomine'; adding after *manipulo*: 'quem patria lingua *seaf* (l. *sceaf*) dicimus, Gallice vero *garbam*.'—An unknown boy, in a ship without oars (RA. 701), sleeping with his head on a corn-sheaf, lands in Angeln, is received as a miracle by the inhabitants, is brought up, and made their king: he and his race must therefore have appeared of sacred and divine origin. This legend, no doubt, is touched upon in the obscure opening of the *Beowulf*, though the incident is there transferred to Scyld the son of *Sceáf*; his sleeping on a sheaf of corn is not mentioned, any more than it is by Ethelwerd, whose 'armis circumdatus' is more in accord with *Beow.* 72—81. 93-4-5. The difficult word *umbor-wesende* can hardly mean anything but 'recens natus.'² The *Trav. Song* 64 speaks of a *Sceáfa* as lord of the Lombards. Tales of strange heroes arriving asleep in their ships must have been early diffused in Germany.³

¹ Read *Haithaby*, ON. *Heidhabær*, Heidhaboe, a bp's see in S. Jutland [Schleswig]. Ethelwerd p. 833: Anglia Vetus sita est inter Saxones et Gioshos, habens oppidum capitale quod sermone Saxonico *Sleswic* nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos *Haithaby*.

² The acc. masc. like a nom. may perh. be justified, else we must emend it to *wesendne*. A new passage in Kemble p. 253: '*umbor yeeð þá ær adl nimeð*' may mean 'nova proles addit (restituit) quos morbus aufert.'

³ The swan-knight, alone and asleep, his head reclined on his shield, arrives in

But the divine repute in which Sceáf and Scyld were held is further enhanced by one or the other being likewise a son of *Heremôð*, a simple hero in *Beow.* 1795. 3417, but a distinctly divine being in the Norse mythology. *Hermôðr* in the *Edda* is a son of *Oðinn*, the AS. *Heremôð* of *Itermon*. *Itermon* (with long *i*) can be expl. by a lost adj. *îtor*, *îtôr*, signifying like ON. *îtr* *praeclarus*, *eximius*; therefore, *vir eximius*. *Ittermann* is still a family name in Westphalia.

To *Hathra* I shall return further on; of *Hwala* and *Bedwig* I have nothing particular to say.

It remains to be told in what way the chroniclers tried to bring these native gods and heroes into line with the earliest generations handed down by Holy Writ.

The Sax. Chr. p. 96, after 'Bedwig Sceáfig,' inserts in brackets, as not found in all the MSS.: 'id est filius *Noe*, se wæs geboren on þære earce *Noe*,¹ *Lamech*, *Matusalem*, *Enoh*, *Jared*, *Malalahel*, *Cainion*, *Enos*, *Seth*, *Adam* primus homo et pater noster, id est *Christus*, Amen.' Asser, who knows nothing of Sceáf, gives his place to Shem, and brings the two lines to touch as follows: '*Bedwig*, qui fuit *Sem*, q. f. *Noe*, q. f. *Lamech*, q. f. *Mathusalem*, q. f. *Enoch* [q. f. *Jared*], q. f. *Malaleel*, q. f. *Cainan*, q. f. *Enos*, q. f. *Seth*, q. f. *Adam*.' The same in Florence p. 294, except that *Seth* is put for *Sem*, and another *Seth* comes after *Enos*. Simeon, Ethelred and Matthew, like Asser; but Will. Malmesb. p. 41 has a way of his own: '*Guala* *Bedwegii*, *Bedwegius Stresaei*, hic, ut dicitur, fuit filius *Noae*,' and the line goes no further. Is *Stresaeus* [Alberic's *Steresius*] a corrup. of *Scefius*? A totally different harmony [of heathen with Hebrew], one that does not touch the AS. lines, is propounded by Nennius p. 54.

Now to sum up the gains accruing from these genealogies to our German Antiquity. Names of gods they offer, in addition to *Wóden*: *Geát*, *Bældæg*, *Searneát*, *Heremôð*, perhaps *Tætwa*. National names are treasured up in *Gewis*, *Westerfalena*, and no

Brabant by ship, delivers the land, and becomes its ruler, Conrad of Würzb.'s poem 116—122. *Lohengrin* p. 19. Parz. 824, 27. 826, 24. Here the old Frankish, Frisian and Saxon traditions seem to harmonize [*Vishnu* also sleeps on the serpent in the sea.—EHM.].

¹ Is there an intended allusion to the boy sailing in the oarless ship?

doubt in *Sarneát* himself. Part and parcel of our Hero-legend are, so far as we can still descry, *Scyld*, *Seeáf*, *Beow*; many links are doubtless lost, but the solidarity with the *Beowulf Lay* and the *Traveller's Song* is in its full significance not to be overlooked. No less important seems the agreement of a string of names in the Mercian line with statements of Saxo Grammaticus. And in some names that stand side by side, we may detect traces of Alliteration, revealing the wrecks of heathen poems of a long past age, e.g. Hengest and Horsa, Scyld and Seeáf, Fin and Folwald, Freodhowald and Freáwine.

Part of the Saxon pedigrees we have been examining had found their way, not later than the 13th cent., to Scandinavia, viz. the series from *Wóden* back to *Bedwig* and perhaps one generation more, and also forwards to three sons of *Wóden* and their descendants. That the names were borrowed is plain from the way Snorri (in the *Formáli* to his *Edda* p. 15) preserves their Saxon forms, and adds to many of them 'whom *we* call so-and-so.' *Bedwig's* father is here given as *Cespheth* (al. *Sefsmeg*, *Sesep*, *Sescef*), which may be the Saxon *Seef* in disguise; then: 'hans son *Bedwig*, hans son *Atra* er ver köllum *Annan*, h. s. *Itrmann*, h. s. *Biaf* er ver köllum *Biar*. h. s. *Jat*, h. s. *Gudólfr*, [h. s. *Finnr*,] h. s. *Fiarleif* (al. *Frialaf*) er ver köllum *Fridhleif*, hann átti thann son, er nefndr er (is named) *Vódhinn*, thann köllum ver *Odhinn*; kona (wife) hans hét *Frigidhu* er ver köllum *Frigg*.

It goes on to say, that *Odhinn* had three sons, *Vegdeg*, *Beldeg*, *Sigi*. 1) *Vegdeg* (al. *Veggdegg*, *Vegdreg*) rules over *East Sæons*; his son was called *Vitrjils*, and had two sons, *Ritta* (al. *Picta*, evid. *Witta*, *Wicta*) the father of *Heingest*, and *Sigarr* the father of *Svebdegg* er ver köllum *Svipdag*. 2) *Beldeg* er v. k. *Baldr*, rules over *Vestfal*; his son is *Brandr*, his son *Friodhigar* er v. k. *Fródha*, his son *Freovit* (al. *Freovin*), his son *Yrjgg*, his son *Gevis* er v. k. *Gave*. 3) *Sigi* (al. *Siggi*) has a son *Verir* (al. *Rerir*); from them are descended the *Völsungar* that rule *Franken*.

But at the back of all this Saxon genealogy Snorri places another, which interweaves Greek names, and has nothing in common with the AS. accounts. *Munnon* or *Mennon*, a king in *Troia*, marries a daughter of *Priam*, and has a son *Tror*, thann köllum ver *Thór*.¹ He marries a wise woman named *Sibil*

[¹ Egilsum sub v. *frór* = *Odin* and *Thor*.—EHM.]

(Sibylla) er ver köllum *Sif*, their son is called *Loride*, his son *Henrede*, his *Vingethór*, his *Vingener*, his *Móda*, his *Magi*, his *Cespheth*, the link that joins this line to the Saxon.¹

Similar and more lengthened pedigrees, which add Hebrew to Greek and Latin names, are found in the piece called *Frá Fornjoti ok hans ættmönnum*, in the so-called *Langfedga-tal* (*Langebek* 1, 2), and at the beginning of one MS. of the *Sverris saga* (*Heimskr. th.* 4).

In *Fornaldar-sögur* 2, 13 we find the following list: *Adam*, *Seth*, *Enos*, *Kaynan*, *Malaleel*, *Phareth*, *Enoch*, *Mathusalem*, *Lamech*, *Nói*, *Japhet*, *Japhan*, *Zechim*, *Ciprus*, *Cretus* edha *Telius* (*Cœlius*), *Saturnus*, *Jupiter*, *Darius*, *Erithonius*, *Troes*, *Ilus*, *Lamidon*, *Priamus*, *Munnon* edha *Memnon*, *Trórr* er ver köllum *Thór*, *Lóriþa* er v. k. *Hlóridha*, *Eredei* er v. k. *Eindridha*, *Vingithór*, *Vinginerr*, *Mólhi*, *Mági* er v. k. *Magna*, *Seseph*, *Bedhuis*, *Atra*, *Trínan*, *Skialdin* er v. k. *Skiold*, *Beaf* er v. k. *Biar*, *Godhólfr*, *Burri* er v. k. *Finn*, *Frialáfr* er v. k. *Bors*, *Vódhen* er v. k. *Oðhinn*, hann var Tyrkja konúngr, hans son *Skiöldr*, h. s. *Fridhleifr*, h. s. *Fridhfróðhi*, h. s. *Herleifr*, h. s. *Hávardr*, and so on down to *Haraldr hinn hárfagri* (fair-haired).

In *Langfedga-tal*: *Noa*, *Japhet*, *Japhans*, *Zechim*, *Ciprus*, *Celius*, *Saturnus*, *Jupiter*, *Darius*, *Erichonius*, *Troes*, *Ilus*, *Lamedon*, *Priamus*. *Priam's* daughter *Troana* marries *Memnon*, whose son is *Tror* er v. k. *Thor*; then follow *Hloridhi*, *Einridi*, *Vingethor*, *Vingener*, *Moda*, *Magi*, *Seskef*, *Bedvig*, *Athra*, *Itermann*, *Heremotr*, *Scaldna*, *Beaf*, *Eat*, *Godulfi*, *Finn*, *Frealaf*, *Voden*, thann köllum ver *Oden*, fra honum ero komnar flestar konunga ættir (most kings' races) i nordalfna heimsins.²

At the beginn. of *Sverris s.* [*Fornm. sög.* 8, 2]: *Adam*, *Seth*, *Enos*, *Kain*, *Malaleel*, *Pharet*, *Enoch*, *Matusalem*, *Lamech*, *Nca*, *Japhet*, *Japhen*, *Zethim*, *Chypris*, *Chretis*, *Chelis*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Dardan*, *Erichonius*, *Ereas*, *Ilus*, *Lamidon*, *Priamus*; *Thor*, *Jorekr*, *Eredeir*, *Vingithor*, *Vinguer*, *Modi*, *Magni*, *Sesep*, *Bedvig*, *Attras*, *Trínam*, *Hermodr*, *Skioldr*, *Biar*, *Godolfr*, *Finnur*, *Frialaf*, *Odin*, *Sigi*, *Rerer*, *Volsungr*, *Sigmundur*, *Sigurdr*, *Fafnis-bani*.

In looking over this Norse genealogy, we see that its resemblance to the AS. ascending series ends with *Bedvig*, or at most

[¹ Conf. F. Magnusen's *Lex. Myth.* 553-4.—EHM.]

² This sentence sounds exactly like that in *Beda* and the *Sax. Chr.* (under *Kent*).

with Sesep, Seskef, Cespheth, which may conceal Sceáf, Seaf; the older names have nothing Saxon about them. First come a few that have a well-defined position in the ON. theogony: *Magni*, *Módi*, *Vínquir*, *Vínghôr*, *Einridi*, *Hlóridi*, *Thôr*, all the immediate kindred of Thôr, who never once appears in the AS. pedigrees. The way they are introduced here is rather remarkable. First *Thôr* himself, whom all the authorities on Norse mythology invariably treat as Oðin's son, is here given out for his forefather, and one removed from him by 16 or 17 generations. Then these intermediate links are brought together curiously enough. In the Edda, *Hlórridhi* is a mere surname of Thôr, not a separate person. *Eindridhi* (Eyndridhi) is another Eddic name for Thôr (Thorlac. Observ. 6, 26), and the same holds good of *Vínghôrr*, sonr Sídhgrana (Sæm. 48, 80). *Vínquir* does occur sometimes as the name of a giant (Thorl. Obs. 6, 25), but *Móthi* and *Magni* are Thôr's two sons, and therefore brothers (Sn. 76). I do not mean to assert that the author of the pedigree wilfully perverted these by-names and brothers into descendants; a confusion in the popular tradition itself may account for it. And the tacking on to Greek gods and heroes was natural enough at a time when we Germans too were tracing our Franks and Saxons to Ascanius and Alexander. From the Greek to the Biblical genealogy was, to be sure, as great a leap as that from the Anglo-Saxon straight to Noah.

More important to our inquiry is that part of the ON. pedigree which mainly agrees with the AS., but differs in details. *Atra* is rendered by the ON. *Annarr*, for which the AS. would strictly be *Odher*, and that stands some distance from the *Hathra* of the AS. record. *Biaf*, *Biav* (Beaw) is not far from *Biafr*, *Biar*, and can hardly be the Norse *Biörr*. *Iát*, *Eát* is not glossed by any Norse name; would it be *Gautr*? *Iotr*?

But what deserves the most attention is the different account given of Wôden's Posterity. Here, as in Will. Malmesb. (see just before Kent), only *three sons* are given him, *Vegdeg*, *Beldeg*, *Sigi*; the first two agree with those in Will. M., but *Sigi* has nothing to do with his *Wihltæg*. The account of the countries they ruled would of course be totally different from his. His *Weldeg*, *Wihltæg* and *Beldeg* were forefathers of the families that afterwards governed Kent, Mercia and Wessex; but the Fornáli

of the Edda is appar. indicating their ancient seats before the migration: to Vegdeg's line is attrib. *East Saxony*, to Beldeg's *Westphalia*, to Sigi's *Franconia*. Wôden's immediate descendants were Wecta, Wittā, Wihtgils; those of Odhin are likewise *Vegdeg*, *Vitrgils*, *Victa* (the last two merely changing places); but from that point the two lists differ. Without once naming Horsa, the Norse genealogist gives *Victa* two sons, *Heingest* whose line is carried no further, and *Sigarr* whose son is *Svebdeg*, ON. *Svipdagr*.¹ But this lands us in the line of Deira, which, after Wôden and Wægðæg, has *Sigegâr*, *Swæfdæg*. And we now become aware that *Wecta* of Kent is no other than *Wægðæg* of Deira, that the two lines were at first one, like those of Bernicia and Wessex, and that we can no longer count seven, but only *six sons* of Wôden. So much for Vegdeg and his line.—In the second line, *Beldeg* is expressly identified with *Baldr*; his descendants are named to the fifth generation, and agree with the Wessex line, except that *Freodogar* is said to be the Norse *Frôdhi*, that *Wig* is called *Yvigg*, and *Gevis Gaue*.—The third line is altogether new and unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, starting with a son of Odhin named *Sigi*, from whom come *Rerir* and the *Völsûngar*, rulers of the Franks. This agrees with the beginning of the *Völsûnga-saga*, which calls *Sigi* a son of Odhin: from him descend *Rerir* (al. Berir, Beirir), *Völsûngr*, *Sigmundr*, *Sigurdhr*. The word *sig* (victory) is a favourite in this line, Sigmund's sister being also called *Signý*.² *Völsûngr* has the form of a patronymic and national name, pointing to a *Valsi* or *Velsi*, which actually meets us in the *Walse* of Beow. 1787, where *Sigemund* too is found 1743-62.

The same continuation down to *Sigurdhr* is in the *Sverris-saga*, but not in the *Langfedga-tal*. The 'Fornjot and his kin' gives quite a different one: *Skiöldr*, already mentioned as an ancestor of Odhin, reappears as his son, and from him descends a line of Norse kings to Harald the Fair-haired.³

[¹ In Grôg. and Fiölsv. m. *Svipdagr* is Menglôð's lover. His father is Sôlbiört (Sâm. 112^a), his mother Grôa.—EHM.]

² In *Sigurdhr*=*Sigufrið*, Lachmann (Critik der sage v. d. Nibel. p. 22) conjectures a *god's by-name*; the line of Deira too has compounds with *Sig*-. Conf. what I have said of *sihora* (p. 27) and of Wôden as god of victory (p. 134).

³ The ordinary Danish genealogy begins: *Odin*, *Skiöld*, *Fridleif*, *Frode*, Torf. Series 279. Suhm's Crit. hist. 1, 355. [*Sögubrot* (Fornm. s. 11, 412-3): Thôrr, Oðhin, Skiöldr, Leifr=Friðhleifr, Frôdhi. Prologue to Grôttas.: Skiöldr, Friðhleifr, Frô. In the AS. genealogies *Sceldwa* is made an ancestor of Wôden:

This last account also contains some not inconsiderable variations in Odhin's Ancestry. The outlandish *Eredei* is transl. into good Norse as *Eindridhi*, and *Mági* as *Magni*; *Trinan* the corrup. of *Itrman* is here (as in Sverris-s.), *Hermódr* is passed over, so is *Eat* (as in Sverris-s.); on the other hand, at Finn and Frialáf two names are introduced, *Burri* and *Bors*, which occur nowhere else in these lists.

With such important deviations in form and matter, we can scarcely say that these Norse genealogies were borrowed straight from the AS.; more likely they travelled into Scandinavia from some Saxon or Frisian district, where they were still cherished, say in the 10-11th century. The forms *Beldeg*, *Vegdeg*, *Svebdeg* differ, though slightly, from the pure AS. *Bældæg*, *Wægdæg*, *Swæfdæg*; *Atra* from *Hathra*, *Skialdun* (*Skialdin*) from *Scelwa*, *Biaf* from *Beaw*. The interpolation of *Thôr's* kindred comes, of course, from the Norse writer.

But even if a loan took place from the Anglo-Saxons, and at the later date of the 12-13th century, it matters little to the intrinsic value of these genealogies. The AS. version is of itself sufficient to vouch for their high antiquity and their solidarity with the German system of gods.

It is much to be lamented that in Continental Germany, where they must have existed, such pedigrees were never jotted down. Witekind of Corvei, or his predecessor Bovo, could have given us priceless information about them. A table in Sam. Reyher's *Monum. landgravior. Thuringiae* (Menken 2, 829. 830), which brings the fictitious line of a Saxon king Artharicus down to '*Bodo vel Voden*,' and then foists in '*Vecta vel Vichtus, Witta vel Wittich, Witgistus vel Witgislus, Hengistus*,' is taken from Petrus Albinus's (d. 1598) *Novae Sax. historiae progymnasmata* (Viteberg. 1585). Albinus had copied an AS. chronicler.

For all that, we catch undoubted echoes of ancient genealogies in our poems of the 13th century. The *Nibel.* 88, 3 and 92, 1 preserves the names of *Schilbunc* and *Nibelunc*, and Biterolf 7821 calls them brothers. Now *Scylfing*, *Scilfing* (gomela S.) and the *Scylfingas* occur in *Beow.* 125. 4406. 4758. 4970. 5850. 5931. The *Edda* (*Sæm.* 47^b) makes *Scilfingr* a by-name of *Oðinn*, and

'*Sceldwa, Friðuwulf, Freiláf, Friðuwald, Wóden*'; so he is in some Norse ones (supra p. 1729), but usually a *son* of *Oðin*.—EHM.]

the Hyndlu-líoð in its genealogies (Sæm. 114-5) joins *Skiöldún-gar* and *Skilfíngar* in alliteration. The above-mentioned 'Fornjot and his kin' (Fornald. s. 2, 9) counts among the mythic sons of Hálfdân the Old a *Skelfír*, and derives from him and his son *Skiöldr* those two kindred races: 'that heitir *Skilfínga* ætt edha *Skiöldúnga* ætt.'¹ Here *Skelf* seems a corrup. of *Skef*, for both Beowulf and the AS. pedigrees make Scyld or Sceldwa the son of *Sceáf*; and from such corruption arose the different forms in both countries independently.² So we must reckon *Schilbunc* [conf. Schiltunc, Hpt. 1, 7], *Scilfing* as closely interwoven with the old genealogy. In Fornm. sög. 5, 239 *Skiöldr* is described as the national god of Schonen, 'Skânúnga godh' (p. 161).

A still more striking instance of agreement is furnished by the Gothic genealogy which Jornandes, after saying that the ancestors of the Goths were *Anses*, imparts as follows: 'Quorum genealogiam paucis percurram, ut quo quis parente genitus est, aut unde origo accepta, ubi finem efficit [percipiatur?]; absque invidia qui legis vera dicentem ausculta: horum ergo, *ut ipsi suis fabulis ferunt*, primus fuit *Gapt*, qui genuit *Halmal* (al. humal, ulmal, hulmul), *Halmal* vero genuit *Augis*, *Augis* g. eum qui dictus est *Amala*, a quo et origo *Amalorum* decurrit. Et *Amala* g. *Isarnam*, *Isarna* autem g. *Ostrogotham*, *Ostrogotha* g. *Unilt* (al. Huniul), *Unilt* g. *Athal*, *Athal* g. *Achiulf*, *Achiulf* g. *Ansiam* et *Ediulf* et *Vuldulf* et *Hermenrich*; *Vuldulf* vero g. *Valeravans*, *Valeravans* autem g. *Vinitharium*, *Vinitharius* queque g. *Theodemir* et *Valemir* et *Videmir*; *Theodemir* g. *Theodericum*, *Theodericus* g. *Amalasuentham*, *Amalasuentha* g. *Athalaricum* et *Mathasuentham* de *Viderico* (l. *Eutharico*) viro suo, qui affinitate generis sic ad eam conjunctus est: nam supradictus *Hermenricus* filius *Achiulfi* genuit *Hunnimundum*, *Hunnimundus* autem g. *Thorismundum*, *Thorismundus* vero g. *Berimundum*, *Berimundus* g. *Videricum*, *Videricus* g. *Eutharicum*, qui conjunctus *Amalasuenthae* g. *Athalaricum* et *Mathasuentam*, mortuoque in puerilibus annis *Athalarico*, *Mathasuenthae* *Vitichis* est sociatus.'—Here again we see historic kings melting into heroes of the mythic time and into gods; but the first father of them all,

[¹ In Sn. 215^a *Skilvíngr* is the name of a sword. *Skelfír*, *Skilfíngar* í austrvegum, Sn. 193-4. *Schilpunc*, Ried no. 68 (yr. 888).—EHM.]

² The change of *Skef* into *Skelf* may have been encouraged by the better alliteration of *Skilfing* with *Skiöldung*, *Scylding* with *Scilfing*.—TRANS.

no doubt an *Ans*, is he that arrests our attention. *Gapt* seems to me a corrup. of *Gavt*, *Gaut*.¹ This granted, *Gaut* is no other than our AS. *Geát*, on whose brow the chroniclers are so eager to press the crown of godhood. Now the Edda (Sæm. 47^b) makes *Gautr* a mere by-name of Oðinn, who may therefore be reckoned a later re-incarnation of the same divine being. Thus *Gáuts*, *Geát*, *Gautr*, OHG. *Góz* stands at the head of the *Amalung* family so famed in song and story.

The Langobardic genealogy of the Gumings or Gugings, preserved in the Prologue to the Laws and in Paul Diaconus, I leave on one side, as contributing little towards clearing up the story of the gods. It is one more witness, among so many, to the propensity of German nations to draw up and hand down lists of their forefathers' lineage.

On that point, who would not remember, first and foremost, the oldest word on the origin of the Germani, as preserved, though but in faint outlines, by Tacitus, and expressly grounded on their 'ancient songs, which are all the history they have'? (p. 344). 'Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, *Tuisconem*, deum terra editum, et filium *Mannum*, originem gentis conditoresque. Manno tres filios assignant, e quorum nominibus proximi oceano *Ingaevones*, medii *Herminones*, ceteri *Istaevones* vocentur. Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, plures deo ortos pluresque gentis appellationes, *Marsos*, *Gambrivos*, *Suevos*, *Vandalos* affirmant.'—As the Anglo-Saxons allowed their Wôden, now *three*² sons, now *seven*, the same thing happens here to the offspring of Mannus. There is no further connexion between the two genealogies; but it is curious to find that in the first century A.D., various versions of the people's pedigree are already in vogue, and have reached the Roman's ear. He does not tell us the names of the sons, and in guessing them from those of the tribes they founded, we cannot feel sure of their exact form. Pliny 4, 4 supposes five principal tribes: *Vindeli*, *Ingaevones*, *Istarvones*, *Hermiones*, *Peucini*; the first are

¹ The Gothic *u* might easily be miscopied as a *v* (V), and thus mistaken for a *p*, just as the AS. *p* is made *p* in 'Pubba, Godpulf.'

² This number three is always turning up in myths. Noah's 3 sons: Shem, Ham, Japheth. Saturn's: Zeus, Poseidon, Pluton. The Seyth. Targitaus's: Leipoxais, Arpoxais, Kolaxais. The Norse Bôr's: Oðinn, Vili, Vé. Fornjot's: Hlerr, Logi, Kâri. Amelune's: Diether, Emrich, Dietmar.

Tacitus's *Vandali*. The head of the Herminones was no doubt *Hermin*, i.e. *Irmin*, whom legends know of as a godlike hero; that of the Vandals *Vandal*, and of the Sueves *Srêf*, *Suâp*, which reminds one of AS. *Swæfdæg* and ON. *Svôfnir* (another by-name of Oðinn, Sæm. 47^b); the head of the Gambriui perh. *Gambar*: OHG. *kambar*=strenuus, and the Langobard lineage has an ancestress *Gambara*. Such a name as *Mars*, if that was the source of the people's name, I have nowhere come across; Tacitus must have found it very acceptable.

The Ingaevones and Istaevones remain to be considered. *Ingo*, an OHG. name, which also forms the compounds *Ingumâr* (Frank. *Hincmar*), *Ingrât*, *Inguram*, *Ingulint*, *Inguwin*, must previously have been *Ingawo*, *Inguio*, for *Inguio-mêrus* occurs several times in Tacitus, and it also agrees with ON. *Ingvi*. A corresp. *Isto*, *Istuiio* is wanting. As for the ending *-aevo*, we find *Frisaevo*, also a national name, in an inscript. in Hagenbuch 173-5, side by side with *Frisius* 171-2-4. *Ingvi* or *Yngvi* in the Norse mythology is a byname of *Freyr*, and *Ingvi-freyr*, *Ingunar-freyr* seems to mean the same thing. With this conf. 'eodor *Ingwina*, freá *Ingwina*,' *Beow.* 2081. 2638, and above all *Ingwi* in the Bernician line; can there remain a doubt that this name belongs to the oldest period of the Germanic race, nay, that there hangs about it an air of deity?—*Istuiio* is the great difficulty. I would not willingly throw suspicion on the reading *Istaevones*, though the fluctuation between *Tuisto* and *Tuisco* would almost tempt one to do so. If we read *Iscaevones*, and inferred an *Iscvio*, *Isco*, we might connect this with ON. *Askr*, the first-created man, or with *Oesc* of the Kentish line, if that be not a little too *unmythical*. Well, I found a passage in an unknown compiler (*Cod. Vat.* 5001 fol. 140),¹ which actually has *sc*, not *st*: 'Tres fuerunt fratres, ex quibus gentes xiii. Primus *Ermenius* genuit Butes, Gualan-gutos, Guandalos, Gepidos, Saxones. *Ingo* genuit Burgundiones, Turingos, Longobardos, Baioeros. *Escio* Romanos, Brictones, Francos, Alamannos.' And, strange to say, *Nennius* (ed. Gunn p. 53-4) has something very similar: 'Primus homo venit ad Europam *Alanus* cum tribus filiis suis, quorum

[¹ Graff 1, 497 has the passage not only from the *Cod. Vat.*, but from the *older Cod. S. Gall.* 497: *Erminus*, *Inguo*, *Istio*; conf. Graff 1, 501 and *Pertz's Iter Ital.* and *Mon.* 10, 314. *Mone's Ztschr.* 2, 256.]

nomina *Hisicion*, *Armenon*, *Neugio*. *Hisicion* autem habuit filios quatuor: Francum, Romanum, Alamannum et Brutonem. *Armenon* autem habuit filios quinque: Gothum, Vala-gothum, Cibidum, Burgundum, Longobardum. *Neugio* vero habuit tres: Vandalum, Saxonem, Boganum. Ab *Hisicione* autem ortae sunt quatuor gentes: Franci, Latini, Alamanni et Bryttones. Ab *Armenione* autem Gothi, Wala-gothi, Cibidi, Burgundi et Longobardi. A *Neugione* autem Bogari, Wandali, Saxones, 'Turingi.' And then, through many names that have nothing German about them, Alanus's line runs up to Adam. Gale's ed. of Nennius p. 102 reads *Hisicion*, *Armenon*, *Neguo*, and the last has 4 sons, Wandalus, Saxo, Bogarus, Targus. Evidently Neugio, Negno is a corrup. of *Engio*, *Enguio*, Armenon of *Ermino*, while Hisicio makes for our supp. *Hisco*, *Isco*. And that Nennius and the Vatican MS. had not drawn from the same source is plain by the difference in details, despite the similarity of the whole.—The great question remains, whether all these accounts were taken first from Tacitus, and then extended and distorted. Unless we are prepared to maintain that, they are, to my mind, of extraordinary value. MSS. of Nennius are supp. to be of the tenth century; of the Vatican MS., in extracting from it many years ago, I left the age unmarked: it can hardly be older than the 12th century. If we think it likely that any link between them and the passage in Tacitus can be established, it must be of a time before Nennius, and therefore pretty early [conf. GDS. 824-5-9].

Alanus has unquestionably arisen by sheer mistaking of the first few strokes, out of *Manus*, i.e. the *Mannus* of Tacitus. This *Mannus* stands at the head of the Teutonic race, exactly as *Wôden* does at that of the Anglo-Saxon. It means man in all Teut. tongues: Goth. man, mann, manna, AS. mon, ON. madhr, gen. manns; so does its derivative mannisk, mannisco, mensch. Perhaps 'the thinking being' from the verb man, munum: an apt designation for God as well as God-created man, and certainly of high antiquity. I do not find it as a by-name of Oðinn or Wôden, but one of his ancestors is *Itrmon*, of which the first part *îter*, *îtr* may be considered an intensive epithet: homo praestans, hominum praestantissimus. Acc. to that, *Mannus* and *Wôden* stand for the same thing. I throw out the guess, that in heathen songs the god might be called by either name.

Lastly, we turn to Mannus's own father, the earthborn *Tuisco*. What if the word be formed like *mannisco*, and abbrev. from *tiudisco*? The O.Fr. *Tydios* was shortened to Thyois, Tyois, Tiois, *Thiodonis*-villa [Dieten-hofen] to Thion-ville. In Gothic dialect the god would be *Thiudiska*, in OHG. *Diutisco*, the offspring of the people (*thiuda*, diot) itself. And the national name Teuto, Tiuto (OHG. *Dieto*) might be near of kin to *Tiudisco*.—But an entirely different derivation, suggested by Lachmann, seems preferable: *Tuisco* = *Tvisco*, the twin, *δίδυμος*, OHG. *Zwisco*, meaning perhaps one of the *Dios-curi*, the 'Castor Polluxque' of Tacitus (p. 66)? The form *Tuisto* least of all lends itself to explanation, though there are some derivatives in *-st*, *-ist*; and to connect AS. *Tætwa* with Teuto or *Tuisto* would seem hazardous. Anyhow we shall not explain everything; it is enough to have proved that in Tacitus's German theogony we see an unmistakable connexion with later traditions.

SUPERSTITIONS.

A. From a *Sermon of St Eligius* (b. 588. d. 659) contained in the *Vita Eligii of Audoennis Rotomagensis* (Aldwin of Rouen, d. 683 or 689), printed in D'Achery's *Spicileg.* tom. 5 ed. Paris. 1661. pp. 215-9.

Lib. 2, cap. 16. Ante omnia autem illud denuntio atque contestor, ut nullas Paganorum sacrilegas consuetudines observetis, non *caraios* (caragios),¹ non *divinos*, non *sortilegos*, non praecantatores, nec pro ulla causa aut infirmitate eos consulere vel interrogare praesumatis, quia qui facit hoc malum statim perdit baptismi sacramentum. Similiter et *auguria* vel sternutationes nolite observare, nec in itinere positi aliquas *ariculas cantantes* attendatis, sed, sive iter seu quodcumque operis arripitis, signate vos in nomine Christi, et symbolum et orationem dominicam cum fide et devotione dicite, et nihil vobis nocere poterit inimicus. Nullus Christianus observet, qua die domum exeat, vel qua die revertatur, quia omnes dies Deus fecit; nullus ad inchoandum opus *diem* vel *lunam* attendat; nullus in Kal. Jan. nefanda aut ridiculosa, *vetulus* aut *cervulos*² aut *jotticos* (al. uleriotcos) faciat, neque *mensas* super noctem *componat*, neque *strenus* aut *bibitiones* superfluas exerceat. Nullus Christianus in *puras* (al. pyras) credat, neque in cantu sedeat, quia opera diabolica sunt; nullus in festivitate S. Joannis vel quibuslibet sanctorum solemnitatibus *solstitia* aut *vallationes* (balationes?) vel *saltationes* aut *caraulas* (i.e. choraulas) aut *cantica diabolica* exerceat. Nullus nomina *daemouum*, aut *Neptunum* aut *Orcum* aut *Dianam* aut *Minervam* aut *Geniscum*, aut ceteras ejusmodi ineptias credere aut invocare praesumat. Nullus *diem Jovis*, absque festivitibus sanctis, nec in Maio nec ullo tempore in otio observet, neque *dies tinniarum* vel *murorum*, aut vel unum omnino diem, nisi tantum dominicum.

[¹ Ducange sub vv. *caragus*, *cararius*.—EHM.]

[² Ducange sub v. *cervula*. Gl. Sletst. 23, 3 in *cervulo*, in liodersáza; 23, 4 in *retula*, in dero varentun tragidi; 23, 8 coragios, liodirsázo —EHM.]

Nullus Christianus ad *fana* vel ad *petras* vel ad *fontes* vel ad *arbores*, aut ad *cellos* vel *per trivium* luminaria faciat, aut vota reddere praesumat. Nullus ad colla vel hominis vel cujuslibet animalis *ligamina* dependere praesumat, etiamsi a clericis fiant, et si dicatur quod res sancta sit et lectiones divinas contineat, quia non est in eis remedia Christi, sed venenum diaboli. Nullus praesumat *lustrationes* facere, nec *herbas* incantare, neque pecora *per cavam arborem* vel *per terram foratam* transire, quia per haec videtur diabolo ea consecrare. Nulla mulier praesumat *succinos* de collum dependere, nec in tela vel in tinctura sive quolibet opere *Minervam* vel *infaustas ceteras personas* nominare; sed in omni opere Christi gratiam adesse optare, et in virtute nominis ejus toto corde confidere. Nullus, si quando *luna obscuratur*, vociferare praesumat, quia Deo jubente certis temporibus obscuratur; nec *luna nova* quisquam timeat aliquid operis arripere, quia Deus ad hoc lunam fecit, ut tempora designet et noctium tenebras temperet, non ut alicujus opus impediatur, aut dementum faciat hominem, sicut stulti putant, qui a daemonibus invasos a luna pati arbitrantur. Nullus *dominos* solem aut lunam *vocet*, neque per eos juret, quia creatura Dei sunt et necessitatibus hominum jussu Dei inserviunt. Nullus sibi proponat *fatum* vel *fortunam*, aut *genesin*, quod vulgo nascentia dicitur, ut dicat ‘qualem nascentia attulit, taliter erit;’ quia Deus omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire. Praeterea, quoties aliqua infirmitas supervenerit, non quaerantur praecantatores, non diviui, non sortilegi, non *caragi*, nec per fontes aut arbores vel bivios diabolica phylacteria exercentur. . . .

Ante omnia, ubicumque estis, sive in domo, sive in itinere, sive in convivio, verba turpia et luxuriosa nolite ex ore vestro proferre Ludos etiam diabolicos et *vallationes* (ballat. ? i.e. saltationes) vel *cantica gentilium* fieri vetate, nullus haec christianus exercent, qui per haec paganus efficitur, nec enim justum est ut ex ore christiano cantica diabolica procedant. . . . Nulli creaturae praeter Deo et sanctis ejus venerationem exhibeatis, fontes vel arbores *quos sacros vocant* succidite; *pedum similitudines quos per bivia ponunt*, fieri vetate, et ubi inveneritis igni cremate, per nullam aliam artem salvari vos credatis nisi per invocationem et crucem Christi. Nam illud quale est, quod si arbores illae ubi miseri homines vota reddunt

ceciderint, nec ex eis ligna ad focum sibi deferunt? Et videte quanta stultitia est hominum, si arbori insensibili et mortuae honorem impendunt, et Dei omnipot. praecepta contem-
nunt. . . .

Nullus se inebriet, nullus in convivio suo cogat alium plus bibere quam oportet; . . . nullus vel in qualibet minima causa diaboli sequatur adinventiones, nullus, sicut dictum est, observet *egrediens aut ingrediens domum*, quid sibi *occurrat*, vel si aliqua vox reclamantis fiat, aut *qualis avis cantus garriat*, vel quid etiam portantem videat; quia qui haec observat, ex parte paganus dignoscitur. . . . Si quos cognoscitis vel occulte aliqua phylacteria exercere, expedit ut nec cibum cum eis sumatis, neque ullum consortium apud eos habeatis. . . .

Omni die dominico ad ecclesiam convenite, et ibi non causas, non rixas, vel otiosas fabulas agatis, et lectiones divinas cum silentio auscultate.

B. *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum* (at the end of the Capitulare Karlomanni of 743 apud *Liptinas*.¹ Pertz 3, 20).

- I. de sacrilegio ad sepulchra mortuorum.
- II. de sacrilegio super defunctos, id est *dudsisas*.
- III. de spurcalibus in Februario.
- IV. de casulis, id est fanis.
- V. de sacrilegiis per ecclesias.
- VI. de sacris silvarum quas *nimidas* vocant.
- VII. de his quae faciunt super petras.
- VIII. de sacris *Mercurii* vel *Jovis*.
- IX. de sacrificio quod fit alicui sanctorum.
- X. de phylacteriis et ligaturis.
- XI. de fontibus sacrificiorum.
- XII. de incantationibus.
- XIII. de auguriis, vel avium vel equorum vel bovis stercore, vel sternutatione.
- XIV. de divinis vel sortilegis.
- XV. de igne fricato de ligno, id est *nodfyr*.
- XVI. de cerebro animalium.

¹ [Conf. Hagen in Jrb. 2, 62] Liptinae, an old villa regia, afterw. Listines, in the Kemmerich (Cambresis) country, near the small town of Biuche.

- XVII. de observatione pagana in foco, vel in inchoatione rei alicujus.
- XVIII. de incertis locis quae colunt pro sacris.
- XIX. de petendo quod boni vocant sanctae Mariae.
- XX. de feriis quae faciunt *Jovi* vel *Mercurio*.
- XXI. de lunae defectione, quod dicunt *Vinceluna*.
- XXII. de tempestatibus et cornibus et cocleis.
- XXIII. de sulcis circa villas.
- XXIV. de pagano cursu quem *yrias* [Massmann's Form. 22: *frias*] nominant, scissis pannis vel calceis.
- XXV. de eo, quod sibi sanctos fingunt quoslibet mortuos.
- XXVI. de simulacro de consparsa farina.
- XXVII. de simulacris de pannis factis.
- XXVIII. de simulacro quod per campos portant.
- XXXIX. de ligneis pedibus vel manibus pagano ritu.
- XXX. de eo, quod credunt, quia feminae lunam commendent, quod possint corda hominum tollere juxta paganos.

Evidently the mere headings of the chapters that formed the *Indiculus* itself, whose loss is much to be lamented. It was composed towards the middle of the 8th cent. among German-speaking Franks, who had adopted Christianity, but still mixed Heathen rites with Christian. Now that the famous Abrennuntiatio has been traced to the same Synod of Liptinae, we get a fair idea of the dialect that forms the basis here. We cannot look for Saxons so far in the Netherlands, beyond the Maas and Sambre, but only for Franks, whose language at that time partook far more of Low than of High German. I do not venture to decide whether these were Salian Franks or later immigrants from Ripuaria.¹

C. From the Collect. of Decrees by *Burchard of Worms* (d. 1024),² Colon. 1548.

1, 94. Interrogatio, 42³: interrogandum, si aliquis sit magus, ariolus aut incantator, divinus aut sortilegus, vel si aliquis vota ad *arbores* vel ad *fontes* vel ad *lapides* faciat, aut ibi candelam

[¹GDS. 537.—EHM.]

[²D. 1025, Kl. schr. 5, 417.—EHM.]

³ This and the foll. Interrogations are drawn 'e decreto Eutyehiani papae (d. 283), cap. 9.'

seu quodlibet munus deferat, veluti ibi quoddam *numen* sit, quod bonum aut malum possit inferre. (Repeated 10, 32.)

Int. 43: perscrutandum, si aliquis subuleus vel bubuleus sive venator vel ceteri hujusmodi *diabolica carmina* dicat super panem, aut super herbas, aut super quaedam nefaria ligamenta, et haec aut in arbore abscondat, aut in bivio aut in trivio projiciat, ut sua animalia liberet a peste et clade, et alterius perdat. (Reptd. 10, 18.)

Int. 44: perquirendum, si aliqua femina sit, quae per quaedam maleficia et incantationes mentes hominum se immutare posse dicat, id est, ut de odio in amorem, aut de amore in odium convertat, aut bona hominum aut damnet aut surripiat. Et si aliqua est, quae se dicat, cum *daemonum turba in similitudinem mulierum transformata, certis noctibus equitare* super quasdam bestias, et in eorum consortio annumeratam esse. (Reptd. 10, 29.)

Int. 50: est aliquis, qui in Cal. Jan. aliquid fecerat quod *a paganis inventum* est, et *dies* observavit et *lunam* et *menses*; et horum effectiva potentia aliquid speraverit in melius aut in deterius posse converti.

Int. 51: est aliquis, quodcumque *opus inchoans*, qui aliquid dixerat, aut quacumque magica arte aliud fecit, nisi ut apostolus docet omnia in nomine Domini facienda.

Int. 52: quaerendum etiam, si mulieres in *lanificiis* suis vel in *ordiendis telis* aliquid dicant aut observent.

Int. 54: est aliquis, qui supra *mortuum* nocturnis horis *carmina diabolica* cantaret, et biberet et manducaret ibi, quasi de ejus morte gratularetur; et si alibi mortui in vigiliis nocturnis nisi in ecclesia custodiantur.

10, 1. Ut episcopi eorumque ministri omnibus viribus elaborare studeant, ut perniciosam et a diabolo inventam sortilegam et maleficam artem penitus ex parochiis suis eradicient, et si aliquem virum aut feminam hujusmodi sceleris sectatorem invenerint, turpiter dehonestatum de parochiis suis ejiciant Illud etiam non omittendum, quod quaedam sceleratae mulieres, retro post Satanam conversae, *daemonum* illusionibus et phantasmatis seductae, credunt se et profitentur 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. Sed utinam hae solae in perfidia sua perissent, et non multos secum in infidelitatis interitum pertraxissent! Nam innumera multitudo, hac falsa opinione decepta, haec vera esse credit, et credendo a recta fide deviat, et in errore Paganorum revolvitur.¹

10, 2. Pervenit ad nos, quosdam, quod dici nefas est, *arbores colere* et multa alia contra christianam fidem illicita perpetrare.²

10, 5. Qui divinationes expetunt et more Gentilium subsequuntur, aut in domos suas hujusmodi homines introducunt, *exquirendi* aliquid arte malefica aut *expiandi* causa, sub regula quinquennii jaceant.³

10, 6. Si quis, Paganorum consuetudinem sequens, divinos et sortilegos in domum suam introduxerit, quasi ut *malum foras mittat* aut maleficia inveniat, quinque annos poeniteat.⁴

10, 8. Qui auguriis vel divinationibus inserviunt, vel qui credit ut aliqui hominum sint *immissores tempestatum*, vel si qua mulier divinationes vel *incantationes diabolicas* fecerit, septem annos poeniteat.⁵

10, 9. Auguria, vel sortes, quae dicuntur false sanctorum, vel divinationes, qui eas observaverint, vel quarumcunque scripturarum vel votum voverint vel persolverint ad *arborem* vel ad *lapidem* vel ad quamlibet rem, excepto ad ecclesiam, omnes excommunicentur. Si ad poenitentiam venerint, clerici annos tres, laici annum unum et dimidium poeniteant.⁶

10, 10. Summo studio decertare debent episcopi et eorum ministri, ut *arbores daemonibus consecratae*, quas vulgus colit et in tanta veneratione habet, ut *nec ramum vel surculum audeat amputare*, radicitus excidantur atque comburantur. *Lapides* quoque quos in *ruinosis locis* et silvestribus, daemonum ludificationibus decepti, venerantur, ubi et *vota rovent et deferunt*, funditus

¹ Extra. above (p. 283). The whole passage was taken from the Council of Ancyra (yr 314). and is also in Regino's De disc. eccl. 2. 364. but without the words 'vel cum Heriodiade'; the Decree of Gratian II. 26. quaest. 5, 12 § 1 has it complete.

² E registro Gregorii Magni.

³ E concil. Ancy. cap. 23.

⁴ Ex concilio Martini papae (in Spain, abt 572), id est, ex Capit. Martini Bracarensis cap. 71; whence also Decr. Grat. II. 26. quaest. 5, 3 § 2.

⁵ E poenitentiali Romano.

⁶ From the same.

effodiantur, atque in tali loco projiciantur, ubi nunquam a cultoribus suis venerari possint.¹

10, 14. Mulier si qua filium suum ponit *supra tectum* aut *in fornacem* pro sanitate februm, unum annum poeniteat.²

10, 15. Non licet iniquas observationes agere calendarum, et otii vacare, neque lauro aut viriditate arborum cingere domos. Omnis haec observatio Paganorum est.³

10, 16. Si quis calendas Januarias ritu Paganorum colere, vel aliquid plus novi facere propter novum annum, aut *mensas cum lapidibus vel epulis* in domibus suis praeparare, et per vicos et plateas cantatores et echoros ducere praesumpserit, anathema sit.⁴

10, 31. Quicumque *nocturna sacrificia daemonum* celebraverint, vel incantationibus daemones quacunq[ue] arte ad sua vota invitaverint, tres annos poeniteant.⁵

10, 34. Laici, qui excubias funeris observant, cum timore et tremore et reverentia hoc faciant; nullus ibi praesumat *diabolica carmina* cantare, non joca et saltationes facere, quae Pagani diabolo docente adinvenerunt.⁶

19, 5 supplies the remaining extracts, the references being to pages :⁷

Pag. 193^b: si observasti traditiones Paganorum, quas quasi hereditario jure, diabolo subministrante, usque in hos dies semper patres filiis reliquerunt, id est, ut elementa coleres, id est, lunam aut solem aut stellarum cursum, novam lunam aut defectum lunae, ut *tuis clamoribus* aut auxilio *splendorem ejus restaurare* valeres, aut elementa tibi succurrere aut tu illis posses; aut novam lunam observasti pro domo facienda aut conjugiiis sociandis.

Pag. 193^c: observasti calendas Januarias ritu Paganorum, ut vel aliquid plus faceres propter novum annum, quam antea vel

¹ E concil. Namnetensi (Nantes, yr 895). [Mansi p. 172. cap. 20.]

² E poenitentiali Bedae. The poenitentiale Egberti Eboracensis 1, 33 (yr 748) in Mansi 12, 439. 475 has: 'Si mulier filiam suam super *domum* vel *fornacem* colloct, ideo ut febrim ejus curare velit.'

³ E decreto Martiani papae.

⁴ E decreto Zachariae papae, cap. ii.

⁵ E poenitentiali Romano.

⁶ E concil. Arelatensi (Arles, of which year?) cau. 3.

⁷ Whence did Burchard draw this large chapter 19, 5 extending from p. 188^d to 201^b? (His 19, 4 is avowedly from Poenitentiale Romanum, his 19, 6 fr. Poen. Theodori.) The German words in it, 'holda, werwolf, belisn' (pp. 194-8. 201) lead me to think that, here more than anywhere, he puts together what he himself knew of German superstitions, with additions from other collections.

post soleres facere, ita dico, ut aut *mensam tuam cum lapidibus vel epulis in domo tua praeparare* eo tempore, aut *per vicos et plateas cantores et choros duceres*, aut *supra tectum domus tuae sederes ense tuo circumsignatus*, ut ibi videres et intelligeres, quid tibi in sequenti anno futurum esset; vel *in bivio sedisti supra taurinam cutem*, ut et ibi futura tibi intelligeres, vel si *panes praedicta nocte coquere fecisti tuo nomine*, ut si bene elevarentur et spissi et alti fierent, inde prosperitatem tuae vitae eo anno praevideres.

Pag. 193^d: interfuisti aut consensisti vanitatibus quas mulieres exercent in suis *lanificiis*, in suis *telis*; quae, cum ordiuntur telas suas, sperent se utrumque posse facere cum incantationibus illarum, ut et *fila staminis* et *subtegmis* in invicem ita commisceantur ut, nisi his iterum aliis diaboli incantationibus e contra subveniant, totum pereat.

venisti ad aliquem locum ad orandum nisi ecclesiam, . . . id est, vel ad *fontes* vel ad *lapides* vel ad *arbores* vel ad *bivia*, et ibi aut *candelum* aut *faculam* pro veneratione loci *incendisti*, aut panem aut aliquam oblationem illuc detulisti aut ibi comedisti, aut aliquam salutem corporis aut animae ibi requisisti.

Pag. 194^a: credidisti unquam vel particeps fuisti illius perfidiae, ut incantatores, et qui se dicunt *tempestatum immissores* esse, possent per incantationem daemonum aut tempestates commovere aut mentes hominum mutare.

credidisti 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*)¹ vocat, *certis noctibus equitare debere super quasdam bestias*, et in eorum se consortio annumeratam esse.

Pag. 195^b: fecisti phylacteria diabolica vel characteres diabolicos, quos quidam diabolo suadente facere solent, vel *herbas* vel *succinos* vel *quintam feriam in honorem Jovis* honorasti.

comedisti aliquid de idolothito, i.e. de *oblationibus* quae in quibusdam locis ad *sepulchra mortuorum* fiunt, vel ad *fontes* aut ad *arbores* aut ad *lapides* aut ad *bivia*, aut *comportasti in aggerem lapides*, aut *capitis ligaturas* ad cruces quae in bivis ponuntur.

Pag. 195^c: misisti filium tuum vel filiam *super tectum* aut *super*

¹ 'Friga holdam' in Cod. Madrid., see Kl. schr. 5, 416-7.—EHM.]

fornacem pro aliqua sanitate, vel *incendisti grana* ubi mortuus homo erat, vel *cingulum mortui* pro damno alienjus *in nodos colligasti*, vel *pectines*, quibus mulierculae lanam discernere solent, supra funus *complosisti*, vel quando efferebatur funus a domo *plaustrum in duo dividisti* et funus *per median divisionem plaustri* asportare fecisti.

fecisti illas vanitates aut consensisti, quas stultae mulieres facere solent, dum cadaver mortui hominis adhuc in domo jacet, currunt ad aquam, et *adducunt tacite vas cum aqua*, et quum sublevatur corpus mortui, eandem *aquam fundunt subtus feretrum*; et hoc observant dum extra domum asportatur funus, (ut) *non altius quam ad genua elevetur*, et hoc faciunt pro quadam sanitate.

fecisti aut consensisti, quod quidam faciunt homini occiso cum sepelitur; *dant ei in manum unguentum* quoddam, quasi illo unguento post mortem vulnus sanari possit, et sic cum unguento sepeliunt.

Pag. 195^d: fecisti quod plures faciunt: scopant locum ubi facere solent ignem in domo sua, et *mittunt grana hordei* locae adhuc calido, et si esalierint grana, periculosum erit, si autem ibi permanserint, bonum erit.

fecisti quod quidam faciunt: dum visitant aliquem infirmum, cum appropinquaverint domui ubi infirmus decumbit, si invenerint aliquem lapidem juxta jacentem, *revolvunt lapidem*, et requirunt in loco ubi jacebat lapis, si ibi *sit aliquid subtus quod vivat*, et si invenerint ibi lumbricum aut muscam aut formicam aut aliquid quod se moveat, tunc affirmant aegrotum convalescere; si autem nihil ibi invenerint quod se moveat, dicunt esse moriturum.

fecisti pueriles arcus parvulos et puerorum suturalia, et projecisti sive in cellarium sive in horreum tuum, ut *satyri* vel *pilosi cum eis ibi jocarentur*, ut tibi aliorum bona comportarent, et inde ditior fieres.

fecisti quod quidam faciunt in calendis Januarii, i.e. in octava natalis Domini; qui ea sancta nocte *filant, nent, consuunt*, et omne opus quodcumque incipere possunt, diabolo iustigante propter novum annum incipiunt.

Pag. 198^c: credidisti quod quidam credere solent: dum iter aliquod faciunt, si *cornicula ex sinistra eorum in dexteram illis cantaverit*, inde se sperant habere prosperum iter; et dum anxii fuerint hospitii, si tunc avis illa quae *muriceps* vocatur, eo quod

mures capiat et inde pascatur nominata, *riam per quam vadunt ante se transvolaverit*, se illi augurio et omni magis committunt quam Deo.

credidisti quod quidam crederé solent: dum necesse habent ante lucem aliorum exire, non audent, dicentes quod *posterum sit*, et *ante galli cantum egredi non liceat* et periculosum sit, eo quod *immundi spiritus* ante gallicinium plus ad nocendum potestatis habeant quam post, et gallus suo cantu plus valeat eos repellere et sedare, quam illa divina mens quae est in homine sua fide et crucis signaculo.

credidisti quod quidam credere solent, quod sint *agrestes feminae*, quas *silvaticas* vocant, quas dicunt esse corporeas, et quando voluerint ostendant se suis amatoribus, et cum eis dicunt se oblectasse, et item quando voluerint abscondant se et evanescant.

fecisti ut quaedam mulieres in quibusdam temporibus anni facere solent, ut in domo tua *mensam praeparares*, et tuos cibos et potum *cum tribus cultellis* supra mensam poneres, ut si venissent *tres illae sorores* quas antiqua posteritas et antiqua stultitia *Parcas* nominavit, ibi reficerentur; et tulisti divinae pietati potestatem suam et nomen suum, et diabolo tradidisti, ita dico, ut crederes illas quas tu dicis esse sorores tibi posse aut hic aut in futuro prodesse.

Pág. 199^d: fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent et firmiter credunt, ita dico, ut si vicinus ejus *lacte vel apibus* abundaret, omnem abundantiam lactis et mellis, quam suus vicinus ante se habere visus est, ad se et sua animalia vel ad quos voluerint, a diabolo adjectae, suis fascinationibus et incantationibus se posse convertere credunt.

credidisti quod quaedam credere solent, ut quamcumque domum intraverint, pullos auarum, pavonum, gallinarum, etiam porcellos et aliorum *animalium foetus* verbo vel visu vel auditu *obfascinare* et perdere posse affirmant.

credidisti quod multae mulieres retro Satanam conversae credunt et affirmant verum esse, ut credas in quietae noctis silentio cum te collocaveris in lecto tuo, et marito tuo in sinu tuo jacente, te, dum corporea sis, *januis clausis exire posse*, et terrarum spatia cum aliis simili errore deceptis pertransire valere, et homines baptizatos et Christi sanguine redemptos, sine armis visibilibus, et

interficere et de coctis carnibus eorum vos comedere, et *in loco cordis eorum stramen aut lignum* aut aliquod hujusmodi ponere, et comestis, iterum vivos facere et inducias vivendi dare.

Pag. 200^a: credidisti quod quaedam mulieres credere solent, ut tu cum aliis diaboli membris in quietae noctis silentio clausis januis *in aërem usque ad nubes subleveris*, et ibi *cum aliis pugnes*, et ut vulneres alias et tu vulnera ab eis accipias.

fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent: prosternunt se in faciem, et discopertis natibus, jubent ut supra nudas nates conficiatur *panis*, et eo decocto tradunt maritis suis ad comedendum; hoc ideo faciunt, ut plus exardescant in amorem illorum.

posuisti infantem tuum juxta ignem, et alius caldariam supra ignem cum aqua misit, et ebullita aqua superfusus est infans et mortuus. (Repeated 19, 149.)

fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent, diabolicis adimpletae disciplinis; quae *observant vestigia* et indagines Christianorum, et *tollunt de eorum vestigio cespitem* et illum observant, et inde sperant sanitatem aut vitam eorum auferre.

Pag. 200^b: fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent: tollunt *testam hominis et igni comburunt*, et cinerem dant viris suis ad bibendum pro sanitate.

fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent, illae dico quae habent vagientes infantes, *effodiunt terram* et ex parte *pertusant* eam, et *per illud foramen pertrahunt infantem* et sic dicunt vagientis infantis cessare vagitum.

fecisti quod quaedam mulieres instinctu diaboli facere solent: cum aliquis infans sine baptismo mortuus fuerit, tollunt cadaver parvuli, et ponunt in aliquo secreto loco, et *palo corpusculum ejus transfigunt*, dicentes, si sic non fecissent, quod infantulus surgeret et multos laedere posset.

Pag. 200^c: cum aliqua femina parere debet et non potest, in ipso dolore si morte obierit, in ipso sepulchro matrem cum infante *palo in terram transfigunt*.

Pag. 200^d: cum infans noviter natus est, et statim baptizatus et sic mortuus fuerit, dum sepeliunt eum, in dexteram manum ponunt ei *pateram ceream* cum oblata, et in sinistram manum *calicem* cum vino similiter *cereum* ponunt ei, et sic eum sepeliunt.

Pag. 201^a: fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent: deponunt vestimenta sua, et totum *corpus nudum melle inungunt*,

et sic mellito suo corpore *supra triticum* in quodam linteo in terra deposito sese hac atque illac saepius *revolvunt*, et cuncta tritici grana, quae humido corpori adhaerent, cautissime colligunt et in molam mittunt, et retrorsum contra solem molam circuire faciunt, et sic in farinam redigunt, et de illa farina *panem* conficiunt, et sic maritis suis ad comedendum tradunt, ut comesto pane marcescant et deficiant.

Pag. 201^b: fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent: dum *pluviam non habent* et ea indigent, tunc plures puellas congregant, et unam *parvulam puellam* quasi duces sibi praeponunt, et eandem *denudant*, et extra villam, ubi herbam iusquiamum (hyos-cyamum) inveniunt, quae Teutonice *belisa*¹ vocatur, sic nudatam deducunt, et eandem herbam eandem virginem sic nudam *minimo digito dextrae manus eruere* faciunt, et radicitus erutam cum ligamine aliquo ad *minimum digitum dextri pedis ligare* faciunt. Et singulae puellae singulas virgas in manibus habentes supradictam virginem herbam post se trahentem *in flumen proximum introducunt*, et cum eisdem virgis virginem *flumine aspergunt*, et sic suis incantationibus pluviam se habere sperant. Et post eandem virginem sic nudam, *transpositis et mutatis in modum cancri vestigiis*, a flumine ad villam inter manus reducant.

D. From the *Zurich Pap. MSS.* (Wasserkirch-bibl.) B ²²³/₇₃₀. 4to. written 1393, perh. at Zurich, cert. in Switzld. (Communic. by Wackernagel.)

38. r. . . . du solt nüt glöben an zöber noch an luppe noch an hesse noch an lachenen noch an für-sehen² noch an messen noch an die naht-fröwen, noch an der agelster schrien, noch an die brawen vñ der wangen iucken, noch an die batenien, noch an deheiner hant dinges das vnglöb si.

140. r. . . . Dis stuk seit (tells) vou den lossern vñ von den valschen propheten.

Die losserr vñ die valschen gotförmigen wissagen das sint die lüt die inen selben zü-eigenent vñ zü-legent (arrogate) etlichú

[¹ 'Herbam *quantanvis* inveniunt, quae Teutonice *bilisa* vocatur,' Cod. Madrid., see Kl. schr. 5, 417. *Bilisa* sounds like Pol. *bilica*, *bielica*, but that is *artemisia*. Our *bilse*, henbane, is Pol. *bielum*, Russ. *belená*.—EHM.]

[² Evid. *fiur-sehen* (fire-gazing), not *für-sehen* (fore-seeing).—EHM.]

ding, dú allein des waren Gottes eigen sint, ân alles vrlöb, von ir eignen bosheit vñ ir grossen valscheit. Das ist, das sú kúnftig ding vor-wissagent, vnd zúhend da-mit vnzallich vil selen mit inen zú der helle. wan sú begnúget nút (for, not content) an ir selbs bosheit, si wellen öch ander lút mit inen ziehen in den ewigen tot, die si betrúgent von des túvels rat mit ir bösen listen. Nv sint dirre valschen *wissen* vil, das ist, der *lossungen* vnd solicher *wissagung*. Etlich geschihet dur den bösen geist *phytonem appollinem*, der ein vrlab ist der selben bosheit. Etlich geschihet in dem fúr (fire), dú wirt genemmet *pyromancia*. Ein andrú heisset *aeromancia*, dú geschihet in dem luft. Ein andrú *geomancia*, dú geschihet in dem ertrich. Ein andrú *ylromancia*, dú geschihet in dem wasser. Ein andrú heisset (Here begins 140. v.) *nigromancia*, das da ze Latine ist ein toter. Wan dur trúgnússe werdent etwenne geachtet die toten erstanden sin von dem tot, vnd dunket die lút wie si warsagen, vnd entwürten der dingen, der sú gefraget werdin (for the dead are imagined to have risen, and to prophesy and answer things that they are asked). Vnd dis geschihet dur die anrúffung vnd beschwerung der túvelen.

Hier-vmb súlent ellú M^e (therefore should all men) bekennen vnd fúr war wissen, das ein ieklicher mensche, wib oder man, der da haltet oder vebet (practises) solich *wissagung* oder *losen* von *zöber*, oder *bescherten*. oder *luppe*. oder *hezze*. oder *lachsen*. oder *fúr-sehen*¹ oder *messen*. oder der *agelster schrien*. oder *vogel-sang*. oder *brawen* oder *wangen iucken*. oder von den *bathinien* oder *deheiner hant* das ungelöb ist. oder der es gern hört vnd vernimet. oder den gehillet, die es vebent vnd haltent. oder es wol glöbt, Ald der in ir huz zú in tag (l. gat, goes), Ald der sú in sin hus fúret, vmb das er sú rates frag (or who brings them to his own house, to ask their advice), Der sol wissen, das er sinen kristanen glöben vnd sinen tuf hat vber-gangen vnd gebrochen. Vnd das er si ein heiden. Ein abtrúnger vnd ein vrient Gottes. Vnd wisse sich swarlich in-löffen (incurred) oder in-valled in den zorn Gottes. Vnd das er ab síle varn in die ewigen verdampnússe. Es si denne das er vor (unless he first) mit kristenlicher penitencie oder rúw werde gebessert vnd gesúnt Got.

[¹ Evid. *fiur-sehen* (fire-gazing), not *fúr-sehen* (fore-seeing).—EHM.]

[Here follows within commas transl. of Burchard 10, 1 above : Illud etiam—revolvitur.] “Ouch ist das nüt under wegen ze lassenne oder ze übersehenne, das etlich *meintetigú wiber*, die da nach dem túvel Sathan bekert sint, vnd mit der túvel verspottung vnd mit fantasien oder trúgnússe sint verwiset, Das die glöben vnd veriehent das si selber vnd ein grössú *mengi wiben ritten* vnd *varen* mit der *heiden gúttinnen* dú da heisset *Dyana*, oder mit *Herodiade*, uf etlichen *walt-tieren* in der *nacht-stilli dur vil ertriches* oder *landes*. Vnd das si irem gebot gehorsam sien als einer *gewaltigen fröwen*. Vnd das sú dú selb *gúttinne* ze benemten nechten rúffe zú irem dienst. Vnd hie-von haltent sú. Vnd wólti Got das dis wiber allein in solcher wis verdorben weren gegen Got, vnd nüt vil mit inen gezogen vnd verwiset hettin in das verderben des bösen (141. r.) vnglöben. Wan ein vnzallichú *mengi* ist mit diser valschen wis betrogen, die da glöbent das es war si, vnd da-mit das si es glöbent ab dem weg gant des rechten glöben, vnd in-wollen werdent der scheinlichen irrung der heidenen,” das si glöben vnd wenen wellen, das ichtes iht götliches oder götlicher kraft vssert-halb einem waren Got si.

Hier-vmb súlent die priester dur die kilchen, die inen enpholhen sint, dem volk Gottes mit grossem flisse steteklich ob-ligen, vnd inen predien vnd sicherlichen bewisen, das si bekeunent werden, das disú ding ellú valsch sint vnd nüt sint von dem götlichen geist, me das si halten das dis trúgnust ingegebe si, entrúwen (verily) von dem bösen geist dem gemút der glöbigen werden (arise) solchen wibs gemút (sic omnia), vnd dur vnglöben er si im selber hat undertenig gemachet. Alzehant wandlet er denne aber sich in gesteltnús vnd in gleichheit menger hant personen. Vnd das gemút das er gevangen haltet, das betruget er in dem slaf. Vnd offenbart im ietzt frólichú ding, denne trurigú, ietz bekant personen, den vnbekant, vnd fúrt die *dur die wildinen* vnd *dur die lender*. Vnd so der unglöbig geist dis trúgnúg allein lidet, so haltet er nüt das dis in dem gemút gescheh, sunder in dem libe (body); wan wer ist der mensche der nüt in trómen vnd in offenbarungen oder gesichten der nechten nüt vs-geleitet werde von im selben, da er slaffend meniges siht (sees) das er wachend nie gesach (saw) oder villich niemer gesicht (will see)? Vnd hier-vmb wer ist

also torecht ald so vüvernünftig, der disú ellú, dú da allein in dem geist geschehent, úber ein wenet vnd haltet das es geschehe in dem libe, etc.

(Fol. 143. r.) . . . Nv mngent dis valsch vnd vppig ernzien (fulsome remedies) geteilet werden nach den menig-valtigen dúrften, von der wegen sie geúbt werdent (classed acc. to their uses). Etlich geschehent von der lút siechheit wegen oder des vihes. Etlich fúr unberhaftikeit. Etlich fúr die erbeit der fröwen, die nút geben mngen. Etlich wider den hagel vnd das ungewitter. Ander wider allerlei pin. Hier-vmb ist den ze ratenne, die suslichv ding lident (we advise them that suffer such things), das sú ellú *túuellich gespenst* lassent, vnd den allein rates vmb ir notturf fragen (ask Him alone for counsel in their need) vnd von im es súchen, von des gewalt ellú ding geschaffen sint, vnd von des willen ellú ding berichtet werdent. Vnd súllent sprechen demútklich. 'Herre Got, kum vns ze helf.' Wan (for) dur vns vermugen wir nihtes nit, sunder vns gebristet (we fail) ob wir getrúwen haben dur vns. Vnd dar-vmb wer da lidet siechheit, der hab allein in die barmherzikeit Gottes ein gútes getrúwen, vnd enphahi (receive) den heiligen fron-lichamen (Lord's body) vnd das heilige blút vnsers lieben Herren Ihesv Christi mit festem glöben vnd mit gúter andaht. Vnd begere öch das gesegnet öli von der heiligen kilchen getrúwlich. Vnd also nachdem vns der apostel sprichet, so behaltet das gebette des glöben (prayer of faith) den siechen.

Nu gat aller-meist mit diser úppikeit der zöbrie vmb (what has the chief hand in sorcery is) die (143 v.) bôs kúndikeit der *valschen* vnd *schellichen wiben*, als öch glich da-vor geseit (said) ist. Wan dik (for often) vnd vil als vil es an inen ist, so enteren vnd versmachten solich die sacrament der heiligen kilchen. Vnd etwenne wúrkent sú mit inen, das erschrokenlich öch ze sagenne vnd ze hören ist allen wol glöbenden M^e (men). Vnd hier-vmb werdent si gesehen böser vnd wirser den die túuel. Wan die túuel glöbent Got vnd fúrhtent in mit zittrunge. Zú dem dise ân vorht vnd ân zitter gánt (go without fear or trembling). Vnd wúrkent mit Gottes fron-licham vngenemú vnd unerlichú ding. Des man ein gliches zeichen oder wunder liset in der geschrift von eim wib, die in der selben wis vnsers Herren fron-licham enphieng, vnd behúv den *in irem mund*, vnd gieng also

hin, vnd *kuste iren man, vmb das sin minne grösser wurde zû ir* denne vor. Und zehant wart dú hostie gewandelt in fleisch. Vnd do si des gewar ward, do wolt si unsern Herren wider vs han geworfen. Do wúrt vnser Herre da sin wunder, das si in weder mocht vsgerworfen noc geslinden (wafer in mouth, she went and kissed her husband, to increase his love for her; the wafer turned into flesh, and she could neither spit it out nor swallow it), etc.

(Fol. 144. r). . . . Wie das nv da-vor geseit si, das man miden súle solich erzenie die in solicher túuel-licher wis geschehent. Doch wer der weri der das heilsami krut mit den xij stúken des glöben vnd mit dem pater noster schribe (144. v.) an einen brief, vnd den denne leiti (then laid it) vf den siechen, vmb das Got aller ding schepfer also geeret werde, das en-wirt nít verworfen noch versmachtet, so man keins der vorgeanten verworfenen vnd falschen dingen mit dar-zû mischelt. Vnd *zit halten* ernzie ze gebenne, vnd zu den lessinen ist öch nít ze verwerfenne. vnd och bedút die der zit war-nement ze seiennne (sow) vnd böm ze behöwenne (hew). Vnd zû solchen dingen die zû gebúrschen (farming) werken behörent, die sint dar-vmb nít ze straffene. Wan die natúrlichen bescheidenheit mag man halten oder veben in den dingen. Vnd si heint öch ein sicher bescheidenheit Alsdenne So man kein ander vppig haltunge meinert, noch dar-zû lat gan. Ze verstemmenne suslicher vertúmlicher vnd schedlicher bosheit sol in allen wis geflissen sin, vnd hier zû munder sin die kúndikeit der priester, der selen besorger, Das nít die kristenlich geistlicheit mit disen valschen vorgeseiten dingen werde entreinet vnd verwiset. Vnd wider infalle in die sitten der heidschen vnd túuelschen vnglöben, das ein glöb der menschen gemút werde vnd si, vnd ein miltikeit der werken An ze betten einen waren Got den Vater vnd den Sun vnd den heiligen Geist, der da ist gebenediet in die welt der welten.¹

E. From a paper MS. of the Basle Univ. Libr., fol., 15th cent., marked *A. v. 19*. (Communic. by Wackernagel.)

1. r. a. Incipit registrum super libro. de supersticionibus ab eximio magistro *Nicolao magni de gawe*. sacre theologie pro-

[¹ Conf. the eccles. and non-eccles. benedictions in Hpt's Ztschr. 4, 576.—EHM.]

fessore anno a natiuitate saluatoris M^occcc^oxv^o. edito secundum ordinem alphabeti.¹

10. v. b. Per hoc statim patet falsitas et error quorundam fatuorum astronimorum dicentium se posse facere *ymagines* sub certa constellatione, per virtutes suas cogentes *demonas* ut veniant ad istas *ymagines*, ad operandum quaedam mira et ad dandum responsa. Sed veniunt non coacti propter duo, ut Thomas dicit ibidem (ante: sanctus thomas parte prima. q. xliij) in solucione 2ⁱ articuli et hoc incertis constellationibus. Primo quidem, ut homines in hunc errorem inducant ut credant aliquod numen esse in celis. Sicut vnā vetulam noui, que credidit *Solem* esse *deam*, vocans eam *sanctam dominam*.

11. r. a. et alloquendo eum solem. benedixit per eum sub certis verbis, sub osservancia quadam supersticiosa, que dixit se plus quam quadraginta annos credidisse, et multas infirmitates curasse. Insuper hodie inveniuntur homines tam layci quam clerici, literati quam illiterati, et quod plus dolendum est, valde magni, qui cum *novilunium* primo viderint, *flexis genibus adorant. vel deposito capucio vel pileo, inclinato capite honorant* alloquendo et suscipiendo. ymmo eciam plures ieiunant ipso die *novilunij*, sive sit dies dominica in qua secundum ordinationem ecclesie non est ieiunandum propter resurrectionis leticiam, sive quacunque alia die. eciam si esset dies dominice natiuitatis. que omnia habent speciem ydolatric. ab idolatris relicte. de quibus Jeremie vij scribitur. quod fecerunt placentas regine celi s. lune offerendo eas ei. Et quidam volentes hoc palliare dicunt quod non honorant lunam ieiunando, sed omnes sanetos. quorum festa et ieiunia incidunt in mēse lunacionis vise. Ecce qualis est ista excusacio, etc.

11. r. b. Sic eciam de mandato quo preceptum fuit, quod *nidum cum ouis* vel pullis et matre desuper incubante non deberent simul seruare, sed matrem permittere auolare. Deut^o. xxij. hoc enim quando inuenerunt, trahebant ad fecunditatem et ad fortunam, si conseruarentur simul. Et per oppositum ad infortunium et sterilitatem quod gentile erat. Sic modo vetule dicunt *inuencionem acus vel obuli reseruati esse prestigium magne fortune*. Et per oppositum de inuencione magni thesauri.

11. v. b. Similiter prohibitum fuit eis ne viri vterentur vesti-

[¹ Several MSS. at Munich.—Gawe is Jauer in Schlesien.—EHM.]

bus mulierum. Et e converso. Et de hac prohibitione dicitur Deut°. xxij. Non induetur mulier veste virili, nec vir utetur veste feminea. abhominabilis enim apud Deum est qui facit, quia mulieres in veneracione *Martis* induerunt vestes et arma vivorum. et viri in veneracione *Veneris* vestes mulierum. Sic nunc fit in hominibus christianis tempore carnis privii, quando seruiunt deo ventris et dee *Veneris*. tam viri quam mulieres. Item *incisiones* fecerunt *super mortuos* ad placandum Deum, ut vehemenciam doloris de *morte thaurorum* exprimerent. quod adhuc multi faciunt christiani de *morte thaurorum* suorum, quod utique est de specie plutonis. *Stigmata* vero et figuras adhuc et christiani faciunt et vocant *breuia*. et in propriis codicibus, cartis alijsque in rebus videlicet in metallis reseruant. que ydolatria vera sunt, ymmo christiane religioni contraria sive aduersa.

12. r. a. Sed quia obseruaciones *sompniorum*, auguriorum, *constellacionum*, *sternutacionum*, *obuiacionum*, *dierum* et *horarum*, *stigmatum*, *characterum*, *ymaginum*, et *impressionum* astrorum non solum vicine sunt ydolatrie, sed eciam vere ydolatrie cum radicibus et intime sunt perscrutanda (l. exstirpandae?) quibus omnibus se fraus *antiqui serpentis* immiscet, quemadmodum prius dictum est.

12. v. b. Sed forte adhuc diceres. videtur vtique quod *demonēs* proprie generent, quia compertum est et apud vulgares communiter dicitur, quod filij *demonum incuborum* mulieribus, eorum filijs subtractis, ab ipsis demonibus *supponantur*. et ab eis tanquam proprii filij nutriantur. propter quod eciam *cambiones* dicuntur, eciam *cambiti* vel mutuati, et mulieribus parientibus, propriis filijs subtractis, suppositi, hos dicunt macilentos, semper eiulantes, lactis eosque bibulos, ut quod nulla vbertate lactis vnum lactare sufficiunt. 13. r. a. Hij tamen, postquam in terris commorati sunt, dicuntur euanuisse. . . . Ex quo patet quod tales pueri non generantur a demonibus, sed sunt ipsimet *demonēs*. sicut eciam possent apparere in specie vetularum rapiencium pueros de cunis, que vlgo *fatue* vocantur, de nocte apparentes et paruulos ut apparet *lauare* et *igne assare*, que demonēs sunt in specie vetularum.

F. From a paper codex of the 14th (15th?) cent., in the library at St. Florian. (Communic. by Chmel.)

1. So ain fraw pracht wirt zu dem chind, so *czeucht* sy dem chind *ainen zwelf-poten*, so stirbt das chind an tauff nicht (conf. 39 and H, 50).

2. item an dem Vaschang-tag, so *werseyt* sy *prein* an *die dillen*, velt er herab, so stirbt er des iars.

3. item *milich essent* sy des nachts, so waschent sy weis des iars.

4. item *ayr* (eggs) *essent* sy, so wernt sy nicht herтт an dem pauch des iars.

5. item so man an dem Oster-tag legt man *würst* (sausages) vnder das chrawt vnd ain *gens* (goose). welcher die würst siecht, der siecht des iars chain slangen, vnd wer der gens ist (cats), der gewint des iar des chalten siechten nit.

6. item den *spekch* (lard) den man weicht mit den praitigen, do *smirent* dy pawrn (farmers) den *phlüg* mit, so mag man sew nicht zaubern.

7. item an dem Weihnacht abent, so get ainew zu ainem *scheiterhauffen* vnd zuht ain scheuit (pulls a log) aus dem hauffen [in] des teufels nam. pegreiffт sy ain langs, so wirt ir ain langer man (conf. 49).

8. item an dem Vaschang-tag, steigt ains avf *ainen pawn* (tree) vnd schrait '*alheit!*' mit schelt-warten '*trag die phaim her haim,*'¹ so wirt des iars nicht natig.

9. ee man zu der metten an dem Weihnachttag get, so greiffт ains *vnder die pankch* vnd nynt ain hant-uolle *molten* (mould) heraus. vint es *etwas labentigis* in den molten, so stirbt es des iars nicht.

10. so man die *palm* haim-trait von kirchen, so legent sy sew ee *in die chue chrip* (lay it first in the cows' crib), ee das sy sew under das tach (roof) tragent. so gent die chue des iars gern haim.

11. item die *pürsten* die man zu den *palm* stekcht, do pürsten sy das viech (they brush the cattle) mit, so wernt sie nicht lausig.

12. item *palm* legent sy *under das chrawt* hefen, so vallent nicht fleugen (flies) in das chrawt.

[¹ 'ja izz hie haim nicht olheit,' Hielbl. 8, 594.—EHM.]

13. item si tragent *vmb das haws*, ee si sew hin-in tragent, so essent die fuchs der huner (fowls) nicht.

14. item an dem Weinacht-tag zu metten-zeit get man *mit liecht* zu ainem *prunn* (well), vnd *lügt in den prunn*; siecht es sten in dem prunn ain man, so nymbt es des iars ainn man.

15. 'ich pewt dir *plater* u. *fel* pey der heiligen sel die parn (born) ist zu Iherusalem vnd tauft im Jordan, das du nicht en-peitest der mess vnd des ampts, pey dem Vater vnd Sun vnd dem heyligen Geist.' vnd sprich z *p̄r ũr*, vnd tue das drey mal.

16. item so ainen von *taten vischen* trawmt (dreams of dead fish), sol ains sterben aus dem selben haus.

17. item so ain viech nicht gen mag (if a beast cannot walk), so pintt man im ain *pant* (bindeth a band) an ainem *Suntag* vmb, vnd macht den chnoph oben zu, so wirt im sein puz.

18. item so ain chue ain erst-chalb trait, so nympt die peyrinn ain *aichen-laub* (farmer's wife takes an oak-leaf), vnd stekcht en mitten ain *nadel* darin, vnd legt es en mitten in den sechter, vnd nympt dan das *vberuckh* mit dem *hor* vnd *spindl* ab dem rokchen, vnd stekcht es auch en mitten in den sechter, so mag man der chue nicht nemen die milich, vnd des ersten milcht sy in den sechter, do das ding inn stekcht die selb chue [am ersten], die weil das dinkch dar-inn stekcht.

19. so man die chuee an die waid (pasture) treibt, so grebt (buries) man ain *ēkēl*¹ *unter den gatern*, vnd treibt das viech darvber, so mag man sew nicht zaubern.

20. item *Sand Blasen wasser* gibt man ze trinkchen den iungen huenrn vnd gensen (fowls and geese), ee man sew ab dem nest nymbt, so trait sew der fuchs nicht hin, vnd sind sicher von dem orn.

21. item so aine ain *chalb verchauft* (sells), so sneyt sy dem chalb das wedl ab ab seinem swenczl (cuts the tuft off its tail), vnd des hars ab dem rechten arm, vnd gibts der chue ze essen. so rert sy nicht nach dem chalb.

22. item so aine der andern ir *milich* wil nemen, vnd macht das sy pseichent, so nymbt sy drey *chroten* (toads) auf ein *mel-mülter* ain abichen, vnd traitz der chue für, dy *lerft* dy chroten in sich,

[¹ The word means steel.—EHM.]

so ist ir nachpawrin irer milich prawbt (bereft), vnd sy hat dy milich.

23. item so ains stirbt, so hant etleich den glauben (some think), di *sel hab nicht rueb* (ruh, rest?), unez man ir aus leitt.

24. item etleich sprechent, die weil man lewtt (toll), so wert die *sel* peichtich. etleich sprechent, so sich die sel schaid von dem leichnam, so sey sy die erst nacht hincz Sand *Gerdrawten*, dy ander nacht pey Sand *Michel*, die dritt wo si hin verdint hab (has deserved).

25. item etleich glaubent, die *sel* genn aus den *weizen*¹ an der Sambstag-nacht, vnd sein herausen vnez an den Mantag, so müssen sy wider in die *pen*.

26. item etleich essent nicht *fleichs* des Phincz-tags in der chottemer,² so sterbent sy nicht in dem sterb.

27. item so ainem die *oren seusent* (one's ears ring), so habent sy den glauben, man red vbl von inn.

28. item so ainem die chnie geswellent, so get es zu ainer frawn die *zwendling* getragen hat, vnd heist sey (bids her) im *ain faden spinnen*, den pintz (this he binds) yber die chnie, so wirt him pas.

29. item das die *hüner haubat* werden (chicks be tufted), so sy die henn ansezt, so *kult* sy ain *zuczl an*, vnd macht ainen *chnoph auf dem haupp*, vnd halt in also auf dem haupp, so geschiecht es.

30. item an dem Sunnbent-tag (solstice), so geht aine *ersling auf allen viern mit plassem leib* zu irs nachtpahirn *tar* (backwards on all fours, naked, to her neighbour's gate), vnd mit den fuzzen steigt sy ersling an dem *tar* auf, vnd mit ainer hant halt sy sich, vnd mit der andern *sneit sy drey span* (cuts 3 chips) *aus dem tar*, vnd spricht, zu dem ersten span spricht sy 'Ich sneit den ersten span, Noch aller milich wan.' zu dem andern auch also. zu dem dritten spricht sy 'Ich sneit den dritten span, Noch aller meiner nappaurinnen milich wan.'³ vnd get *ersling auff allen viern* her wider dan haim.

31. item die swangern (pregnant) frawn *messent ain dacht* noch Sand *Sixt* pild (measure a wick by St Sixtus's image), als lank

¹ Souls come out of Purgatory (OHG. wizi, AS. wite) every Saturday.

² Thursday in the Whitsun Ember-days (quatember).

³ 'Wan milich' in orig.

es ist, vnd guertus (gird it) vber den pauch, so misslingt in nicht an der purd (birth). oder des *man's gurtl* gurtn se vmb.

32. item so man in den *Rauch-nachten* auf *ain tisch siczt*, so habent des iars dy lewt vil aiss.

33. item in der lesten *Rauch-nacht* tragent sy ain ganczen *laib* vnd *ches* (loaf and cheese) *vmb das haus*, vnd peissent (bite) darab. als manig pissen man tan hat. so vil *schober* (stacks, cocks) wernt im auf dem veld.

34. das man das viech des iars nicht schindt (not have to skin as carrion). item in den *Rauch-nachten* so *schint* man nicht *sponholz* (not rend laths, shingles), noch *reibsch* (rummage) an den ofen nicht, noch *lakchen* (shreds, litter) macht in der stuben. so wernt nicht in den velden plas fleckch (bare patches). Aber vmb das raissen dy spen vber den ofen, das tüt man darvmb, das der habern nicht prantig wert (oats be not blighted).

35. item in den *Vuder-nachten* trait man nicht *reitter* (sieve) vber den hof, das das viech *nich da-durich luey*, das es nicht werd schiech, noch hin scherff.

36. item *durich ain reitter saicht* ainew (if a girl sift), so tanczt man mit ir vor fur (in preference to) die andern (conf. 60).

37. item an dem Weihnacht-morgen haist man die *ros rennen gen wasser* (horses run against water), vnd wirft der (if he throw) ainn aphl in das wasser die weil es trincht, das der *aphl gegn dem ross rün*, so wirt das ross resch zu arbeit des iars.

38. item so ainem trawmt wie der ofen nider sey gevallen, so stirbt aintweder wirt oder die wirtin (master or mistress).

39. die schwangern frawn, so sew zu Gotz tisch gent, an demselben tag *ziechent* si dem chind ainen *XII poten*, so stirbt das chind nicht (conf. 1).

40. so zway chon-lewt die *erst nacht pey ligent*, welchs *ee entslefft*, das stirbt ee (whichever sleeps first will die first).

41. item man *windt* nicht *wid* (not twist osiers) in den *Under-nachten*, das sich dy lewt in *kranhait* nicht *winten* (writhe).

42. item man *haspht* nicht, so wirt das viech nicht *haspen*.

43. item an dem Weihnacht-abend, noch an dem *rauchen*, so *messent* die lewt 9 *lffl wasser in ain hefen* (measure 9 spoonfuls into a pail), vnd lassent es sten vncz an den tag, vnd *messent herwider auf*. ist sein mynner (less of it), das dy mass nicht gancz ist, so chumpt es des iars in *armüt* (poverty). ist sy gancz, so

pestet es (stay as before). ist sein aber mer, so wirt es vberflus-sikleich *reich*.

44. item man *wirft gruemat* (throw after-hay) vnd *quietn*¹ *habern* (oats) in denselben nachten *auf ain dach*, vnd lassentz darauf ligen uncz sy ent nement (till those nights end). so gebent's es dem viech's ze essen, so schullen es die *chran* (crows) des iars nicht essen, vnd wernt darzue fruchtper.

45. item *spanholz* schint man nicht, das man des iars des viech nicht schint (conf. 34).

46. item man lokcht dy saw für das tar (entice the pigs outside the gate) an dem Weinacht-margen, vnd gibt in habern in *ainem raif*, vnd sprechent: '*die meins nachtpawrn ain sümpl. die mein ein grumpl.*' so sind sew des iars frisch, vnd seins natpawr krankch. vnd des iars gentz (they go) gern an das veld.

47. item die paum *chust* man (kiss the trees), so werden se fruchtper des iars.

48. item zu dem Weinacht-tag, so man gen metten gedt, so *slecht ainer ain holz ab* (chops a stick down) vnd traid's mit im haim, vnd *an dem Sunbent-abent legt er's an das fewr*. so choment all *znaubln* [knüppel, cudgels?] zu dem fewr, dew in der ganzen pharr (parish) sind.

49. item in den Unter-nachten lauffent dy iunkfrawn an den *sumerlangen zawn* (hedge) des nachts. pegreiffit sy ainen *langen stekchen*, so wirt ir ain langer man (conf. 7).

50. item allew *milich-hefen stürzen* sy (turn all the milkpails upside down) *auf den tisch*, vnd *rauchentz* (smoke them). so stilt (steals) man in dy milich nicht.

51. auch so man gen metten get. so der mensch ain *runczt* vnd *get vber sich*, so stirbt er des iars nicht.

52. item in denselben nachten ist chain mensch auf der welt nicht, so hungert es des iars nicht vast, vnd gwint leicht genüg.

53. item zu derselben zeit, so ains *chrophat* ist (has the goitre), so wirt er sein also an (rid of it?), so ains *chlocht*, vnd spricht '*se hin mein chroph an deinen chroph,*' vnd greift an den *chroph*, and *tüt das venster die weil auf*, vnd wirft in hinaus, so verget er im glucklaw.

54. item man *nist* (sneezes) nicht in den nachten. so stirbt das viech nicht.

¹ Thrashed, beaten, pounded?

55. item den *rauch-scherben* (censer?) gebt sy *drey stund* (3 times *vber sich*. so peissent es (bite them) dy . . . nicht des iars.

56. item *abdroyn phenning*, *twecht* man im (a worn-out penny, if one twigs it), an den Weihnacht-tag, so lassent sich dy *phening* gern *gwinen*.

57. item wer *wolf* oder *fuchs* nent, dem stet des iars das *gewant* (clothes) nicht recht.

58. item hent v. oren (hands on ears) habent sy *vber das fewr*, so chumpt *chain or-hol* in das or nicht, noch dy *negel swernt* (fester) in nicht.

59. item so man ain *taczs*¹ gen kirchen trait fur (past) ain *haws*, so lauft aine in dem haus hin vnd seczt (a girl in the house runs and sits down) *auf ainm drifüzz*, so wirt ir der selbe man (conf. 65).

60. das man mit ainer *var tancz* (sooner dance with her). ee das sy zu dem tancz get, so sicz auf ainm *drifues*, oder sy *saicht durich ain reitter*. so tancz man mit ir *var* für die andern (conf. 36).

61. ain *schuester*, so er *schuech zu-sneyt* (cuts out shoes), so legt er das *leder auf ain stül*, so let es sich pald verkauffen (soon sold).

62. item an ainem Freytag *sneid chaine* ab ainen *pachen* (pock, pimple). so wert dy *saw* nicht *phinnig* (measly).

63. item so ain *chind geporn* wirt, vnd hat ainen *raten rinkch vber den hals* (red ring round the neck). es wirt erhangen.

64. item wer VII *paternoster* spricht, vnd den iar gancz aus, der lebt das iar aus. spricht er *dew p̃r. ñr.* nicht aus, so stirbt er des iars.

65. item so man ain *tacz* gen kirchen trait (59), siecht es ain mensch im haus fur-tragen (carry it past), so spricht es '*mert*² es *das fewr* mit dem *elkl* (19), so stirbt *chains* aus dem haus nicht.

¹ *Taz*, tax, due, offering? Höfer 3, 220.

[² *Merren*, to stir, Schm. 2, 611.—EHM.]

G. From *Hans Vintler's* 'Blume der Tugend' comp. in 1411
(acc. to the Gotha MS.).¹

Die zaubry die ist Got fast vnwerd,
 auch sprechend sy 'mich hantz gelert (has taught it)
 ain münch, wie möchtz pösz gesin (be bad) ?
 daz sprich ich py den trewen mein,
 das man ain sollichen munch oder pfaffen 5
 also soltt straffen (should so chastise),
 das sich zechen stiessend daran ;
 wann sey (for they) sind alle samt jm pan (ban),
 die den glauben also fast krenken (sorely wound religion). . .
 wann es ist wider dich, du höchstes Güt, 10
 alles das man mit zaubry tüt ;
 vnd wie fast es wider dich ist (how much it is against),
 dannocht findt man (they shall yet find) zû disser frist,
 die zaubry dannocht pflegen (who yet practise).
 Ettlich wellent *pfeyl auss-segnen* (pretend to bless arrows), 15
 do wellent si dem *teuffel bannen*,
 das sy jn bringent güt (bring them wealth) zû-samen ;
 so wellent ettlich war-sagen (soothsay),
 vnd vil wellent den *teuffel fragen* (ask)
 wa güt lig (where riches lie) vnd edel gestain. 20
 Do habent denn ettlich gemain (are in league)
 mit der *pössen Erodiana* (wicked Herodias),
 do wellent gelauben (believe) ettlich an *Diana*,²
 die da ain falsche göttin ist ;
 vnd auch ettlich mainent (think) haben den list (skill) 25
 als sey die lewtt kundent schiessen (can shoot people)
 durch alles gemüre (walls), vnd³ *giessen* (cast)
wechssinew pild (waxen images) mangerlay ;
 so wissen dissew das *vogel-geschray* (-cry)
 vnd auch darzû die *trem auslegen* (dreams interpret) ; 30
 ettlich kunnent *den schwert-segen* (sword-charm),
 das sy nicht auf diser erden
 van kaimen dorf erstachen werden (can be stabbed) ;

¹ The text is often corrupt, and I was not able to use the Augsburg ed. of 1486 (Panzer 1, 164. 2, 58); conf. Adelung's Püterich p. 34—38.

² Orig. : an die dyadema.

³ Orig. has this 'vnd' at beginn. of line.

ettlich kunnent <i>an fewr</i> erkennen wie sich die sach hie sol enden ;	35
so kunnent ettlich <i>jn der hand</i> schouwen (see) eyttel laster vnd schand. Vil allte weib kunnend den handel (trade) zu lieb oder findtschafft (enmity) ;	
ettlich gebent <i>losz-bücher</i> krafft, vnd ettlich kundent <i>patonicken graben</i> (dig betonica), vnd vil wellent <i>den eys-vogel</i> haben, so nutzen ettlich den <i>allrawn</i> (madrake) ; vnd ettlich glaubent an die <i>frawn</i> die haisset <i>Precht mit der langen nas.</i>	40 45
so send ir vil die yehen, das (many who affirm, that) die <i>hand-giff</i> ¹ sy alz wol getan (is so wondrously made), das sie sy von ainen man pesser (better) denn von den andern ; vnd vil die wellend nit wandern (will not travel)	50
an den <i>verworffen tagen</i> (accursed days) ; so send denn vil, die hie haben glauben, es pring grossen frum (benefit), ob <i>jn</i> (if to them) des morgens ain <i>wolf</i> kum, vnd ain <i>has</i> (hare) pring ungelücke ; vnd ettlich lütt hand die dücke, das sy den tewffel petten an (adore), <i>stern, sunnen</i> , vnd auch den <i>maun</i> .	55
Vil wellent <i>auf oblaut schriben</i> , vnd das fiepper da-mit vertryben ; ettlich segnent für daz <i>zene-we</i> (toothache), so hand ettlich den <i>fierde kle</i> das sy daunon gauglen sechen (thereby juggling see) ; ist auch vil, die da yechen, sy kunnend <i>ungewitter</i> (storms) <i>machen</i> ; vnd ettlich zaubrer die wachen dem <i>stern Venus</i> vmb die mynne (love) ; so send auch ettlich, die schlinden (swallow) <i>drey palmen</i> an dem palntag, vnd ettlich segnen den <i>schlag</i>	60 65
mit ainer <i>hacken</i> auf ainen <i>trischublen</i> (179),	70

[¹ Hantgift, Troj. 12334 ; Oberl. sub v. (=strena).—EHM.]

vnd ettlich stellen auss den kublen (tubs)
 das *schmalz* (grease), die weil man's rürt (stirs);
 ettlich der lewt fürt
 das sey send *iuvisibilis*, 75
 vnd ettlich habent den *pißys* (beifuss, mugwort).
 So sprichet menger tumer lib (silly body),
 die *teutte* [trute ?] sey ain altes weib
 vnd kunne die lütt sugen (suck people),
 vnd ettlich lütt die gelauben 80
 der *albe mynne* die *lutte*; ¹
 so sagt manger die *teutte*,¹
 er hab den *orken* gar eben gesehen (just seen);
 vnd ettlich die yechen,
 das *schrättlin* sy ain klaines kind, 85
 vnd sy alz ring (as small) alz der wind,
 vnd sy ain verzwißlotter gaist (lost spirit).
 So glaubent ettlich aller-maist,
 das *der sigel-stein* hab die kraft
 das er macht sygehaft (victorious), 90
 vnd vil wissen der erkennen sitt (?).
 So nutzend (avail) auch vil die *erd-schnitt* (slices of earth)
 zu mangerlay zaubry (for many kinds of magic);
 vnd ettlich schribent auf daz *ply* (blei, lead)
 vnder der *Crist-messz* fur den wurm; 95
 so nemen ettlich fur den sturm
 den *elsen-paum*, hör ich sagen;
 vnd ettlich wellent kol graben
 wann sy den ersten *schwalm* sechen.
 vill kunden in jr *gwand spechen* (spy in their clothes) 100
 ob es glucklich sull gaun (go luckily);
 so habent vil lütt den waun (fancy)
 das *verbene* daz selb krutt (herb)
 mach die lewt ain ander trut (fond of),
 wann man sy grab (dig it up) ze abend; 105
 vnd auch vil pösz lütt die gend (bad people go)
 des nachtes *durch verschlossen tür* (closed door);
 vnd ettlich lütt tragen herfür (bring out)
 silber vnd gold, alz ich hör yechen (as I hear tell),

¹ Should it not be 'mynne die *teutte*' and 'manger der lewtte'?—TRANS.

- wenn sy *newen mon* sechen ; 110
 so tragent ettlich lutt auss
 das *wasser* alles *auss dem husz*,
 wenn man *totten trüitt* (carry the dead)
 fur (past) das hus, als man saitt ;
 so send ettlich alz besint, 115
 wenn man jn *junge honer* (fowls) bringt,
 so sprechend sy 'blib (stay) her-haim
 als die fud pey meinem pain (bone leg) !'
 Und vil die yechen *die weg-wart* (plaintain)
 sey gewesen (was once) ein fraw zart, 120
 vnd wart jrs püllen (waits her lover) noch mit schmerzen.
 ettlich legent *des widhoffen hertze* (lay a hoopoo's heart)
 des nachtes auf die schlauffende lütt (on sleeping folk),
 das es in haimlich ding betüitt (suggest)
 vnd vil zaubry vnrain (unclean) ; 125
 die sechend an dem *schulter-pain* (by a shoulder blade)
 das (what) menschen sol beschehen (happen) ;
 vnd ettlich die yechen (affirm)
 das sy (that it is) nicht güt daz man
 den *tenggen schûch* leg an (left shoe put on) 130
uor dem gerechten des morgens frü ;
 vnd vil die yechen, man stel der *kû*
 die *milch* aus der wammen.
 do send ettlich der ammen (nurses),
 die selben nement die *jungen kind* 135
 do sy erst geporen synd,
 vnd stossend's (push them) *durch ain hole*
 do ist denn nichtsz wole,
 oder es werd ain horen-plässel darusz [horn-blase, p. 1061].
 auch treibt man mit der *fleder-muss* (bat) 140
 menig tewschlich spil (juggling tricks) ;
 vnd ist des vngelaubes so vil,
 das ich es nit gar sagen kan.
 Do habent ettlich lütt den waun (fancy)
 das sy mainent, vnser leben (they think our life) 145
 das unsz daz die . . . geben,¹
 vnd das sy vns hic regieren (govern us).

[¹ The Innsbrk. MS. fills the gap: 'die *gach schepfen*.'—EHM.]

so sprechend ettlich [von ?] *diernen* (Maids),
 sey ertailen (apportion) dem menschen hie auf erden. 150
 vnd ettlich sendent die *pferde*
 für elenpug (elbow) vnd auch für rencken (dislocat.);
 Vnd auch vil lütt die gedencken
 vnd habent sein auch gantzen syn (feel quite sure),
 sy mugent nicht haben gwin (make gain)
 des tages, und sy fechten ¹ 155
 ain pfefflin, als sy yecken.
 es spricht manger : 'ich bin *gogel*,
 ich haun gesechen *Sant Martis vogel*
 hewt (to-day) an dem morgen frü,
 mir stosset (befalls) kain vngelück nit zû.' 160
 do wellent ettlich da-pey,
 wenn es *vngewitter* sey (is a storm),
 das sey alles von der münch wegen (because of monks)
 die da gand affter der wege (going their ways);
 vnd auch ettlich mainent sicherlich, 165
 wenn der *rapp kopp*,² daz tütt ain lich (means a corpse).
 Ettlich habent denn ainen newen fund,
 sy behatten den pizj in dem mund (wafer in mouth)
 wenn man *Aue Maria lütt* (rings).
 do send denn ettlich *prutt* (brides), 170
 die legent jr hemmet (chemise) an jrs mans ort (place).
 so kan auch manger drew wort (3 words)
 das er nymmer tewrer wirt;
 so ist ettlicher hirt (herdsman)
 der sein *vich segnen* kan (his cattle bless), 175
 das jm kain *hase* (hare) tret dar-von (dar-an?);
 vnd ettlich nement jrew *kind*,
 wenn sy ain wenig *kranck* sind,
 vnd legent's ouf ain *dryschuffel*;
 wil kunnen salben den kubel (grease the tub), 180
 das sy obn-an ausz faren (fly out above).
 ettlich *spynnen* am Samps-tag *garen* (yarn),
 vnd machend dar-usz *Sant Iorgen hemd* (shirt);
 vnd send ettlich so behend (nimble)
 das sy varent hundert meyl 185

¹ For 'unz sy sechen,' until (unless) they see? ² Si corvus ructet.

dar in ainer kurtzen weil.

Ettlich *prechend* den luttē *ab* (break off people's)
die *pain* (bones, legs), als ich gehöret hab,
vnd legent dar-ein *porst* (bristles) vnd *kol*.
mangew maint, sy kund auch wol

190

segen (charms) hyn vnd her wenden ;
ettlich die lütt *plendent* (strike blind)
mit ainer hand von dem galgen ;
vill wend den *taig talgen*¹

an der *hailigen Samps-tag nacht*.

195

Manger auch *karacteres* macht
ausz *pirmit virgineum* (ber-mutter ?),
ettlich puctieren den *linium*

jn der kunst (art of) *geometria*,
so nympt der denn oben *praw* (eyebrow)
von den *gerechten augen*

200

vnd daz *plüt von den krawen* (blood of crows),
vnd macht dar-usz zaubery ;

manger nympt ain *järiges zwy* (year-old twig)
von ainen wilden *hassel-pawm*.

205

So send denn ettlich frawen
die *erschlingen vmb die kirchen*² *gen*

vnd hiassent die *totten auf-sten* (bid the dead arise),
vnd niement den *ring* (knocker) *von der kirchen tür*
jn die hand, vnd ruffend 'her für' (cry 'come forth'),

210

vnd sprechend 'ich rür disen rink,
stett auf, ir alten pärttling !'

do send auch ettlich man,
sie nement *von dem galgen* ain *span* (lath),
vnd legent den vnder die kirch-tür,

215

¹ For *talken*, knead the dough.

² The MS. has *kuechen*, kitchen ; which seems out of place, yet occurs again in the *Strolling Scholar*, from which I will extract a corresp. passage (Aw. 2, 55-6) :

Mit wunderlichen sachen
lêr ich sie (I teach her) denne machen
von *wahs* einen *kobolt*,
wil sie daz er ir werde holt ;
und *wüfen* in dem brunnen,
und *legen an die sunnen*,
und *widersins umb die küchen gân*.

So beginn ich sie dan lêren
den ars des nahtes kêren

gên des liches mânen schîn ;
die lêr ich dá ze velde sîn,
die lêr ich koln waschen,
die brunzen in die aschen,
die lêr ich brant betrechen,
die lêr ich morchen brechen,
die lêr ich batônien graben,
die ungesprochen traben,
die ler nahtes nacket stên,
die erslingen gên dem fiure gên.

so solt kain pfennig gaun hin für ;
 vnd ettlich nützend den *strangen* (rope)
 da ain dieb (thief) an ist erhangen ;
 vnd an der *Rarch-nacht wirffet man* (they throw)
 die *schûch* (their shoes), als ich gehört han, 220
uber daz haubt (head) *erschlingen* (from behind),
 vnd wa sich der spitz kert hyn (where the tips point to),
 da sol der mensch beliben (stay).
 Vnd vil lutt die tribent (perform)
 wunder mit dem *hûff-nagel* (horseshoe nail), 225
 vnd ettlich steckend *nadel* (needles)
 den luttten jn die magen (stomachs) ;
 vnd sãmlich laund nicht jagen (let not hunt)
 die *hund* auf der rechten fert (track).
 ettlich send so wol gelert (well taught), 230
 das sy an sich mit gewalt (perforce)
 nemen ainer *katzen* gestalt (shape).
 so findt man den zaubrinin vnrain (unclean),
 die den lûtten den *wein*
trinkend auss den *kelern* verstolen, 235
 die selben haisset man vnuerholen.
 So send denn ettliche,
 wenn sy sechend *ain liche* (see a corpse),
 so *raunent* (whisper) sy *dem totten zû*
 vnd sprechend ' *kum morgen frû* (tomorrow morn) 240
 vnd sag mir, wie es dir dort gee.'
 So faret man vber see
 die lewt mit gûttem winde ;
 vnd ettlich nement jre kinde
 wenn es nit geschlauffen mag (cannot sleep), 245
 vnd treitz herfür an die hayttren tag,
 vnd legtz für sich (before her) ain *aichin prandt*,
 vnd nympt ain *scheitt* (log) jn sein hand
 vnd *schlecht* (beats) *den prand mer denn zwir* (twice).
 so gett ain andrew (other woman) denn py jr 250
 vnd spricht ' waz newestu ? '
 ' da nae ich hie nu
 meins Kindes mass-laid vnd *nacht-geschrey* (-crying)
 vnd alle main zunge en-zway.'

So send denn ettlich also getan, wenn sy den <i>or-mutzel</i> han, so nemend sy ain küssy (pillow) in die hand vnd schlachend's an den schlauf (temple) zehand vnd spricht 'flewch, flewch, <i>or-mützel!</i> dich jagt ain küssi-zyffel.'	255
manig zaubreriu die sein, die nement ain <i>hacken</i> (hatchet) vnd <i>schlachen wein</i> auss ainer dur aichin saul (oaken post) ; vnd ettlich machen mit dem <i>knul</i> (ball) <i>vaden</i> (of thread) mangerlay traufferey (trickling) ; so nempt manger <i>gersten-pry</i> (barley-pap) vur dryaffel, hör ich sagen. Mangew wil den <i>dieb laben</i> (thief revive) der an dem galgen erhangen ist ; auch habent vil lütt den list (art)	260
das sy nützen daz <i>totten-tûch</i> (shroud) ; vnd ettlich stelen aus der prüch dem man sein geschirr gar ; so <i>farent</i> ettlich mit der <i>far</i> (= naht-fare) <i>auff kelbern</i> (calves) vnd auch <i>pecken</i> (böcken, goats)	265
durch staiu vnd stecke.	270
	275

H. From Doctor *Hartlieb's* (physician in ordinary to duke Albrecht of Bavaria) Book of all forbidden arts, unbelief and sorcery ; written in 1455 for Johans, markgraf of Brandenburg. (Cod. Pal. 478. Another MS. at Wolfenbüttel is mentioned in Uffenbach's *Reisen* 1, 310).¹

Chap. 31-2. Of journeying through the air. In the vile art of *Nigramancia* is another folly that men commit with their magic *steeds*, which come into an *old house*, and if a man will, he sits thereon, and rides in a short time a great many mile. When he gets off, he *keeps the bridle* only, and when he would mount again, he *jingles the bridle*, and the horse comes back. The steed is in truth the very Devil. Such sorcery requires bat's blood, wherein the man shall sign himself away to the Devil with

[¹ Additions in Mone's *Anz.* 7, 315.—EHM.]

unknown words, as 'debra ebra.' This kind is common with certain princes: Your Grace shall guard you thereagainst.

To such journeys men and women, the *vehulden* by name, use also an ointment that they call *engentum pharelis*. This they make out of *seven herbs*, plucking every herb on a day proper to the same, as on *Suntag* they pluck and dig *solsequium*, on *Mentag* *lunaria*, on *Erctag* *verbena*, on *Mittwoche* *mercurialis*, on *Plinztage* *barba Jovis*, on *Freitag* *capilli Veneris*; thereof make they ointment, mixing some blood of birds and fat of beasts, which I write not all, that none be offended thereat. Then, when they will, they besmear *bench* or *post*, *rake* or *fire-fork*, and speed away.

Ch. 34. To make *hail* and sudden *shower* is one of these arts, for he that will meddle therewith must not only give himself to the devil, but deny God, holy baptism and all christian grace. This art none practise now save *old wives* that be forsaken of God. Hear and mark, august Prince, a great matter that befell me myself in the year of Christ's birth 1446. There were some women burnt at *Haidelberg* for sorcery, but their true instructress had escaped. The next year came I as envoy from *München* to His S.H. the Palatine duke Ludwig, whom God save, for if any prince shall be upheld by his faithfulness, then is he evermore with God. In the same days came tidings, that the instructress was now taken. I prayed the Prince to let me have speech of her, and he was willing. He had the woman and the chief inquisitor brought to a little town named *Götscham*, into the house of his high steward, *Petter von Talhaym*. I obtained of the Prince the favour, if the woman taught me to make *shower and hail*, that he would let her live, but she should forswear his land. I went alone into a chamber to the woman and the inquisitor, and craved to know of her lore. She said she could not learn me this thing but—if I would do all that she learned me. I asked what that was, and so it did not anger God nor go against christian faith, I would do it. She lay with one leg ironed, and spake these words: 'My son, thou must deny God, baptism and all the sacraments wherewith thou art anointed and sealed. After that thou must deny all the saints of God, and first *Mary* his mother, then must thou give thee up body and soul to the *three devils* that I name to thee, and they will grant thee a time to live, and

promise to perform thy will until the time be ended.' I said to the woman: 'What shall I do more?' She said: 'Nothing more; when thou desirest the thing, go to a private chamber, call to the spirits, and offer them that. They will come, and in an hour make *hail* for thee where thou wilt.' I told her, I would do none of these things, for that I had said before, if she could impart to me this art, so that I neither offended God nor harmed religion, I would set her free. She answered that she knew no other way. And she was delivered up again to Hans von Tailhaim, who had her burnt, for he had taken her.

Ch. 50. There is another 'unbelief' (*un-gelaube* = heresy?), if one have lost anything, there be those that beswear a *loaf*, and stick therein *three knives* to make three crosses and a *spindle* and an *enspin*¹ thereon, and two persons hold it on the *unnamed finger*, and he beswears by the holy *zwölf-boten* [12 messengers, apostles? see F, 1. 39.]

Ch. 51. Others *bless a cheese*, and think he that is guilty of the theft cannot eat of the *cheese*. Although some *soap* be given for *cheese*, yet it is a sin.

Ch. 55-6-7. When a master of this art (*Ydromancia*) will search out a theft, dig up treasure, or know of any secret thing, he goes on a Sunday *before sunrise* to *three flowing springs*, and draws a little out of each in a clean polished glass, brings it home into a fair chamber, and there *burns tapers before it, doing honour to the water* as unto God himself. Then he taketh a *pure child*, sets the same in a fair seat before the water; and standing behind him, speaketh certain strange words in his ear. After that he readeth strange words, and bids the *pure child* repeat them after him. What the words mean, can no master expound more than that a person thereby puts away God and gives himself to the foul fiend. So the master having the lad before him, bids him say what he sees, asking after the theft or treasure or what else he will. The child's simplicity makes him say he sees this or that, wherein the foul fiend takes part, making the false appear in the place of the true.

Ch. 58. There be divers ways of *drawing the water*; for some fetch it from running waters, putting the same in a glass; others from standing pools, and boil it in honour of the spirits whom

[¹ Schmeller 3, 570.—EHM.]

they suppose to have power over the waters, the lord and prince of them all being *Salathiel*, as the masters declare.

Ch. 60. Some women sprinkle their herbs and plants with *hallowed water*, supposing that the worms shall not come thereat; that is all an 'unbelief.' There be some courtiers, when they get *new spurs*, do plunge them with the *rowels* in a *holy-well*, saying that what they strike therewith shall in no wise swell; that is all an 'unbelief.' Some sorceresses go to a *mill wheel*, and catch the *water that flies off the wheel* in the air; with this water they ply all manner of sorceries for loving and for enmity. And who so may not be good man (husband), they help him therewith that he can be good man; that is all an 'unbelief.'

Ch. 61. There be bad christians that carry on sorcery with divers waters, as that of the blest and hallowed *font*, wherein lies every christian's health and wealth, therewith they juggle and do much that is not meet to be written; yea, an old wife that hath gotten font-water, she thinks to have borne off the prize,

Ch. 63. Another trick with water. Two persons take two things, as *little sticks or straws, rings or small coins*, and name one after one person and the other after the other, and if the two things *run together on the water in a basin*, then shall those two come together; but if one flee from the other, they come not together, and whose thing fleeth first, his shall the blame be. And the masters of this 'unbelief' also prove thereby, whether of two wedded folk shall soonest die for they think that whichever *sinketh* soonest shall die first.

Ch. 67-8. Now will I write of the fourth art that is forbidden: it is called **Aremancia**, and has to do with *air* and whatsoever flies or lives therein. The art is very strong among the heathen, whose 'unbelief' therein is so great, that they honour the first thing that appeareth to them in a day, and worship it that day for their god. And evil christians do much 'unbelief' therewith, for they say, if a *hare do meet* them, it is a misfortune, and if a *wolf meet* them, it is a great luck. Of 'unbeliefs' there be many in divers beasts. Some say that if *birds fly to one's right hand*, it signifies great gain and luck, and if they *fly to the left* (*glinggen*) *side*, it signifies uuluck and loss. All that is an 'unbelief.' There be those that have great faith in an *eagle* (*aren*), and think whensoever he *fly pocket-side*, it promiseth great luck or gain.

And so great is the faith of some, that they *shift their pocket to the other side*; if then the *eagle also turn him round*, as may often hap, then have they the fullest faith, and think it cannot fail . . . Without doubt the Devil is the right inventor and inspirer of the art; he it is that changeth himself into the said *birds* that he may deceive men.

Ch. 69. There be also princes, poor and rich, that hold their hunting on certain days, and when this or that *wind doth blow*; that is all 'unbelief.' . . . Some men do wear *high feathers* in their hats, that they may know *whence cometh the wind*, supposing that in sundry matters they have luck against the wind, and in others with the wind: that is all an 'unbelief' and sorcery.

Ch. 73. There is one more 'unbelief' in this art, that is, when a man *sneezeth*, whereby the brain doth naturally clear itself, they hold it to be a great sign of luck or unluck, and draw forecasts therefrom, such as, if the *sneezes* be *three*, there are *four thieves around the house*. If they be *two*, the man shall rise, and lie down another way to sleep; but if *thirteen*, then is it exceeding good, and what appeareth to him that night shall in very deed come to pass. Also in the morning, when a man goeth from his bed, the *sneezes* shall mean other things again; the things are many, and it is all a downright 'unbelief.'

Ch. 74. Again, some natural philosophers do say that this *sneezing* cometh very nigh the *stroke* (apoplexy). For should the crude humours remain obstructed in the brain, and not come out, the stroke would strike the man right soon; therefore do some masters call it the minor applexia, i.e. the lesser stroke. For, when a man sneezeth, he is of many of his limbs in nowise master, but of God's grace it lasteth not long, the better for him.

Ch. 77. There are also people, and verily great princes, that do utterly believe and suppose, when *great uproars* come, that then great *treasons* are afoot: that is a great delusion.

Ch. 79. We find some sorceresses that make an *image* or *atzman of wax* and other things. This they make at certain hours, and utter certain known and unknown names, and *hang it up in the air*, and as the wind stirs it, they think the man in whose name it is made shall have no rest. All this is a great 'unbelief' and sorcery. Some do the same with an *aspen-leaf*, writing their sorcery thereon, and think thereby to breed love

between people. Of such *atzmannen* I have read much in the Art Magica, where the constellations are brought in, and also some strange words, and very many foreign things besides. All this is downright sorcery and a wicked 'unbelief.' And I have heard say much, how that *women* make such *atzmans*, and *roast* them by a *fire*, thereby to chastise (*kestigen*) their husbands.

Ch. 80. There be women and men, which dare to make *fires*, and in the *fire* to see things past and to come. The masters and mistresses of this devilish art have particular days, whereon they have wood prepared for them, and when about to practise their art, they go to a *private place*, bringing with them the poor silly folk unto whom they shall prophesy. They command them to *kneel down*, and after worshipping the *angel of the fire*, to offer sacrifice unto him. With the sacrifice they kindle the wood, and the master looks narrowly into the fire, marking well what shall appear to him therein.

Ch. 83. The art of **Pyromancia**¹ is practised in many divers ways and forms. Some masters of the art take a *pure child* and set him *in their lap*, then lift his hand up and let him look into *his nail*, and beswear the child and the nail with a great adjuration, and then speak in the child's ear three unknown words, whereof one is *Oriel*, the others I withhold for fear of offending. After that they ask the child whatsoever they will, thinking he shall see it in the *nail*. All this is a right 'unbelief,' and thou christen-man shalt beware thereof.

Ch. 84. Another deceitful trick in the art is, that the masters take *oil* and *soot* from a *pan*, and anoint also a *pure child*, be it *girl* or *boy*, namely his hand, doing much the same, and *raise the hand against the sun* if the sun be shining, else they have *tapers* which they raise against the hand, and letting the child look therein, ask him of what they will; their belief is, that what the child tells them must be true; they know not, alas, how the devil mixeth himself therein, making far more of wrong to appear than that of right.

Ch. 88. The masters and their like do also practise the art in a common *looking-glass*, letting *children look thereinto*, whom in like manner they strongly beswear and whisper hidden words unto, and think to search out many things therein. That is all

[¹ *Fiur-sehen*, Altd. bl. 1, 365.—EHM.]

an 'unbelief' and the devil's jugglery and trickery. Beware, O christian, I warn thee right faithfully. The same thing they do in a *beautiful bright polished sword*, the masters thinking that some one may haply ask about wars and such deadly matters; then, if the *sword* be one that hath *killed many men*, the *spirits* shall *come all the sooner and quicker*. If one will ask of pleasure and peace, find out arts or dig up treasure, then shall the *sword* be clean and *maiden* (unvermailigt, unwedded, i.e. unfleshed). I know a great prince: whoso bringeth him an old *worn-out sword* (haher swert), hath done him much honour.

Ch. 90-1. In Pyromancia are many more 'unbeliefs,' esp. one that is thought to be infallible, and is the vilest and worst, for the more firmly men believe in such sorcery, the more is it sin. The thing to be done is, that *boys* shall see in a *crystal* things to come and all things. It is done by false castaway christians, to whom dearer is the devil's delusion than the truth of God. Some have an exceeding *clear and fair-polished crystal* or *parille* [beryl? pearl?], they have it consecrated and keep it very clean, and gather for it frankincense, myrrh and the like; and when they will exercise their art, they wait for a very *fine day*, or have a *clean chamber* and many consecrated candles therein. The masters then go to bathe, taking the *pure child* with them, and clothe themselves in *pure white raiment*, and sit down, and say their magic prayers, and burn their magic offerings, and then let the *boy look into the stone*, and whisper in his ear hidden words, which they say are mighty holy, in truth the words are devilish. After that they ask the boy whether he sees aught of an angel. If the boy answer yea, they ask what colour he is of? and if he say *red*, the masters declare that the *angel is angry*, and again they pray, and sacrifice to the devil again, and thereat is he well pleased. Then if the boy say the *angel is black*, the master saith the angel is *exceeding wroth*, we must pray yet again, and *burn more lights*; and they pray once more, and sacrifice with incense and other things And when the devil thinks he hath had service enough, he makes appear the *angel in white*. Then is the master glad, and asks the boy, what hath the *angel in his hand*? and ceaseth not to ask till he says 'I see a writing in the angel's hand.' Then he asketh on, until he see letters: these letters the master collects, and

thereof maketh words, until he has that which he desired to know.

Ch. 94. It hath chanced doubtless, that certain priests were so captivated by these visiones, that they took the *sacred patenas*, whereon at Mass the elements are changed into God, and have made the children look into them, believing that holy angels alone could appear therein, and no devils. These have mightily mistook, etc.

Ch. 96. Another trick of sorcery that is set down to *Pyromancia*. . . . The masters take and melt *lead* or *tin*, then *pour it into a water*, and soon take it out again, and beswear the *colour* and *little pits* of the lead or tin, and declare things past or future thereby, which is all an 'unbelief.'

Ch. 102. Know besides, that men do also look at *fingers*, whether the *little finger* reach *beyond the last joint of the ring-finger*. They say that is a sign of great luck, and the farther it reaches, the greater the luck; but if the *little finger* be *even with the said joint*, the man shall be unfortunate. Heed it not, good christian, it is a trifle.

Ch. 103. There is a folk strolleth about much in the world, named *Zygainer* (gipsies): this people, both man and wife, young and old, do greatly practise the art, and mislead many of the simple, etc.

Ch. 106-7-8. Of a fortune-teller whom Dr Hartlieb knew, and who gave out that the art *had been in her family* for ages, and *at her death the grace would descend to her eldest* (daughter). The woman is well looked upon, and bidden to people's houses. I asked her to impart her cunning unto me. She was willing, bade me wash my hands, and dried them with her own, and bent her face very close to my hands, and told me things that cannot possibly happen to me.

Ch. 115-6. **Spatulamancia** is of the seven forbidden arts one, and is done by a cunning outlandish artifice. When I consider all the arts, I find no other 'unbelief' that hath so little ground, indeed I think it to be a mockery. . . . The masters of this art take a *shoulder* of a dead *ox* or *horse*, *cow* or *ass*; they have said when I asked them, that next to a *man's shoulder*, which is best, *any great animal's shoulder is good*. They wash well the shoulder with wine, and thereafter with *holy water*; they tie it

up in a *clean cloth*, and when they will practise the art, they untie it, and carry it to a place *outside of roof*, then gaze into the *shoulder*, and think it *changes* after every question. They have neither lights nor sacrifice, yet it is a great 'unbelief' to wash the shoulder with holy water, and to think the shoulder changes for their questions. Their faith is so great that they ask for no reasons of the art: they speak out of their own head whatsoever comes into it, to solve and settle the questions. . . . They think they can search out all things.

Ch. 120. The masters of this art have also *lavg* [MHG. *louc*, flame? or *lauge*, lye?] and observe what *colours* the *shoulder* has at the ends, in the middle and in all the parts; and according to these the devil suggests to them what to believe and say.

Ch. 121. First I will write of the *goose-bone* (*genus-pain*). On St Martin's day or night, when they have eaten the goose, the eldest and the wise do keep the *breast-bone*, and let it dry till the morning, and then examine it in every particular, before and behind and in the middle. Thereby they judge of the *winter*, if it shall be *cold*, *warm*, *wet* or *dry*, and are so firm in their faith, that they wager their goods and chattels thereon. And thereon have they an especial 'loss' (lot-drawing) that shall not and cannot fail, to tell whether the *snow* shall be much or little; all this knoweth the *goose-bone*. Aforetime the *old peasants in desert places* dealt in this matter, now is the 'unbelief' grown in kings, princes, and all the nobility, who believe in such things.

Pag. 76^b. 77^a. Moreover I will write thee a thing that lately a great victorious captain told me, in whom prince and peasant put great confidence, one for his deeds, another for his wisdom, a third for his faith that he had kept alway in every need to his own prince. This good man on St Nicolas day in this year 1455 said to me, 'Dear master, how shall the winter be this year, as ye star-gazers opine?' I was quick and quick (hasty?) as I still am, and spake, 'Lord Saturn goes this month into a fiery sign, likewise other stars are so disposed, that in 3 years no harder winter shall have been.' This dauntless man, this christian captain drew forth of his doublet that heretical 'unbelief,' the *goose-bone*, and showed me that after Candlemas an exceeding great frost should be, and could not fail. What I had said he said yet more, and told me that the *Teutonic Knights* in

Prussia had waged all their wars by the *goose-bone*, and as the *goose-bone* showed so did they order their two campaigns, one in summer and one in winter. And furthermore he spake these words, 'While the Teutonic Order obeyed the bone, so long had they great worship and honour, but since they have left it off, Lord knows how it stands with them.' I said, 'Had the T. O. no other art, help or stay than the *goose-bone*, then should their confidence be small.' With that I parted from my rich host.

Pag. 76^a. This know the physicians well, and say that the disease named bolismus (*βούλιμος*) or *apetitus caninus* can by no eating or drinking be stilled, but by medicine alone; for all food passeth undigested through the body, whereby the flesh falls away, but the bones remain great as ever; and this makes the child so unshapely, that men call it a *changing* (*wächsel-kind*).¹

I. EXTRACTS FROM MODERN COLLECTIONS.

a. From the *Chemnitzer Rocken-philosophie*.

1. Whoever goes into a childbed chamber, carrying a basket, must break a chip off the basket, and put it in the cradle; otherwise he will take the child's or mother's rest (sleep) away.

2. When a mother wants to know if her child is becried (bewitched), let her lick its forehead: if becried, it will taste salt; then fumigate with sweepings from the four corners of the room—with shavings off the four corners of the table—with nine sorts of wood.

3. Who pulls out an article from the wash upside down or leftwards, will not be becried.

4. Boil *frauen-flachs*, *szysche* or *ruf-kraut*, bathe the sick man in the water, and leave the bath under his bed: if he is becried, it will shrink; if not, not.

5. If you are taking much money, put some chalk to it, then bad folk cannot get any of it back.

6. Wash your money in clean water, and put salt and bread to it, then the dragon and bad folk cannot get it.

7. Women boiling yarn should tell lies over it, or it won't turn white.

8. To walk over sweepings is unlucky.

9. If you call a young child *little crab*, it will be stunted, for crabs crawl backwards.

10. If you set out on a journey, and a hare runs across your path, it bodes no good.

¹ At the end of pag. 78^b stands the name of the copyist: 'Clara Hätzlerin.' In the same handwriting is Cod. Pal. 677.

11. In drinking out of a jug, do not *span* the lid with your hand, or the next drinker will have *tension of the heart*.

12. Do not buy your children *rattles*, nor allow any to be given, else they are slow in learning to talk.

13. For tongue-tied children it is good to eat *beggar's bread*.

14. If in leaving home you have forgotten something, *don't go back* for it, but have it fetched by another; else everything is thrown back (goes wrong).

15. If a stranger comes into the room, he shall *sit down*, so as not to take the children's *rest* away with him (sec 1).

16. When you cover a table, put some *bread* on at once, or a corner of the cloth will trip some one up.

17. Men shall not stay in the house while the women are *stuffing feathers* into the beds, else the feathers will prick through the bed-tick.

18. Set the *hen* on to hatch while people are coming out of church, and you'll have plenty of chicks crawl out.

19. If you want large-headed chickens, wear a fine large straw-hat while you set the *brood-hen* on.

20. The *straw for a nest* should be taken out of a marriage-bed, from the man's side if you want cocks, from the woman's if hens.

21. After washing in the morning, don't *flirt the water* from your hands, or you'll waste your victuals that day.

22. Never rock an *empty cradle*: it rocks the baby's *rest* away.

23. The first time a baby's *nails* want paring, let the mother *bite them off*, else they learn to pilfer.

24. When about to stand godfather or godmother, *borrow* something to wear, and your godchild will always have credit.

25. If you call children *alt-männichen*, *alt-weibichen*, they'll be stunted, and have wrinkles on the forehead.

26. If you want children to live long, call the boys *Adam*, and the girls *Eve*.

27. If a child is to live 100 years, the *god-parents* must be fetched from *three parishes*.

28. If you take a child into the *cellar* under a year old, it will grow up timid.

29. If you let it look into the *looking-glass* under a year old, it will grow up vain.

30. Children that *cry at the christening* don't grow old.

31. If the first children take their *parents' names*, they die before the parents.

32. If a *dog* looks into the *oven* when you are baking, the *loaves* will be *loose* (? *erlöset*), or the crust leave the crumb.

33. If there is dough in the trough, don't sweep the room till it is carried out, or you'll *sweep a loaf* away.

34. The *vinegar* spoils if you set the cruct on the *table*.

35. If a *woman within six weeks* after confinement walks a field or bed, nothing grows on it for some years, or everything spoils.

36. If a woman dies in the *six weeks*, lay a mangle-roller or a book in

the bed, and *shake up and make the bed* every day till the six weeks are up, or she cannot rest in the ground.

37. Do not blow the baby's *first pap*, and it will not afterwards scald its mouth with hot things.

38. Would you wealthy be, cut the *loaf* quite evenly.

39. Eat not while the *death-bell tolls*, or your teeth will ache.

40. If *red shoes* are put on a child under a year old, it can never see *blood*.

41. If a woman with child stands and eats before the *bread cupboard*, the child will have the *wasting-worm* (mit-esser, fellow-eater); see 817.

42. To *mend* clothes on the body is not good.

43. If you *sew* or *mend* anything on Ascension-day, the lightning will come after him that wears it.

44. Eating cracknels on *Manny Thursday* keeps fever away.

45. If you *stride over a child*, it will stop growing.¹

46. Who works *in wood* will not be wealthy.

47. Never shew a light *under the table* where people sit, lest they begin to quarrel.

48. God-parents shall buy the child a *spoon*, lest it learn to dribble.

49. If a woman who is confined put a *black stomacher* on, the child will grow up timid.

50. In the six weeks don't take a child *inside your cloak*, or it will be gloomy, and always meet with sorrow.

51. He that *lends* money at play will lose.

52. He that *borrow*s for play will win.

53. Let a mother who is nursing go *silently* out of church three Sundays, and every time blow into her child's mouth, and its teeth will come easily.

54. Between 11 and 12 the *night before Christmas*, the water is wine. Some say, water drawn at 12 on Easter night will *turn into wine*.

55. When lights are brought in on *Christmas-eve*, if any one's shadow has no head, he will die within a year; if half a head, in the second half-year.

56. In the *Twelve nights* eat no lentils, peas or beans; if you do, you get the itch.

57. One who is about to stand sponsor shall not make water after he is drest for church; else the godchild will do the same in bed.

58. If you go out in the morning, and an old woman meets you, it is a bad sign (see 380).

59. Don't answer a *witch's* question, or she may take something from you.

60. *Stone-crop* planted on the roof keeps the thunderbolt aloof.

61. Get out of bed *backwards*, and everything goes contrary that day.

62. If the *Jüdel* won't let the children sleep, give him something to *play* with. When children laugh in their sleep, or open and turn their

¹ My brother too *stept with one leg* over me, saying 'Oho Thömiln, now wiltow grow no more!' Life of Thomas Plater, p. 19.

eyes, we say 'the *Jüdel* plays with them.' Buy, without beating down the price asked, a new little pot, pour into it out of the child's bath, and set it on the oven: in a few days the *Jüdel* will have *sucked every drop out*. Sometimes *eggshells*, out of which the yolk has been blown into the child's pap and the mother's caudle, are hung on the cradle by a thread, for the *Jüdel* to *play* with, instead of with the child.

63. If a *loaf* is sent away from table uncut, the people are sure to go away hungry.

64. If you spill *salt*, don't scrape it up, or you'll have bad luck.

65. If you tread your *shoes* inwards, you'll be rich; if outwards, poor.

66. If you have the *jaundice*, get the grease-pot stolen from a carrier's cart; look into that, and it will soon pass away.

67. If a *dog* howls the night before Christmas, it will go mad within a year.

68. Great evil is in store for him who harms a *cat*, or kills it.

69. If the *cats* bite each other in a house where a sick man lies, he will die soon.

70. A woman *churning butter* shall stick a three-crossed knife on the churn, and the butter will come.

71. *Splinters* peeling off the boards in the sitting-room are a sign of stranger *guests*.

72. When the *cat* trims herself, it shews a *guest* is coming.

73. If *maggies* chatter in the yard or on the house, *guests* are coming.

74. If a *flea* jumps on your hand, you'll hear some news.

75. If a child does not thrive, it has the *Elterlein*: shove it a few times into the oven, and the *E.* is sure to go.

76. To kill *spiders* is unlucky.

77. Let a newborn child be dressed up fine the *first three Sundays*, and its clothes will sit well on it some day.

78. If women *dance in the sun* at Candlemas, their *flax* will thrive that year.

79. If a stranger looks in at the *room-door* on a Monday, without walking in, it makes the husband beat his wife.

80. If a man buys or gives his betrothed a *book*, their love will be *overturned* (ver-blättert, when the leaf *turns over*, and you lose your place).

81. In making *vinegar*, you must look sour and be savage, else it won't turn out good.

82. If your *ears ring*, you are being slandered.

83. A *hen* crowing like a cock is a sign of misfortune.

84. He that fasts on *Maundy Thursday* will catch no fever that year, and if he does he'll get over it.

85. He that lends the *first money he makes* at market, gives away his luck.

86. When at market selling goods, don't let the *first customer* go, even if you sell under value.

87. A man shall not give his betrothed either *knife* or *scissors*, lest their love be *cut in two*.

88. Bathing the children on a *Friday* robs them of their *rest*.

89. If you are fetching water *in silence*, draw it *down stream*.
90. Draw crosses on your doors before *Wallpurjis-night* (Mayday eve), and the witches will not harm.
91. In going to bed, leave nothing *lying on the table*, else the oldest or youngest in the house can get no sleep.
92. If a woman going to be churched meet a *man*, she'll have a *son* next time; if a *woman*, a *girl*; if nobody, no more children; if two people, twins.
93. If you *sneeze* before breakfast, you'll get some present that day.
94. Don't let *fire* and *light* be *carried out of your house* by a stranger, it is taking the victuals away from the house.
95. A new *maid-servant* shall look into the *oven's mouth* the first thing, she'll soon get used to it then (see 501).
96. If you are having *flax sown*, give the sower a fee, or the flax will spoil.
97. If a single woman on Christmas-eve *pour melted lead* into cold water, it will shape itself like the tools of her future husband's trade.
98. If you have a *wooden pipe* or *tap* turned for you out of a birch-tree growing in the middle of an *authill*, and draw wine or beer through it, you'll soon have sold your liquor.
99. He that cuts *bread* unevenly, has told lies that day.
100. *Single women* that want husbands shall, the night before *St Andrew's day*, call upon that saint *naked*, and they'll see their sweetheart in their sleep.
101. When a *maid* wants to know if she shall keep her place, let her on Christmas-eve turn her back to the door, and *fling the shoe* off her foot *over her head*: if the tip of the shoe is towards the door, she'll have to go; if the heel, she will stay.
102. If a *maid* wishes to know what sort of hair her lover will have, let her *gripe backwards* through the open door on Christmas-eve, and she'll grasp the hair in her hand.
103. Whoever finds by chance a hare-laurel (? hasen-lorber) in the wood, and eats it, will have his share of the *hare* wherever he goes.
104. He that looks in the *mirror* at night, sees the devil there.
105. To find out if she'll get a husband during the year, let the damsel knock at the *hen-house* on Christmas-eve or at midnight: if the *cock* cackles, she'll get one; if the *hen*, she won't.
106. If children in the street ride with *spears and banners*, there will be a war; if they carry each other on *crosses* (Banbury chairs) a pestilence.
107. If you are out of money, mind the *new moon* does not peep into your empty purse, or you'll be short of money the whole month.
108. If the *stork* builds on your roof or chimney, you will live long and be rich.
109. To know if her lover will be straight or crooked, a girl must go to a stack of wood on Christmas-eve, and with her *back to it*, *pull out a log*; as the log is, so will the lover be (see F, 7).
110. To know what he is called, let her *stretch* the first piece of *yarn* she spins that day *outside the house-door*, and the first man that passes will be a namesake of her future husband.

111. Never set a *gridiron* or *trivet* over the fire without putting something on it; she that does so will have an apron (puckers) on her face.

112. Let a woman, when going to bed, *salute the stars in the sky*, and neither hawk nor vulture will take her chickens.

113. In putting *straw* into a bed, don't leave the *knots in the strawbands*, there's no sleeping on them.

114. A woman going to market will get better prices for her wares if on getting up she put her *right shoe* on first.

115. He that wears a *shirt* woven of *yarn*, that a girl *under seven* has spun, will find luck in it (see 931).

116. If it rain on *John's-day*, nuts will spoil and harlots thrive.

117. Onions, turned in their bed on *John's-day*, turn out fine.

118. The maids shall not weed the cabbage-beds on *Bartlemy's day*; Bartlemy is putting [orig. throwing] heads to the cabbages, and would be scared away.

119. If you find a *four-leaved clover* [shamrock], hold it dear; as long as you have it, you'll be happy (see G, 62).

120. A *raven* or *crow*, that sits cawing on a sick house, betokens the patient's death.

121. Shepherds must *not name the wolf* during the *Twelves*, or he will worry their sheep.

122. If a child has a *date-stone* about him, he does not fall, or is not much hurt.

123. When you go into a *new house* or room, what you *dream the first night* comes true.

124. If a woman or maid loses her *garter* in the street, her husband or lover is unfaithful to her.

125. When a woman is going to bed, she shall *move her chair from the place* where she has sat, or the *alp* will weigh upon her.

126. While a *fire burns on the hearth*, lightning will not strike the house.

127. A calf born on *St. Velten's* (Valentine's) day is of no use for breeding.

128. If a *wolf, stag, boar* or *bear* meets you on a journey, it is a good sign.

129. He that finds a *horse-shoe*, or a piece of one, has luck (see 220).

130. The flax or tow that a maid leaves *unspun on the distaff* of a Saturday, does not make good yarn, and will not bleach.

131. Let the father put a sword in the baby's hand directly it is christened, and it will be bold and brave.

132. When a boy is born, let his feet *push against his father's breast*, and he will not come to a bad end.

133. As soon as a girl is born, seat her *on her mother's breast*, and say 'God make thee a good woman'; and she will never slip or come to shame.

134. If a *spider crawl on your coat* in the morning, you'll be happy that day.

135. If a man on a journey meets a *woman* who is *spinning*, it is a bad sign; let him turn back, and take another road.

136. If the clock strikes while *bells are ringing*, it betokens fire.
137. Don't lay a new-born child *on its left side* first, or it will always be awkward.
138. On *Walpurgis-eve* let him that has cornfields fire his gun over them, and the witches cannot hurt the corn.
139. A *blue cornflower* pulled up by the roots on Corpus Christi day stops nose-bleeding, if held in the hand till it gets warm.
140. Root out the reeds in a pond or the thorns in a field on *Abdon-day* (July 30), and they will not grow again.
141. If a woman's neck or throat *itches*, she will soon go to a christening or wedding; if her head *itches*, it means blows.
142. Bright Christmas, dark barns; dark Christmas, light barns.
143. Whoever hurts or even sees an *earth-hünchen* or a *house-adder*, is sure to die that year.
144. Smear the point of your sword with ear-wax, it will melt your enemy's courage.
145. When two nursing mothers drink at the same time, one *drinks* the other's *milk away*. And when two people begin drinking at the same moment, one *drinks* the other's *colour away*.
146. If you eat *bread* that another has bitten, you'll become his enemy.
147. If a woman lets another person wipe *hands* on her *apron*, that person will hate her.
148. *Swallows* building on a house bring poverty, *sparrows* riches.
149. A *hoop coming off a cask* on Christmas-eve shews that some one in the house will die that year.
150. If the *light* on the altar *goes out* of itself, it shews the priest is going to die.
151. A woman gets rid of *earache* by wrapping a man's breeches round her head.
152. When the maids are making *tinder*, they must tear pieces out of men's shirts; tinder made of women's shifts does not catch.
153. Tying *wet strawbands* round the orchard-trees on *Christmas-eve* makes them fruitful.
154. Fruit-trees clipt at *Shrovetide* are proof against worm and caterpillar.
155. To keep a *cat* or *dog* from running away, chase it *three times* round the *hearth*, and rub it against the chimney-shaft.
156. If a *man* sees a *wolf* before the wolf sees him, he need fear no harm; but if the *wolf* saw him first, he is in danger: some say he will be *dumb*, or *hoarse*.
157. *John's blood* (plantain), culled at noon on John's day, is good for many things.
158. If a *maggie* sits chattering on the infirmary, before noon, and *looking our way*, the meaning is good: if after noon, and *seen from behind*, it is bad.
159. The *howling of dogs* bodes misfortune.
160. A *swarm of bees* hanging on to a house signifies fire.
161. The *lark* sings as long before Candlemas as she is silent after.

162. If a *bachelor* and *spinster* stand sponsors to a child, the priest shall plant himself between the two, or they will always be falling out.

163. A man shall not marry his gossip (fellow-sponsor), for, every time they come together as man and wife, it *thunders*.

164. Let him who gets the *first can* of beer out of a cask run away fast, and the rest of that beer will soon go off.

165. Don't let a *baby* tread *barefoot* on a *table*: it will get sore feet.

166. After putting the *candle* out, don't leave it *upside down* in the candlestick; else nobody can wake if thieves should come.

167. A boy born in the *Venus-morningstar* gets a wife much younger than himself; in the *Venus-eveningstar* one much older. And the contrary with girls.

168. On rising from a meal, don't leave any of your *bread* behind; if any one takes it and throws it over the gallows, you won't escape hanging.

169. An *elder* planted before the stable door guards the cattle from sorcery.

170. He that has about him a *string* with which a *rupture* was bound up, can lift the heaviest load without danger.

171. A piece of wood off a *coffin* that has been dug up, if concealed among your cabbages, keeps away the caterpillars.

172. Eat no soup at *Shrovetide*, or you'll have a dripping nose.

173. On *Nicasius-eve* write the saint's name on the door in chalk, and you rid the house of rat and mouse.

174. If the carter plaits a *snake's* or *adder's tongue* into his whip, his horses can pull the biggest loads out of the ditch, and will not over-drink themselves.

175. Make nests for the hens on *Peter's-day*, and many's the egg they will lay.

176. A woman with child, who stands *godmother*, shall not lift the babe out of the *font* herself; else one child dies, the christened one or hers.

177. If the first person you meet in the morning be a *virgin* or a *priest*, 'tis a sign of bad luck; if a *harlot*, of good.

178. If a *weaned* child is put to the breast again, it grows up a blasphe-mer.

179. If a *woman with child* pass under a *waggon-pole*, she'll go over her time.

180. The *seventh son* is a lucky man, for healing, planting, or doing any-thing.

181. Malefactors on the rack pin a paper to their back with Psalms 10th and 15th written on it: they can stand the torture then without confessing.

182. If you have *bread* and *salt* about you, you are safe from sorcery.

183. For a fever: Take three bits of *stolen bread*, spit in two nutshells, and write this note: 'Cow, will you go to your stall, Fever (*frörer*, ague), go you to the wall.'

184. If a *mouse* has gnawed at your dress, it means mischief.

185. If the women or maids are *washing sacks*, it will soon rain.

186. To *sneeze* while putting your shoes on, is a sign of bad luck.
187. To put a clean *shirt* on of a Friday is good for the gripes.
188. Eating *stolen cheese* or *bread* gives you the hiccough.
189. If you dig *devil's bit* the midnight before St John's, the roots are still *unbitten*, and good for driving the devil away.
190. *John's wort* drives witches away and the devil; that's why he out of spite pricks holes in all the leaves with his needle.
191. When a person dies, set the *windows* open, and the *soul* can get out.
192. For a child to grow up good, its godmother or the woman that carries it home from church must immediately *lay it under the table*, and the father take it up and give it to the mother.
193. A year without *skating* is bad for the barley.
194. If they are building a *weir* across the river, it will not rain in that country till they have done.
195. Put a *goose* through your legs three times, give her three mouthfuls of chewed bread with the words 'Go in God's name,' and she'll always come home.
196. He that has fits of *cold fever* shall crawl to a running stream, strew a handful of *salt* down-stream, and say: 'In God his name I sow for seed this grain, When the seed comes up may I see my *cold* friend again.'
197. The first time you hear the *cuckoo* in spring, ask him: '*Cuckoo*, baker's-man, true answer give, How many years have I to live?' And as many times as he sings, so many years more will you live.
198. If an unmarried maiden eat the *brown* that *sticks inside* the porridge-pot, *it will rain* at her wedding; and if it rains, the new couple get rich (see 498).
199. To sell your cattle well at market, smoke them with the black ball dug out of the middle of an *ant-hill*.
200. Never hand things over a cradle with the child in it; nor leave it open.
201. A *thief's thumb* on your person, or among your wares, makes them go fast.
202. If you throw a bunch of *inherited keys* at a door when some one is listening outside, the *eavesdropper* is deaf for the rest of his life.
203. Eat *milk* on Shrove Tuesday, and you'll not be sunburnt in the summer.
204. If a bride wishes to rule her husband, let her on the wedding-day dress in a *baking trough*, and knock at the church door.
205. To *wean* a child, let the mother set it down on the floor, and knock it over with her foot; it will forget her the sooner.
206. If a dog runs *between* a woman's *legs*, her husband is going to beat her.
207. Put *money in the mouth of the dead*, and they will not come back if they have hidden a treasure.
208. Toothpicks made of wood that *lightning has struck*, send the toothache away.
209. A *knife* shall not lie *on its back*, for fear of its hurting the angels.

210. If two *clocks* in the town happen to strike together, a married couple will die.

211. A boil will safely heal if squeezed with a *three-crossed knife*.

212. Let the bride arrive at the bridegroom's house *in the dark*, then they'll have every corner full.

213. If a *dog* runs through between two friends, they will break off their friendship.

214. He that would dig up a *treasure*, must not speak a word.

215. To draw *storks* to your house, make them a nest on the chimney *with your left hand*.

216. If you have a swollen neck, go *in silence* to the mill, *steal* the tie from one of the sacks, and tie it about your neck.

217. When you see the first *swallow* in spring, halt immediately, and dig the ground *under your left foot* with a knife; you will there find a *coal* that is good for a year against the ague (see G, 98).

218. In digging for treasure, have *bread* about you, and the spectres can't disturb you.

219. *Godfather's money* (gift) makes rich and lucky.

220. When you have been robbed, drive an accidentally-found *horseshoe nail* (see 129) into the place where the fire always is, and you'll have your own again.

221. *Bastard children* are luckier than lawful ones.

222. At a christening get a mite of *bread* consecrated, and the child's parents will never want for bread.

223. He that counts his money at *new moon* is never short of it.

224. Drop a *cross-penny* on a treasure, and it can't move away.

225. Eat *lentils* at Shrovetide, and money will pour (quellen, swell?).

226. He of whom a boy (or girl) makes his (or her) *first purchase* at market, will have good luck in selling that day.

227. Let a merchant throw the *first money he takes* on the ground, and plant his feet upon it; his business will go the better.

228. For the *cuckoo* to sing after St John's is not good, it betokens dearth.

229. When the bride is fetched home, she shall make *no circuit*, but go the *common road*; otherwise she has ill luck.

230. If a man passing under a henroost is bedropped by the *hen*, it bodes misfortune, if by the *cock*, good luck (see 105).

231. A new garment should *not be put on empty*, something should be dropt into the pocket first for luck.

232. In choosing sponsors, ask an *unmarried woman*, else the child will be unlucky in marriage, and also have no children.

233. He that is lucky when *young* will beg his bread when *old*; and vice versâ.

234. He that carries *wormwood* about him cannot be becried (bewitched).

235. If you find a *needle*, and the *point* is towards you, you'll be unlucky; if the *head*, lucky.

236. Put nothing in your mouth of a morning, till you've had a bite of *bread*.

237. If the first *frog* you see in spring leaps in water and not on land, you may expect misfortune all that year.

238. Move into a new dwelling with a *waxing moon* or at *full moon*; and carry *bread* and *salt* into it, then everybody in it will be full and want for nothing.

239. If you hear *horses neigh*, listen attentively, they announce good luck.

240. If a woman in the six weeks *spin* wool, hemp or flax, the child will be hanged some day.

241. Women shall not brush or plait themselves on a *Friday*, it breeds vermin.

242. If you find money before breakfast, and there is *no wood under it*, it is unlucky.

243. He that was born on a *Sunday* is luckier than other men.

244. If after sunrise on Shrove Tuesday you *thrash* in silence, you drive the moles away.

245. Stand with your face to the *waning moon*, and say: 'Like the moon from day to day, Let my sorrows wear away' (see 492).

246. Don't leave the *oven-fork* in the oven; if you do, the witches can take a dollar a day from the house.

247. Nothing out of the way shall be built, planted or planned in a *Leap-year*: it does not prosper.

248. If in going out your clothes *get caught in the door* or *on the latch*, stay a while where you are, or you'll meet with a mishap.

249. Pare your nails on a *Friday*, and you have luck (see 340).

250. If you lay a *broom* in a witch's way, so that she must step over it, she turns faint, and can plot no mischief.

251. He that has about him an *owl's heart*, or the stone out of a *bat's back*, or a *hoopoo's head*, will have luck in play (see 329).

252. When the *candle* at night burns *roses* (forms a death's head), there's money or some luck coming next day.

253. Of the *first corn* brought in at harvest, take a few of the first sheaves, and lay them cross-wise in the *four corners of the barn*; then the *dragon* can't get any of it.

254. If it freezes on the *shortest day*, corn falls in price; if it is mild, it rises.

255. As many grains as the *theuerlings* (dear-lings, a kind of mushroom) have in them, so many groschen will corn be worth from that time.

256. If you search in vain for something that must be there, the *devil* is holding his hand or tail over it.

257. On your way to market, see that no one *meets you carrying water*; else you'd better turn back, you'll have no luck buying or selling.

258. By the grain of the *first sheaf you thrash*, you may guess the rise or fall in the price of corn, thus: fill and empty a *measure* four times, making *four heaps*; then put the heaps back into the measure, and level off. If grains fall from any heap, or if they seem short, then in the corresponding quarter of the coming year corn will fall or rise.

259. Lay by some *bread* from your wedding, and you'll never want it.

260. He that keeps and carries about him the bit of coat he brought into the world (the *glücks-haube*), will prosper in everything.

261. He that has about him a bitten-off *mole's paw*, will buy cheap and sell dear.

262. Deduct nothing from the cost of making a child's *first dress*; the more you take off, the less luck he'll have.

263. If the seed you are going to sow be laid *on the table*, it will not come up.

264. The *first baking* after Newyear's day, make as many little *cakes* as there are people in the house, give each a name, and prick a *hole* in it with your finger: if any one's hole gets baked up, he will die.

265. When a child is going to church *to be christened*, lift him *out through the window*: he'll be the stronger, and live the longer.

266. If you are telling something, and you or anybody *sneeze*, the tale is true.

267. If two people *rock* one child, it is robbed of its *rest*.

268. Never burn *straw* that any one has slept on, else he cannot *rest*.

269. If you are taken ill at *church*, you do not easily recover.

270. He that touches *tinder* with his fingers, cannot make it catch.

271. If you scrape *cheese* on the tablecloth, people will dislike you.

272. He that eats much *mouldy bread*, lives to be old.

273. If the man *sharpen* his *knife* otherwise than on the whetstone, there will be strife in the house.

274. Who eats no *beans* on Christmas-eve, becomes an ass.

275. Who eats not of *nine herbs* on Maundy Thursday, gets the fever.

276. He that *sews* or patches anything on *his own body*, shall always take something in his mouth, or he becomes forgetful.

277. If a child in its first year *smell* at anything, it learns not to smell afterwards.

278. Your *blessed bread* (*liebe brot*) shall not be left lying on its back.

279. To eat up clean what's on the table makes *fine weather* the next day.

280. Let him that has the *hiccough*, put a bare knife in a can of beer, and take a long draught in one breath.

281. If a sick or dying man has *hen's feathers* under him, he cannot die.

282. To *appease* the *storm-wind*, *shake a meal-sack clean*, and say: 'There, wind, take that, To make pap for your brat!'

283. If after washing you *wipe your hands on the tablecloth*, you'll get warts.

284. When the *bells ring thick*, there is generally some one just going to die; if the church-bell rings clear, it means a wedding.

285. When a bride is on her way to church, if it *rains*, she has been *crying*; if the *sun shines*, *laughing*.

286. If some one happens to come where a woman is *churning*, and *counts the hoops* on the churn first up and then down, the butter will not come.

287. It is not good to look *over your fingers* or the flat of your hand.

288. If you give a baby part of a red baked apple to eat the first time instead of pap, it will have *red cheeks*.

289. A baby does not thrive if you call it *würmchen* (mite) or *jüchel*.
290. If the *cat* looks at you while she trims herself, you'll get a dressing or a wiggling.
291. A cook that lets the dinner *burn on to* the pot, is betrothed or promised.
292. A maiden who is fond of *cats*, will have a sweet-tempered husband.
293. If a woman with child walk *over a grave*, her child will die.
294. He that has a lawsuit, and *sees his opponent in court before* the opponent sees him, will win his cause.
295. When you are in court, pocket your *knife bare*, and you'll win your cause.
296. When any one, old or young, can get no sleep, put a *ruhe-wisch* (wisp of rest) under his pillow, i.e. straw that breeding women lay under their backs; only you must get it away from them without saying a word.
297. If you *pity cattle* that are being killed, they can't die.
298. Never lay *bread* so that the cut side looks away from the table.
299. If you hear a ghost, *don't look round*, or you'll have your neck wrung.
300. Sow no *wheat on Maurice's day*, or it will be blighted.
301. It is not good to look *over your head*.
302. If you *lop a tree* on John's Beheading day, it is sure to wither.
303. If a maid who is *kneading dough* clutch at a lad's face, he'll never get a *beard*.
304. If your first godchild be a *bastard*, you'll be lucky in marriage.
305. When you drink to any one, *don't hand him the jug open*.
306. Whoever can *blow-in a blown-out candle*, is a chaste bachelor or maiden.
307. He that makes a *wheel over his gateway*, has luck in his house.
308. If a woman in the six weeks fetches *spring-water*, the spring dries up.
309. If you *turn a plate over* at a meal, the *witches* can share in it.
310. When a *witch* is being led to the stake, don't let her touch the *bare ground*.
311. He that gets a *blister* on his *tongue*, is slandered that moment; let him spit three times, and wish the slanderer all that's bad.
312. A patient that *weeps* and sheds tears, will not die that time.
313. When the *heimen* or *crickets* sing in a house, things go luckily.
314. He that sleeps long grows *white*, and the longer the whiter.
315. If on their *wedding day* a bride or bridegroom have a hurt on them, they'll carry it to the grave with them, it will never heal.
316. If the *moon* looks in at the chamber window, the maid breaks many pots.
317. If anything gets in your *eye*, spit thrice over your left arm, and it will come out.
318. When *fogs* fall in March, a great flood follows 100 days after.
319. He that walks over *nail parings*, will dislike the person they belonged to.
320. If a woman that *suckles a boy*, once puts another's child, which

is a *girl*, to her breast, the two children when grown up will come to shame together.

321. He that walks with only *one shoe* or stocking on, will have a cold in his head.

322. When the *fire* in the oven *pops*, there will be quarrelling in the house.

323. Just as long as the *meat* on the table keeps on *fizzing* or simmering, will the cook be beaten by her husband.

324. He whose *women* run away, and whose *horses* stay, will be rich.

325. When the candle *goes out of itself*, some one in the house will die.

326. He that smells at the *flowers* or *wreaths* at a *funeral*, will lose his smell.

327. If you cut off a *stalk of rosemary*, and put it in a dead man's grave, the whole plant withers as soon as the branch in the grave rots.

328. When you eat eggs, crush the shells (witches nestle in them), or some one may get the fever.

329. He that has on him a *moleskin* purse with a *hoopoo's head* and penny piece inside, is never without money (see 251).

330. When the *wind* blows on a *New-year's night*, it is a sign of pestilence.

331. If a man eating soup lays his *spoon* on the table, and it falls with its inner side up, he has not had enough; he must go on eating, till the spoon turns its outer side up.

332. If you cut *bread* at table, and happen to cut one more slice than there are people, there's a hungry guest on the road.

333. If you wear something sewed with *thread spun on Christmas eve*, no vermin will stick to you.

334. Never point with your fingers at the *moon* or *stars* in the sky, it hurts the eyes of the angels (see 937).

335. Keep a *cross-bill* in the house, and the lightning will not strike.

336. In *brewing*, lay a bunch of great *stinging-nettles* on the vat, and the thunder will not spoil the beer.¹

337. If a woman with child has gone beyond her time, and lets a *horse eat out of her apron*, she has an easy labour.

338. When a wedding pair join hands before the altar, the one whose *hand* is *coldest* will die first.

339. He that *steals* anything at Christmas, New-year, and Twelfthday-eve, without being caught, can *steal safely* for a year.

340. To *cut* the finger and toe *nails* on *Friday* is good for the toothache.

341. At Martinmas you can tell if the winter will be cold or not, by the *goose's breastbone* looking white or brown (see H, ch. 121).

342. Let farmers baptize their maids or sonse them with water, when they bring the *first grass* in the year, and they will not sleep at grass-cutting.

343. As a rule, when a *tempest* blows, some one has hung himself.

¹ The *thunder-nettle* resists thunder, and is therefore put to young beer, to keep it from turning. On *Grün-donnerstag* (Maundy Thursday) young *nettles* are boiled and eaten with meat. Dav. Frank's Mecklenbg 1, 59.

344. Hens hatched out of eggs that were laid on *Maundy Thursday* change their colour every year.
345. When a child is taken out of doors, don't keep the *upper half of the door* closed, or it will stop growing.
346. If *feathers picked up* on a bourn (between two fields) are put in a bed, a child can't sleep in it; if it is a marriage-bed, the man and wife will part.
347. If you *sing* while you brew, the beer turns out well.
348. Salute the returning *stork*, and you won't have the toothache.
349. When you go out in the morning, tread the *threshold* with your *right foot*, and you'll have luck that day.
350. When a *foot-bath* has been used, don't empty it till next day, or you spill your luck away with it.
351. If you happen to find the *felloe* of an *old wheel*, and throw it into the barn in the name of the H. Trinity, mice will not hurt your corn.
352. A silver ring made of *begged penny-pieces*, and worn on the finger, is sovereign against all diseases.
353. Don't keep putting the *bathing towel* on and off the child, or it will have no abiding place when old.
354. Before a wedding, the bridegroom shall *brunch* the beer-cask, and put the tap in his pocket, lest bad people should do him a mischief.
355. Hang your clothes in the sun on *Good Friday*, and neither moth nor woodlouse can get in.
356. Suffer thirst on *Good Friday*, and no drink will hurt you for a year (see 913).
357. In walking to your wedding, it is *not good to look round*.
358. On coming home from your wedding, make a *black hen* run in at the door (or window) first, and any mischief to be feared will fall on the hen.
359. In moving to another town or dwelling, if you lose *bread* on the way, you forfeit your food ever after.
360. In walking into a room, it is *not good to turn round* in the doorway.
361. A woman that has a cold in her head, shall smell in her husband's shoes.
362. After pulling a *splinter* out, chew it to pieces, lest it do more harm.
363. If another looks on while you *strike a light*, the tinder won't catch.
364. If a *woman with child* jump over a pipe through which a bell is being cast, it will lighten her labour.
365. A man can *pray* his enemy *dead* by repeating Psalm 109 every night and morning for a year; but if he miss a day he must die himself.
366. If you steal hay the *night before Christmas*, and give the cattle some, they thrive, and you are not caught in any future thefts.
367. Some houses or stables will not endure *white cattle*: they die off, or get crushed.
368. If a *corpse* looks *red* in the face, one of the friends will soon follow.
369. If after a Christmas dinner you shake out the tablecloth over the bare ground under the open sky, *brosam-kraut* (crumb-wort) will grow on the spot.

370. If you drink in the mines you must not say 'glück zu,' but 'glück auf,' lest the building tumble down.

371. In a dangerous place, if you have a *donkey* with you, the devil can do you no harm.

372. Put feathers in a bed when the *moon's on the wane*, they'll very soon creep out again.

373. If you *twist a willow* to tie up wood in a stable where hens, geese or ducks are sitting, the chickens they hatch will have crooked necks.

374. If you have no money the first time you hear the *cuckoo* call, you'll be short of it all that year.

375. A baby left *unchristened* long, gets fine *large eyes*.

376. If a maiden would have *long hair*, let her lay some of her hair in the ground along with hop-shoots.

377. It is not good to beat a beast with the *rod with which a child has been chastised*.

378. Every *swallow* you have slain makes a month of steady rain.

379. A child's first fall does not hurt it.

380. He that walks between *two old women* in the morning, has no luck that day (see 58).

381. When *swallows* build new nests on a house, there will be a death in it that year.

382. When the cats eat their food up clean, *corn* will be dear; if they leave scraps lying, the price will fall, or remain as it is.

383. To get rid of the *rose* (St. Anthony's fire), have *sparks* dropt on it from flint and steel by one of the same christian-name.

384. In cutting *grafts*, let them not fall on the ground, or the fruits will fall before their time.

385. A *spear* made out of a *gibbet-chain* without using fire, will tame a hard-mouthed horse or one that has the staggers.

386. Hang in the dove-cot a *rope* that has strangled a man, and the doves will stay.

387. He that has *all-men's-armor* (wild garlic) on him can't be wounded.

388. It is not good to burn *brooms* up.

389. In a lying-in room lay a *straw* out of the woman's bed at every door, and neither ghost nor *Jüdel* can get in.

390. A *bride* that means to have the mastery, shall *dawdle*, and let the bridegroom get to church before her.

391. Or: after the wedding she shall hide her *girdle* in the *threshold* of the house, so that he shall step over it.

392. She must eat of the *caudle*, or when she comes to suckle, her breasts will have no milk.

393. On no account shall married people eat of the *house-cock*.

394. He that sells beer, shall lay his first earnings *under the tap*, till the cask is emptied.

395. If you burn *wheat-straw*, the wheat in the field will turn sooty that year.

396. Of a *firstborn calf* let no part be roasted, else the cow dries up.

397. Let no *tears* drop on the *dead*, else he cannot rest.

398. When one is *attired* by another, she must not thank her, else the finery will not fit her.
399. The fruit-trees must not see a *distaff* in the Twelves, or they'll bear no fruit.
400. A *maid who is leaving* must make one more mess of pottage, and eat it.
401. He that mows grass shall *whet his scythe* every time he leaves off, and not put it away or take it home unwhetted.
402. When girls are going to a dance, they shall put *zehrurzel-kraut* in their shoes, and say: 'Herb, I put thee in my shoe, All you young fellows come round me, do!'
403. When the *sun* does not shine, all treasures buried in the earth are open.
404. If your flax does not thrive, steal a little *linseed*, and mix it with yours.
405. Put the *first yarn* a child spins on the *millwheel* of a watermill, and she will become a first-rate spinner.
406. If clothes in the *wash* be left hanging out till sunset, he that puts them on will bewitch everybody.
407. He that comes in during a meal shall *eat with you*, if only a morsel.
408. If a woman with child step over a *rope* by which a mare has been tied, she will go two months over her time.
409. The *first meat* you give a child shall be roast lark.
410. If a pure maiden *step over* a woman in labour, and in doing so drop her *girdle* on her, the woman shall have a quick recovery.
411. When the carpenter knocks the *first nail* in a new house, if *fire leap out of it*, the house will be burnt down (see 500. 707).
412. When the flax-sower comes to the flax-field, let him three times sit down *on the bagful* of seed, and rise again: it will be good.
413. If *sparks of fire* spirt out of a candle when lighted, the man they fly at will get money that day.
414. Beware of washing in water warmed with *old waggon-wheels*.
415. If a child is backward in speaking, take two loaves that have stuck together in baking, and *break them loose over his head*.
416. Strike no man or beast with a *peeled rod*, lest they dry up.
417. *Pick no fruit* [bruise no malt?] in the Twelves, or apples and pears will spoil.
418. Do no *thrashing* in the Twelves, or all the corn *within hearing of the sound* will spoil (see 916).
419. A shirt, sewed with thread *spun in the Twelves*, is good for many things.
420. He that walks into the *winter corn* on Holy Christmas-eve, hears all that will happen in the village that year.
421. Let not the *light go out* on Christmas-eve, or one in the house will die.
422. It is not good when a *stool* lies *upside down*, with its legs in the air.
423. If a man *puts on a woman's cap*, the horses will *kick* him.

424. In sweeping a room, don't *sprinkle it with hot water*, or those in the house will quarrel.

425. As the bride goes to church, *throw the keys after her*, and she'll be economical.

426. On her return from church, meet her with *cake* cut in slices; every guest take a slice, and push it against the bride's body.

427. When the bridegroom fetches home the bride, let her on the way *throw some flax away*, and her flax will thrive.

428. If an infant ride on a *black foal* it will cut its teeth quickly.

429. Move to a new house at *new moon*, and your provisions will increase.

430. If you have *schwaben* (black worms), steal a *drag* (hemm-schuh) and put it on the oven, and they'll go away (see 607).

431. Put a stolen *sand-clout* (-wisch) in the hens' food, and they won't hide their eggs.

432. At harvest, make the *last sheaf* up very big, and your next crop will be so good that every sheaf can be as large.

433. When *dogs* fight at a wedding, the happy pair will come to blows.

434. Hit a man with the *aber-rück* of a distaff, and he'll get an *aber-bein*.

435. If the latch catch, and not the match, a guest will come next day.

436. After making thread, don't throw the *thread-water* where people will pass; one that walks over it will be subject to giddiness.

437. If you *sneeze* when you get up in the morning, lie down again for another three hours, or your wife will be master for a week.

438. When you buy a *new knife*, give the first morsel you cut with it to a dog, and you will not lose the knife.

439. If a dying man cannot die, *push the table out of its place, or turn a shingle* on the roof (see 721).

440. If you sit down on a *water-jug*, your stepmother will dislike you.

441. If you keep *pigeons*, do not talk of them at dinner-time, or they'll escape, and settle somewhere else.

442. He that sets out *before the table is cleared*, will have a toilsome journey.

443. When children are 'beeried' and cannot sleep, take some *earth off the common*, and strew it over them.

444. To look through a *bottomless pot* gives one the headache.

445. In the bridechamber let the *inschlit-light burn quite clean out*.

446. On the three Christmas-eves save up all the *crumbs*: they are good to give as physic to one who is *disappointed*.

447. If you are having a coat made, let no one else try it on, or it won't fit you.

448. If two eat *off one plate*, they will become enemies.

449. Light a *match at both ends*, you're putting brands in the witches' hands.

450. When *fire* breaks out in a house, slide the *baking oven* out; the flame will take after it.

451. Let a woman that goes to be churched have *new shoes* on, or her child will have a bad fall when it has learnt to run alone.

452. A *spoon-stealer* keeps his mouth open in death.
453. If you happen to *spit* on yourself, you will hear some news.
454. When cows growl in the night, the *Jüdel* is playing with them.
455. If women with child go to the *bleaching*, they get white children.
456. A bride at her wedding shall wear an *old blue apron* underneath.
457. Put your *shoes wrong-wise* at the head of your bed, and the *alp* will not press you that night.
458. If she that is confined stick *needles* in the curtains, the babe will have bad teeth.
459. If a *woman with child* tie a *cord* round her waist, her child will be hanged.
460. If she that is confined *handle dough*, the child's hands will chap.
461. If *glasses break* at a wedding, the wedded pair will not be rich.
462. The first time cows are driven to pasture in spring, let them be milked through a *wreath of ground-ivy* (*gunder-man*).
463. He that goes to church on Walburgis-day with a *wreath of ground-ivy* on his head, can recognise all the witches.
464. Cows that have calved, the peasants in Thuringia lead over *three-fold iron*.
465. If a woman with child follow a *criminal* going to execution, or merely cross the path he has gone, her child will die the same death.
466. Mix the milk of *two men's cows*, and the cows of one will dry up.
467. Give no thanks for *given milk*, or the cow dries up.
468. As often as the *cock crows* on Christmas-eve, the quarter of corn that year will be as dear.
469. On Ash-Wednesday the *devil* hunts the *little woodwife* in the wood.
470. He that deals in *vinegar* must lend none, even should the borrower leave no more than a pin in pledge.
471. For headache, wash in water that *rebounds off a mill-wheel* (see 766).
472. A *cock built into a wall* brings a long spell of good weather.
473. If the *Jüdel* has burnt a child, smear the oven's mouth with bacon-rind.
474. If a child has the *freisig* (lockjaw?), cover its head with an inherited fish-kettle, and force its mouth open with an inherited key.
475. *Water* cannot abide a *corpse*.
476. Throw *devil's bit* under the table, and the guests will quarrel and fight.
477. To get a good crop, go out in silence on a certain day, fetch mould from *three inherited fields*, and mix it with your seed.

b. From the *Erzgebirge* about Chemnitz.

(Journal von und für Deutschland 1787. 1, 186-7. 261-2).

478. At the first bidding of the banns the *betrothed* shall not be present.
479. On a *barren* wife throw a *tablecloth* that has served at a first christening dinner.

480. At a wedding or christening dinner let the *butter-dishes* have been begun, or the bachelors there will get *baskets* (the sack) when they woo.

481. When the bride goes from her seat to the altar, let the bridesmaids *close up quickly*, lest the seat grow *cold*, and the bride and bridegroom's love cool also.

482. If there is a *grave open* during a wedding, all depends on whether it is for a man, woman or child; in the first case the bride will be a widow, in the second the bridegroom a widower, in the last their children will die soon.

483. If a *girl* meets a wedding pair, their first child will be a daughter; if a *boy*, a son; if a boy and girl together, there will be twins.

484. Put a *key* beside the baby, and it cannot be changed.

485. Of a wedding pair, whichever gets *out of bed* first will die first.

486. The godmothers help in making the bridal bed, the straws are put in one by one, and care is taken that no stranger come into the bride-chamber. The bed must not be beaten, but softly stroked, else the wife will get beatings.

487. If a *pillow* fall off the bridal bed, the one that lay on it will die first.

488. On the wedding day, man and wife must *wash crosswise*, then they can't be becried (bewitched).

489. Of the *wedding bread* and roll, some shall be saved, that man and wife may not want. Such bread does not get mouldy, and a piece of it put in their pottage is good for pregnant women who have no appetite.

490. At the prayer for the sick, if there is *perfect silence*, the sick man dies; if any one coughs or makes a noise, he gets well.

491. If a sick man, after receiving the sacrament, ask for food, he will die; if for drink, he will recover.

492. For increasing goitre or warts, fix your eyes on the *waxing moon*, and say three times: 'May what I see increase, may what I suffer cease,' (see 245).

493. *Dogs howling* foretell a fire or a death.

494. *New servants* must not go to church the first Sunday, or they'll never get used to the place.

495. Whatever dishes the sponsor *does not eat* of at the christening-feast, the child will get a dislike for.

496. *Crows cawing* round the house mean a corpse, if only of a beast.

497. If the *church clock* strike while the *death-bell tolls*, there will die in the parish a man, a youth, or a child, according as it is the great, the middle, or the small bell.

498. No bride shall move in when the *moon's on the wane* (see 238); but wealth she will win, who comes riding through rain (198).

499. When you move into a new house, *throw* something alive in first, a *cat* or *dog*: for the first to enter a house is the first to die.

500. When carpenters are felling timber for a new building, if *sparks fly out at the first stroke*, the building will burn down (see 411).

501. Before you go into the sitting-room of your new house, peep *into the copper*, to get used to the place. The same rule for new servants

(see 95); beside which, they have to *creep between the legs* of their masters.

502. Journeymen, the first time they travel, must *not look round*, or they'll be homesick, and can't stay anywhere.

503. Let no strangers into the stable at *milking* time.

504. After candles are lighted, don't *empty a washhand basin* in the street, or the family will fall out the next day.

505. When children shed their first *teeth*, let the father *swallow* the daughter's teeth, and the mother the son's; the children will never have toothache then.

c. From the *Saalfeld* country.

(Journ. v. u. f. D. 1790. pp. 26—29; conf. Sächs. Provinz. bl. 5, 499—512).

506. On Christmas-eve the girls sit up from 11 to 12. To find out if they shall get married the next year, they *strip themselves naked*, stick their heads into the copper, and watch the *water hissing*.

507. If that does not answer, they take a broom and *sweep the room backwards*, and see the future lover sitting in a corner: if they hear the crack of a whip, he is a waggoner, if the sound of a pipe, a shepherd.

508. Some *rush out of doors naked*, and call the lover; others go to a *cross-road*, and call out his name.

509. A *woman who is confined* must never be left alone; the devil has more hold upon her then.

510. She dare not *sleep* unless some one *watches* by the child, for a *changeling* is often put in the cradle. Let the husband's trowsers be thrown over it.

511. The village children dread the *minister*. The unrueliest is hushed by the threat: 'Sit still, or *parson* 'll come and put yon in the pitch-pot.'

512. If a girl has *not cleared her distaff* the last day of the year, it is defiled by *Bergda*: this *Bergda* is a shaggy monster.

513. A bride preserves her *bridal wreath* and a piece of *wedding bread*; so long as she keeps that hardened lump, she never wants bread. When man and wife are weary of life, *they eat it soaked in pottage*.

514. After the wedding, one of the bridesmaids hurries home first, gets beer or brandy, and offers a glass to the bridegroom, who empties it and tosses it behind his back: if the *glass breaks*, it is good; if not, not.

515. If one is taken ill suddenly without cause, a *sage old woman* goes, *without greeting any one*, draws water from a spring, and drops three coals into it; *if they sink*, he is 'becried'; she then draws nigh, and sprinkles him three times with the water, *muttering*: 'Art thou a wife, let it light on thy life! art thou a maid, may it fall on thy head! art thou a servant, thou art served as thou *hast well deserved!*' (See 865.)

516. When cattle are first driven out in spring, *axes, saws* and other iron tools are laid *outside the stable-door*, to keep them from being bewitched.

517. On the great festivals, women do not work after church, or they would be *lamed and struck by lightning* (the clouds would come after them).

518. In setting cabbages, women say: 'Stalks (? *dursche*) like my leg, heads like my head, leaves like my apron, such be my cabbages!'

519. *Flax* is thus adjured: 'Flax, don't flower till you're up to my knee, etc.' On St John's night the girls *dance round the flax*, they *strip themselves naked*, and wallow in it.

520. When the *dragon* is taking eggs, butter, cheese and lard to his worshippers, call out the Saviour's name several times, and he'll drop them all.

521. If the bride is coming to her husband's homestead, and the *shepherd drives his sheep* in her way, let her give him a fee, and she'll have luck.

522. If a *whirlwind* falls on the aftermath, 'tis the Evil One wishing to convey it to those who serve him. Cry out, and call him foul names.

523. The hare with his front-teeth often cuts a path across whole corn-fields. They call it *pilsen-schneiden*, and think the *devil* cuts the corn and carries it to his good friends.

524. Old women often cut out a *turf a foot long*, on which their enemy has trodden just before, and hang it up in the chimney: the enemy then wastes away (see 556).

525. On the last day of the year, many eat *dumplings* (*strötzel*) and *herrings*, else *Perchte* would cut their belly open, take out what they have eaten, and sew up the gash with a *ploughshare* for needle, and a *röhm-chain* for thread.

526. The fire is kept in *all night* before *Christmas day*.

527. He that goes to the *beer* on *Newyear's day*, grows young and ruddy.

528. A dream in *Newyear's night* comes true.

529. If the butter won't come, put a *fire-steel* or *knife* under the churn.

530. When your hands are soiled with setting cabbages, *wash* them in a *large tub*, and the cabbage will have large heads.

531. In *setting cabbages* a girl can find out if she'll ever get the man she loves. She nips a piece off the root of one seedling, splits the remaining part, and puts the root of another through it; the two plants are then set close to a stone, and squeezed together tight. If they stick, the marriage will come about.

532. If you force a man to sell you something *cheap*, it won't last you long.

533. In sowing flax, *throw the cloth* that held the seed *high up in the air*: the flax will grow the higher.

d. From *Worms and its neighbourhood*.

(Journ. v. u. f. D, 1790. pp. 142-3-4.)

534. A *crackling fire* betokens strife.

535. So does *spilt salt*.

536. So do *yellow spots* on your finger: if they are too large to be *covered with a finger*, the strife will be serious.

537. If the *left ear sings*, evil is spoken of you, if the *right ear*, good.

538. Let no *fire*, *salt* or *bread* be given out of a house where a woman lies in.

539. He that has on him a *harrow-nail* (-tooth ?) found on the highway, can recognise all witches (see 636).

540. *Red milk* of a bewitched cow shall be *whipt with switches* while boiling: the pain makes the witch reveal herself and heal the cow.

541. He that goes out *unwashed* is easily bewitched.

542. *Ringing consecrated bells* on Walburgis-night hinders the witches that dance with the devil on cross-roads from hurting any one.

543. If a *coffin* rings *hollow* in nailing down, one more in the house will die.

544. He that is in great trouble shall touch the *great toe of a dead man*.

545. The dead shall be laid with their face *to the east*, lest they be scared by the *winseln* (?) that *swarm from the west*.

546. *Combs, knives, cloths*, used about a dead man, shall be laid in the *coffin*, and be buried with him.

547. If a *pregnant woman* lift a child from the font, either that child or her own will die.

548. If a *loaf* be laid on its brown side, witches can walk in.

549. If a *yellow-footed hen* flies over a jaundiced man, he can't be cured.

550. To sow a strife 'twixt man and wife, *press a padlock* home, while parson makes them one.

551. If a *garment* or *linen* come *before* a dead man's *mouth*, one of the family will die.

552. When there's death in a house, *knock at the wine-casks*, or the wine spoils.

553. If *thirteen* eat at a table, one is sure to die.

554. Into a *whirlwind* fling a knife with crosses on it, and you know the witches who made it.

555. If a *mole* burrow in the house (see 601), and the *cricket* chirp, some one will die; also if the *hen* crow, or the *screech-owl* shriek.

556. If one steals in rainy weather, *cut out his footprint* and hang it in the chimney: the thief will waste away with the footprint (see 524).

557. *Combed-out hair*, if thrown on the highway, lays you open to witchcraft (see 676).

e. From Gernsbach in the Spire Country.

(Journ. v. u. f. D. 1787. 1, 454-5-6.)

558. Bride and bridegroom, on your way to church avoid the *house-eaves*, and do *not look round*.

559. *Stand close together* before the altar, lest witches creep in between you.

560. During the wedding whichever of you has your *hand above the other's*, shall have the mastery.

561. Let a woman with child, when she has a wash, *turn the tubs upside down* as soon as done with, and she'll have an easy confinement.

562. If sponsors on the christening day put *clean shirts and shifts* on, no witch can get at the child.

563. If at night there's a knock at the door of the lying-in room, never open till you've asked *three times* who it is, and been answered three times; no witch can answer *three times*.

564. In swaddling the babe, wrap a little *bread* and *salt* in.

565. In the bed or cradle hide a *sword* or *knife* with its point sticking out: if the unholde tries to get over mother or child, she'll fall upon it.

566. If at the wash a woman *borrow*s *lye* and *thanks you for it*, she's a witch.

567. A woman that *plumps butter* on a *Wednesday*, is a witch.

568. If you go out and are greeted with 'good morning,' never answer '*thank you,*' but only 'good morning'; then, if one of the greeters be a witch, she cannot hurt.

569. If your hens, ducks, pigs etc., die fast, light a *fire in the oven*, and throw one of each kind in: the witch will perish with them (see 645).

570. When a witch walks into your house, give her a piece of *bread* with *three grains of salt* sprinkled on it, and she can't hurt anything.

571. If the cloth is laid *wrong side up*, people can never eat their fill.

572. If you leave it *on the table all night*, the angels won't protect you.

573. Smear a goitre with the wick out of a lamp that has burnt in a *dying man's room*, and it will heal.

574. If you make a promise to a child, and *do not uphold it*, it will have a bad fall.

575. If a woman set her hen to hatch with her *garters dangling*, her *hair streaming* and her *worst frock on*, she'll have chickens with knobs on their heads and feathery feet (see 19).

576. If any one dies in the house, *shift the beehives*, *shake the vinegar* and *wine*; or bees, wine and vinegar will go bad (see 664, 698, 898).

577. When you buy poultry, lead them three times round the *table's foot*, cut a chip off each *corner of the table* to put in their food, and they will stay (see 615).

578. The first time a pig is driven to pasture, make it jump over a *piece of your apron*, and it will readily come home (see 615).

579. If a girl on St Andrew's night melt some *lead* in a spoon, and *pour* it through a *key* that has a cross in its wards, *into water* that was drawn between 11 and 12, it will take the shape of her future husband's tools of trade.

580. To measure a child for clothes *in its first year*, spoils its figure.

581. A *mouse's head* bitten off with teeth, or cut off with gold, and hung about a child, helps it to teethe.

582. The same if you *give* a child an *egg* the first time it comes into a house; though some say it makes them talkative.

f. From *Pforzheim*.

(Journ. v. u. f. D. 1787. 2, 341—345.)

583. A *seven year old cock* lays a small egg, which must be thrown over the roof, or lightning will strike the house; if hatched, it yields a *basilisk*.

584. If you've a cold, drink a glass of water through a *three-pronged fork*.

585. He that eats a *raw egg* fasting on Christmas morning, can carry heavy weights.
586. Eat *lentils* on Good Friday, and you'll not be out of money for a year.
587. If the *stork* does not finish hatching an egg, one of the highest in the land will die.
588. *White spirits* such as have buried money when alive, must hover between heaven and earth.
589. At an *eclipse of the sun*, cover the wells, or the water becomes poisonous.
590. If you leave a glass of wine standing between eleven and twelve on Newyear's night, and *it runs over*, the vintage will be good that year.
591. In going out, put your *right foot* out of the door first.
592. *Lizards* were once maidens.
593. A child cannot die peacefully on *fowls' feathers*.
594. It is unlucky to *yoke oxen* on Innocents' day.
595. If you *cross a bridge* or see a *shooting star*, say the Lord's prayer.
396. If you lay a knife down *edge upwards*, you cut the face of God or those of the angels.
597. If you carry a rake *teeth upwards*, or *point up* with your finger, it will prick God's eyes out : it also destroys the *rainbow*.
598. Where the *rainbow* touches the earth, there is a *golden dish*.
599. The *gravedigger's spade* clatters when a grave is bespoken.
600. *Crickets, dogs* and *waybirds* foretell a death by their cry.
601. If a *mole* burrows under the room, the *grandmother* dies (see 555).
602. If the *palace-clock* is out of order, one of the reigning family dies.
603. If *clocks* strike while bells ring for prayers, some one dies.
604. He that *dawdles* makes the devil's bed (see 659).
605. Whoever commits a crime that is not found out in his lifetime, *walks* after death with his *head under his arm*.
606. He that buries money must *walk* after death, until it is found.
607. If you don't pray, the *schwaben* (black worms) steal flour out of your bin.
608. *Schwaben* are got rid of by being put in a box and given to a dead man.
609. *Swallow's nests* and *crickets* bring a blessing to the house.
610. *Don't beat down* the joiner's charge for the *coffin*, if the dead are to rest.
611. Cry to the fiery man : '*Steuble, Steuble*, hie thee, Be the sooner by me!' then *Will wi' the wisp* will come, and you must take him on your back. If you pray, he approaches ; if you curse, he flees.
612. If you find a *treasure*, don't cover it with any clothing worn *next* the skin, or you're a dead man ; but with a handkerchief, a crust of bread. The treasure appears once in seven years.
613. *Wednesday* and *Friday* are accursed witch-days. Pigs first driven to pasture on a *Wednesday*, don't come home ; a child begins school on *Wednesday*, and learns nothing. On *Wednesday* nobody gets married, no maid goes to a new place.

614. Every one has his star. *Stars are eyes of men* [ON.].

615. The first time pigs cross the threshold, make them jump over the *wife's garter*, the *man's girdle*, or the *maid's apron*, and they'll come home regularly (see 578).

616. When a fowl is bought, chase it *three times round the table*, give it *wood off three corners of the table* with its food, and it will stay (see 577).

617. If you lose a fowl, tie a farthing in the corner of a tablecloth upstairs, and let the *corner hang out of window*: the fowl will come back.

618. If you creep *under a carriage-pole*, or let any one *step over you*, you'll stop growing (see 45).

619. Creep *between a cow's forelegs*, and she'll never lose a horn.

620. *Pigs bathed in water in which a swine has been scalded*, grow famously.

621. He that stares at a tree on which a *female sits*, is struck *blind*.

622. To make a *nut-tree bear*, let a *pregnant woman* pick the first nuts.

623. If you've the *gout*, go into the fields at prayer-bell time on a Friday.

624. *Rain-water* makes children talk soon.

625. If you laugh till your eyes run over, there will be quarrels.

626. If you are in league with the *devil*, and want to cheat him, *don't wash or comb for seven years*; or else ask him to make a *little tree grow*, which he can't, and so you are rid of him.

627. The *thorn-twister* (a bird) carries thorns to Our Lord's crown.

628. The *swallow* mourns for Our Lord.

629. If you pull down a *redbreast's nest*, your cow will give *red milk*, or *lightning* will strike your house.

630. When a *tooth* is pulled out, nail it into a young tree, and draw the bark over it; if the tree is cut down, the toothache will return. Take a *sliver* out of a *willow*, and pick your bad tooth till it bleeds, put the sliver back in its place, with the bark over it, and your toothache will go.

631. When a *tooth* falls out, put it in a *mousehole*, and say: 'Give me, mouse, a tooth of bone, You may have this wooden one.' [Rääf 130].

632. If a woman dies in *childbed*, give her *scissors* and *needlecase* (yarn, thread, needle and thimble), or she'll come and fetch them.

633. When a child is dead, it visits the person it was *fondest* of.

634. One *born on a Sunday* can see *spirits*, and has to carry them pick-a-back.

635. Nail up *three pigeon's feathers* of the left wing inside the cot, swing the pigeons you let in *three times round the leg*, and don't let their first flight be on a Friday.

636. Have about you a *harrow tooth* found on a Sunday, and you'll see the *witches* at church *with tubs on their heads*; only get out before the P.N. is rung, or they'll tear you to pieces (see 539. 685. 783).

637. A child in the cradle, who *does not look* at you, is a *witch*.

638. Take a *crossed knife* with you at night, and a witch can't get near

you; if she comes, *throw the knife at her*, and she'll stand there till daylight.

639. If the *eldest child* in the house ties up the *calf*, witches can't get at it.

640. If a *goat* in the stable is *black all over*, the witch can't get in; nor if the cow has *white feet* and a *white stripe* on her back.

641. Any beast with a *black throat* you've no hold upon.

642. If you are afraid of a witch at night, turn your *left shoe* round.

643. If you meet a *doubtful-looking cat*, hold your thumb towards her.

644. A *druid's foot* (pentagram) on the door keeps witches away.

645. If a thing is bewitched, and you *burn* it, the witch is sure to come, wanting to *borrow* something: give it, and she is free; deny it, and she too must burn (see 569. 692).

646. If your cattle are bewitched, go into the stable at midnight, and you'll find a *stalk of straw* lying on their backs: put it in a sack, call your neighbours in, and *thresh the sack*; it will swell up, and the witch will scream (see 692).

647. Witches pick up money at the *cross-ways*, where the devil scatters it.

648. They can make rain, thunder and a *wind*, which sweeps up the *cloth* on the *bleaching ground*, the *hay* in the *meadow*.

649. They *anoint* a *stick* with the words: 'Away we go, not too high and not too low!'

650. When a witch has *gone up* (in ecstasis), turn her body upside down, and she can't come in again.

651. Under *bewitched water*, that will not boil, put *wood of three kinds*.

652. If a child is 'becried,' let its father fetch *three stalks of straw* from different dung-heaps unbecried, and lay them under its pillow.

g. From *Württemberg*.

(Journ. v. u. f. D. 1788. 2, 183-4).

653. Give no *milk* out of the house without mixing a *drop of water* with it.

654. On the day a woman *is delivered*, or a horse *gelded*, lend nothing out of the house, lest horse or woman be bewitched.

655. If in bed you turn your feet *towards the window*, you get the consumption.

656. A *shirt spun by a girl* of from 5 to 7 makes you magic-proof.

657. When a spectre leads you astray, *change shoes* at once, *put your hat on another way*, and you'll get into the right road again.

658. If you talk of witches on a *Wednesday* or *Friday* night, they hear it, and avenge themselves.

659. Who *runs not as he might*, runs into the devil's arms (see 604).

660. Children *dying unbaptized* join the Furious Host.

661. If a bride at the altar *kneels* on the bridegroom's *cloak*, she gets the *upper hand*. And if she gets into bed first, and makes him hand her a glass of water, she is sure to be master.

662. Of a wedded pair, the one that first *rises from the altar* will die first.

663. If at the altar they stand so far apart that you can *see between them*, they'll pull two ways.

664. When a sick man is dying, *open the windows*, and *stop up* all in the house that is *hollow*, or turn it over, so that the soul may have free exit. Also *shift the vinegar*, the *birdcage*, the *cattle*, the *beehives* (see 576. 698).

665. See that the dead on the bier have no *corner* of the *shroud* in *their mouth*.

666. *Fold your thumb in*, and dogs cannot bite you.

667. Set the *churn* on a 'handzwehl,' and put a comb under it, and you'll have plenty of rich butter.

668. The first time you hear the *cuckoo* call in spring, *shake your money* unbecried, and you'll never run short.

669. The boundary where a suicide is buried, will be *struck by lightning* three years running.

670. The farmer that goes into another's stable for the first time without saying 'Luck in here!' is a witch-master.

671. Step into a court of justice *right foot* foremost, and you'll win.

h. From Swabia.

(Journ. v. u. f. D. 1790. 1, 441.)

672. Let a woman in childbed take her first medicine out of her *husband's spoon*.

673. In the pains of labour, let her put on her *husband's slippers*.

674. Put water under her bed without her knowing it.

675. A child under three, pushed in through a *peep-window*, stops growing.

676. Hair that is cut off shall be burnt, or thrown into *running water*. If a bird carry it away, the person's hair will fall off (see 557).

677. If a child *learning to talk* says 'father' first, the next child will be a boy; if 'mother,' a girl.

678. If a man drink out of a *cracked glass*, his wife will have nothing but girls.

679. When you've *bought a cat*, bring it in with its head *facing the street* and not the house; else it will not stay.

i. From the Ansbach country.

(Journ. v. u. f. D. 1786. 1, 180-1.)

680. She that *spins* on *Saturday* evening will walk after she is dead.

681. If a dead man's *linen* be not washed soon, he cannot *rest*.

682. He that eats *millet-pap* at Shrovetide is never out of money.

683. Spin at *Shrovetide*, and the flax will fail. The wheels must all be packed away.

684. If the farmer is tying *strawbands* at Shrovetide, and uses but one to a sheaf in a whole stack of corn, no mouse can hurt.

685. Have about you *three grains* found whole in a baked loaf, and on Walburgis-day you'll see the *witches* and *night-hags* at church with *milk-pails on their heads* (see 636. 783).

686. In the Twelve-nights neither master nor man may bring *fresh-blackened shoes* into the stable; else the cattle get bewitched.

687. He that cooks or eats *peas* at that time, gets vermin or leprosy.

688. If a pregnant woman pass through the *clothes-lines* or anything *tangled*, her child will tangle itself as many times as she has passed through lines.

689. If a child has convulsions, lay a *horseshoe* under its pillow.

690. A sick child gets better, if its godfather carries it three times *up and down the room*.

691. If a mare foals at the wrong time, she must have stept *over a plough-fork*. If you knock that to pieces, she can give birth.

692. When bewitched with vermin, wrap three in a paper, and *hammer* on it. The witch feels every blow, and comes in to borrow something: if you refuse, she can't get free, and will sink under the blows (see 645-6).

693. Never burn a *broom*, and you are safe from Antony's fire.

694. When the Christmas-tree is lighted, notice the people's *shadows* on the wall: those that will die within a year appear *without heads*.

695. Draw the *first three corn-blossoms* you see through your mouth, and eat them: you'll be free from fever for a year (see 784).

696. He that passes *palm-brushes* (catkins) over his face, will have no freckles.

697. Nor he that washes his face during the *passing-bell* on Good Friday.

698. When a man dies, his *bird-cages*, *flower-pots* and *beehives* must be differently placed; and you must knock three times on his *wine-casks* (see 552. 576. 664).

699. It furthers the dead man's *rest*, if every one that stands round the grave throws *three clods* in.

700. The *comb* and *knife* that have combed and shaved a dead man, shall be put in his coffin; or the hair of those who use them will fall off (see 546).

701. If you leave any of the *bread* set before you, you must at any rate *stow it away*, or you'll have the toothache.

702. If you hand *bread* to a pregnant woman on the point of a *knife* or *fork*, her child's eyes will be pricked out.

703. If you *sew* or even *thread a needle* on Ascension day, your house will be *struck with lightning* (see 772).

704. *Lightning strikes* where a *redstart* builds; but a *swallow's nest* brings luck (see 629).

705. If children bring home the *female* of a *stagbeetle*, get it out of the *way* directly, or *lightning will strike* the house.

706. On *Good Friday* and *Saturday* one dare not work the ground, for fear of disquieting the Saviour in the sepulchre.

707. If the *last nail* the carpenter knocks in a new house give fire, it

will burn down (see 411. 500); and if the *glass he throws from the gable* after saying his saw *break*, the builder will die; if not, he will live long.

708. He that comes into court, wearing a *shirt* of which the yarn was spun by a girl of five, will obtain justice in every suit.

709. They put *turf* or a *little board* under a dead man's chin, that he may not catch the *shroud* between his teeth, and draw his relations after him.

710. A girl can be cured of *St Antony's fire* by a pure young man *striking fire* on it several times.

711. Who steps *not barefoot* on the floor on Easterday, is safe from fever.

712. If the first thing you eat on *Good Friday* be an egg that was laid on *Mannidy Thursday*, you'll catch no *bodily harm* that year.

713. *Three crumbs of bread, three grains of salt, three coals*, if worn on the person, are a safeguard against sorcery.

714. If a woman getting up from childbed lace a *crust of bread* on her, and make her child a *zuller* or *schlotzer* of it, the child will not have toothache.

715. If on the wedding day the bridegroom *buckle* the bride's *left shoe*, she'll have the mastery.

716. If he tie her *garters* for her, she'll have easy labours.

717. Whichever of them *goes to sleep first*, will die first.

718. If you eat the *first three sloe-blossoms* you see, you'll not have the heartburn all that year.

719. To get rid of freckles, take the *first goslings* without noise, pass them over your face, and make them run backwards.

720. Turn the *loaf* over in the drawer, and the *drude* can't get out of the room.

721. If a man can't die, take up *three tiles in the roof* (see 439).

722. If a child has the *gefrais*, put a *swallow's nest* under his pillow.

723. He that lies on *inherited beds*, cannot die.

k. From *Austria above Ens*.

(Journ. v. u. f. D. 1787. 1, 469—472.)

724. If a *pregnant woman* dip her hand in *dirty water*, her children will have coarse hands.

725. If she *dust* anything with her *apron*, they will be boisterous.

726. If she wear a *nosegay*, they'll have fetid breath, and no sense of smell.

727. If she *long for fish*, her child will be born too soon, or will die soon.

728. If she *steal* but a trifle, the child will have a strong bent that way.

729. If she *mount over a waggon-pole*, it will come to the gallows; if she dream of *dead fish*, it will die.

730. If women come in while she is in labour, they shall quickly *take their aprons off*, and tie them round her, or they'll be barren themselves.

731. In fumigating, throw in some *sprigs* from the *broom* that sweeps the room.

732. When the child is born, she shall take *three bites of an onion*, be *lifted and set down three times* in the stool, draw her *thumbs in*, and blow *three times* into each *fist*.

733. In the six weeks she must *not spin*, because the B. Virgin did not; else the yarn will be made into a *rope* for the child.

734. If the child, when born, be wrapt in *fur*, it will have *curly hair*.

735. Put three pennies in its *first bath*, it will always have money; a pen, it will learn fast; a rosary, it will grow up pious; an egg, it will have a clear voice. But the three pennies and the egg must be given to the first beggar.

736. The first *cow that calves*, milk her into a brand-new pot, put three pennies in, and give them with the milk and pot to the first beggar.

737. The smaller the *jug* in which water is drawn for a little girl's bath, the smaller will her *breasts* be.

738. Empty the bath under a *green tree*, and the children will keep fresh.

739. Three days after birth, the godfather shall *buy* the child's *crying* from it (drop a coin in the swathings), that it may have *peace*.

740. If the child still *cries*, put *three keys* to bed in its cradle.

741. If the child can't or won't eat, give a little feast to the *fowls of the air* or the *black dog*.

742. If the baby sleep on *through a thunder storm*, the *lightning* will not strike.

743. The *tablecloth* whereon ye have eaten, fumigate with *fallen crumbs*, and wrap the child therein.

744. Every time the mother leaves the room, let her spread some *garment of the father's* over the child, and it cannot be changed.

745. If the *churching* be on *Wednesday* or *Friday*, the child will come to the gallows.

746. Before going out to be *churched*, let the mother stride over the *broom*.

747. If a male be the first to take a light from the *taper* used in churching, the next child will be a boy; if a female, a girl.

748. On her way home, let the mother buy *bread*, and lay it in the cradle, and the child will have *bread* as long as it lives.

749. Before suckling the child, let her *wipe her breasts three times*.

750. The first time the child is carried out, let a garment be put upon it *on the side aforesaid* (inside out).

751. As soon as you see the child's *first tooth*, *box his ear*, and he'll cut the rest easily.

l. From *Osterode in the Harz*.

(Journ. v. n. f. D. 1788. 2, 425—431.)

752. The first time you drive out to pasture in spring, put an *axe* and a *fire-steel* wrapt in a *blue apron* just inside the stable threshold and let the cows step over it.

753. In feeding them the evening before, sprinkle three pinches of *salt*

between their horns, and walk *backwards* out of the stable; then *evil eyes* will not affect them.

754. If the girl wash the cow *unwashed*, the milk will not cream.

755. For the cow not to go more than once with the bull, a *blind dog* must be *buried alive* just inside the *stable door*.

756. When you drive the cow past a witch's house, *spit three times*.

757. Cattle born or weaned in a *waning moon* are no good for breeding.

758. If *swallows' nests* on a house are pulled down, the cows give blood.

759. If a witch come to the churning, and can *count the hoops on the churn*, the butter will not come.

760. *Three grains of salt* in a milk pot will keep witches off the milk.

761. To make *hens* lay, feed them at noon on Newyear's day with *all manner of fruit* mixed.

762. Set the hen to hatch just as the *pigs are coming in*; in carrying her, keep pace with the pigs, and the eggs will hatch pretty near together.

763. Whichever *loses the wedding ring first*, will die first.

764. Let a wedding be at *full-moon*, or the marriage is not blest.

765. The first 'warm-bier' for an accouchée no one may taste, but only *try with the fingers*, or she'll have the gripes.

766. To cure *ansprang* (a kind of rash) on a child, get a piece of wood out of a *millwheel*, set it alight, and smoke the swathings with it; wash the child with water that *bounds off the millwheel* (see 471); what is left of the wood shall be thrown into *running water*.

767. Wean no child when *trees are in blossom*, or it will be gray-headed.

768. While the babe is unbaptized, no stranger shall come in; he might not be *dicht* (=gehener), then the mother's milk would go.

769. If a baby has the *kinder-scheuerchen* (shudder?), let the 'goth' if it is a boy, or the godmother if it is a girl, *tear its shirt down the breast*.

770. When a baby is weaning, give it three times a *roll* to eat, a *penny* to lose, and a *key*.

771. On *Monday* lend nothing, pay for all you buy, fasten no stocking on the left.

772. *A stroke of lightning* will find its way to whate'er you work at on *Ascension day* (703).

773. On *Matthias-day* throw a *shoe* over your head: if it then *points out-of-doors*, you will either move or die that year.

774. On *Matthias-day* set as many *leuchter pennies* as there are people in the house, afloat on a *pailful of water*: he whose penny sinks will die that year.

775. Water drawn *downstream* and *in silence*, before sunrise on *Easter Sunday*, does not spoil, and is good for anything.

776. *Bathing* the same day and hour is good for scurf and other complaints.

777. If a new *maid-servant*, the moment she is in the house, see that *the fire is in*, and *stir it up*, she'll stay long in the place.

778. In building a house, the master of it shall deal the *first stroke* of the axe: if *sparks fly out*, the house will be burnt down.

779. If a *bed* be so placed that the sleeper's feet *point out-of-doors*, he'll die.

780. *Bewitched money* grows less every time you count it: strew *salt* and *dill* amongst it, put a crossed twopenny-piece to it, and it will keep right.

781. A *hatching-dollar* makes your money grow, and if spent always comes back.

782. A woman that is confined must not look *out of window*: else every *vehicle* that passes takes a luck away.

783. He that carefully carries about him an egg laid on Maundy Thursday, can see all *witches with tubs on their heads* (see 636. 685).

784. The *first corn-blossom* you see, draw it *three times* through your mouth, saying "God save me from fever and jaundice," and you are safe from them (see 695).

785. *Three knots* tied in a string, and laid in a coffin, send warts away.

786. If a woman have *seven sons one after another*, the seventh can heal all manner of hurts with a *stroke of his hand*.

m. From Bielefeld.

(Journ. v. n. f. D. 1790. 2, 389-390: 462-3.)

787. If an *old woman with running eyes* comes in, and talks to and fondles a child, she bewitches it; the same if she handles and admires your cattle.

788. If you walk down the street with one foot *shod* and the other *bare*, all the cattle coming that way will fall sick.

789. If an *owl* alights on the house hooting, and then flies over it, some one dies.

790. *Wicke-weiber* tell you who the thief is, and mark him on the body.

791. *Old women* met first in the morning mean misfortune, *young people* luck.

792. At 11-12 on Christmas night *water* becomes *wine* and the *cattle stand up*; but whoever pries into it, is *struck blind* or *deaf*, or is marked for death.

793. *Healing spells* must be taught in secret, without witnesses, and only *by men to women*, or *by women to men*.

794. The *rose* (Antony's fire) is appeased by the spell: '*hillig ding wike* (holy thing depart), *wike un verslike*; *brenne nich, un stik nich!*'

n. Miscellaneous.

795. If a woman tear her *wedding shoes*, she'll be beaten by her husband.

796. If you've eaten *peas* or *beans*, sow none the same week: they will fail.

797. If she that is confined go *without new shoes*, her child will have a dangerous fall when it learns to walk.

798. For belly-ache wash in brook-water while the *death-bell tolls*.

799. When you've bought a *knife*, give the *first morsel* it cuts to the dog, and you'll never lose the knife.

800. Eggs put under the hen on a *Friday* will not thrive; what chicks creep out, the bird eats up.

801. He that turns his back to the *moon* at play, will lose.

802. If your *right ear* sings, they are speaking truth of you, if your *left*, a lie; bite the top button of your shirt, and the liar gets a blister on his tongue.

803. If a maid eat boiled milk or broth *out of the pan*, it will soon rain, and she'll get a husband as sour as sauerkraut.

804. *Heilwag* is water drawn while the clock strikes 12 on Christmas night: it is good for pains in the navel.

805. *Waybread* worn under the feet keeps one from getting tired.

806. Have a *wolf's heart* about you, and the wolf won't eat you up.

807. He that finds the *white snake's crown*, will light upon treasure.

808. He that looks *through a coffin-board*, can see the witches.

809. To win a maiden's favour, write your own name and hers on *virgin parchment*, wrap it in *virgin wax*, and wear it about you.

810. He that is born on a *Monday*, three hours after sunrise, about the *summer equinox*, can converse with spirits.

811. It is good for the *flechte* (scrofola) to sing in the morning, before speaking to any one: de *flock-asch* un de *flechte*, de flogea wol över dat wilde meer; de *flock-asch* kam wedder (back), de *flechte* nimmermer.

812. A *drut's foot* (pentagram) must be painted on the cradle, or the *schlenz* will come and suck the babies dry.

813. At *Easter* the sun dances before setting, *leaps thrice for joy*: the people go out in crowds to see it (Rollenhagen's Ind. reise, Altstet. 1614, p. 153).

814. If you eat *pulse* (peas, beans) in the Twelves, you fall sick; if you eat *meat*, the best head of cattle in the stall will die.

815. A *death's head* buried in the *stable* makes the horses thrive.

816. When *sheep* are bought and driven home, draw three crosses on the open door with a *grey field-stone* (landmark?), so that they can see.

817. If a woman that is more than half through her pregnancy, stand still before a *cupboard*, the child will be voracious (see 41). To cure it, let her put the child in the cupboard itself, or in a corner, and, cry as it may, make it sit there till she has done *nine sorts of work*.

818. If a child will not learn to walk, make it creep silently, *three Friday mornings*, through a *raspberry bush* grown into the ground at both ends.

819. When the *plough* is home, lift it off the dray, or the *devil* sleeps under it.

820. The milk will *turn*, if you carry a pailful over a *waggon-pole*, or a *pig* smell at the pail. In that case, let a *stallion* drink out of the pail, and no harm is done (conf. K 92, Swed.).

821. What's begun on a *Monday* will never be a *week old*: so don't have a wedding or a wash that day.

822. Plans laid *during a meal* will not succeed.

823. If a woman walk up to the *churn*, and *overcry* it in the words,

'Here's a fine vessel of milk,' it will go to froth, and give little butter. Answer her: 'It would get on the better without your gab.'

824. Do not spin in the open country. Witches are called *field-spinners*.

825. If your *left nostril* bleed, what you are after won't succeed.

826. If it rains before noon, it will be all the finer afternoon, when the *old wives* have cleared their throats.

827. Till the hunter is near the game, let his *gun* point down, or it will miss.

828. If a corpse *sigh* once more when on the straw, if it remain *limp*, if it *suck-in kerchiefs*, ribbons, etc., that come near its mouth, if it *open its eyes* (tödden-blick); then one of its kindred will follow soon.

829. If a corpse change colour when the bell tolls, it *longs for the earth*.

830. Never call the dead by name, or you will *cry* them up.

831. If *two children kiss* that can't yet talk, one of them will die [Räät 129. 132].

832. If *two watchmen* at two ends of the street blow together, an *old woman* in that street will die.

833. If a *stone roll* towards a wedding pair walking to church, it betokens evil.

834. If you *read tombstones*, you lose your memory [Nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, me memoriam perdere. Cic. de Senect. 31].

835. Two that were *in mourning* the first time they met, must not fall in love.

836. A thief must *throw* some of what he steals *into water*.

837. At a fire, he whose *shoes catch* and begin to burn, is the *incendiary*.

838. If a farmer has several times had a *foal* or *calf* die, he buries it in the garden, planting a *young willow* in its mouth. When the tree grows up, it is *never polled* or *lopped*, but grows its own way, and guards the farm from similar cases in future (Stendal in Altmark. allg. anz. der Dent. 1811, no. 306; conf. Müllenh. no. 327).

839.¹ At weddings, beside the great cake, they make a *bachelor's cake*, which the girls pull to pieces; she that has the largest piece, will get a husband first.

840. A *betrothed pair* may not sit at the same table as the *pair just married*, nor even put their feet under it; else no end of mischief befalls one of the pairs.

841. In the wedding ride the driver may not *turn* the horses, nor *rein* them in; else the marriage would be childless.

842. At a christening the sponsors must not take hold of the *wester-hemd* (chrism-cloth) by the *corners*.

843. Those who have lost children before, don't take a baby out by the door to be christened, but *pass it out through the window*.

844. A woman in her six weeks shall not go into a *strange house*; if she does, she must first *buy* something at a strange place, lest she bring misfortune to the house.

¹ Nos. 839 to 864 are from Jul. Schmidt's Topogr. der pflege Reichenfels (in Voigtland), Leipz. 1827. pp. 113—126.

845. Nor may she *draw water* from a spring, or it will *dry up* for seven years.

846. A corpse is set down *thrice on the threshold* by the bearers; when it is out of the homestead, the gate is fastened, *three heaps of salt* are made in the death-chamber, it is then swept, and both broom and sweepings thrown in the fields; some also burn the bed-straw in the fields.

847. The evening before Andrew's day, the unbetrothed girls form a circle, and let a *gander* in; the one he turns to first, will get a husband.

848. Between 11 and 12 on John's day, the unbetrothed girls gather *nine sorts* of flowers, three of which must be willow, storksbill and wild rue; they are twined into a *wreath*, of which the twiner must have *spun the thread* in the same hour. Before that fateful hour is past, she *throws the wreath backwards into a tree*; as often as it is thrown without staying on, so many years will it be before she is married. All this must be done in silence.

849. He that has silently carried off an *undertaker's measure*, and *leans it against a house-door* at night, can rob the people inside without their waking.

850. A root of *cinquefoil* dug up before sunrise on John's day, is good for many things, and wins favour for him that wears it.

851. Girls wear a *wasp's nest*, thinking thereby to win men's love.

852. If a man has strayed, and turns his *pockets inside out*, or if a woman has, and ties her *apron on the wrong way*, they find the right road again.

853. If a child has *früsel* (cramp, spasms), *turn one shingle in the roof*, or lay the *wedding apron under its head*.

854. At Christmas or Newyear, between 11 and 12, they go to a *cross-way to listen*, and learn all that most concerns them in the coming year. The *listening* may be from inside a *window* that has the 'träger' over it; or on Walpurgis-night in the *green corn*.

855. If from the *fires* of the three holy eves (before Christmas, Newyear and High Newyear) *glowing embers* be left the next morning, you'll want for nothing all that year.

856. It is bad for a family if the head of it dies in a *waning moon*, but good in a *waxing moon*. It is lucky when a grave *turfs itself over*. A reappearance of the dead is commonest on the *ninth day* after death.

857. If a tree's *first fruit* be stolen, it will not bear for *seven years*.

858. The *dragon* carries the dung in the yard to his friends.

859. A woman with child must *not creep through a hedge*.

860. If a corpse is in the house, if a cow has calved, *beggars get nothing*.

861. Servants who are leaving take care not to be *overlapt*: they go, or at least send their things away, before the new one comes in.

862. A new manservant comes at midday, and consumes his dumplings on the *chimney-seat*; the mistress is careful to set *no sauerkraut* before him that day, lest his work be disagreeable to him. One who is leaving gets a *service-loaf* for every year he has been in the service.

863. If *three thumps* be heard at night, if the *wel-klage* howl, if the *earth-cock* burrow, there will be a death.

864. For debility in children: their water being taken in a *new pot*, put

into it the egg of a *coublack hen* bought without bargaining, with *nine holes* pricked in it; tie the pot up with linen, and bury it after sunset in an *ant-hill* found without seeking. Any one finding such a pot, lets it alone, lest he catch the *buried disease*.

865. In the Diepholt country, headache (*de farren*) is cured thus: a *woman of knowledge* brings two *bowls*, one filled with *cold water*, and one with *melted tallow*. When the head has been held in the water some time, the tallow is *poured into the water* through an *inherited hatchel* (flax-comb), and the woman says: 'Ik goete (I pour).' Patient: 'Wat gütst?' Woman: 'De farren.' Then she speaks a spell, the whole process is repeated three times, the water is emptied on a *myrtle-bush* (elder), the cold tallow thrown in the fire, and the ache is gone. (Annals of Brunswk-Lünebg Churlande, 8th yr, st. 4, p. 596.) See 515.

866. In the country parts of Hildesheim, when any one dies, the grave-digger *silently* walks to the *elder-bush* (*sambucus nigra*), and cuts a *rod* to measure the corpse with; the man who is to convey it to the grave does the same, and wields this *rod* as a whip. (Spiel u. Spangenberg's Archiv '28, p. 4.)

867. On Matthias night (Feb. 24) the young people meet, the girls plait one *wreath of periwinkle*, one of *straw*, and as a third thing carry a *handful of ashes*; at midnight they go *silently to a running water*, on which the three things are to float. *Silent* and blindfold, one girl after another dances about the water, then clutches at a prognostic, the periwinkles meaning a *bridal wreath*, the straw *misfortune*, the ashes *death*. The lucky ones carry the game further, and throw *barleycorns* on the water, by which they mean certain bachelors, and notice how they swim to one another. In other cases *three leaves* are thrown on the water, marked with the names of father, mother and child, and it is noticed which goes down first. (Ibidem.)

868. In some parts of Hanover, churching is called *brummie*, because in the villages on such an occasion, the mother and father and the invited sponsors, both of the last baptized and of earlier children, set up a *growling* (brummen) like that of a bear. (Brunsw. Anz. 1758, p. 1026; Hanov. Nützl. saml. 1758, p. 991, where it is *brümmie*.)

869. Of *elder* that grows among willows, they make *charms* to hang on children, *nine little sticks* tied with a *red silk thread*, so as to lie on the pit of the stomach. If the thread snaps, you must take the little bundle off with little pincers, and throw it in *running water*. (Ettner's Hebamme p. 859.)

870. *Amulets* of the *wolf's* right eye, pouch of stones, *blind swallows* cut out of his maw. (Ibid. 862.)

871. Puer si veri genitoris indusium nigrum sen maculatum involvatur, si epilepsia ipsum angat, nunquam redibit. (Ibid. 854.)

872. When a child dwindles, they tie a *thread of red silk* about its neck, then catch a *mouse*, pass the thread with a needle through its skin over the backbone, and let it go. The mouse wastes, the child picks up. (Ibid. 920.)

873. When an old wife blesses and *beets* (bötet) *tension of the heart*, she

breathes on the painful part crosswise, strokes it, ties salt and rye-meal over it, and says: 'Hert-gespan, ik segge di an, *flüg van den ribben*, asse Jesus van den kribben!' If the patient be seized with spasms, let him stretch himself on a plum-tree, saying: 'Ranke-bom, stand! plumke-bom wasse (wax)!'

874. Some men's mere look is so hurtful, that even without their knowing it, they put men and beasts in peril of their lives.

875. Some men, by *bespeaking* (muttering a spell), can pull up a horse in full gallop, silence a watch-dog, stanch blood, keep fire from spreading.

876. You may recover stolen goods by filling a pouch with some of the earth that the thief has trodden, and twice a day beating it with a stick till fire comes out of it. The thief feels the blows, and shall die without fail if he bring not back the things.

877. To save timber from the woodworm, knock it with a piece of oak on Peter's day, saying: 'Sunte worm, wut du herut, Sunte Peter is komen!'

878. If the nightmare visits you—a big woman with long flying hair—bore a hole in the bottom of the door, and fill it up with sow-bristles. Then sleep in peace, and if the nightmare comes, promise her a present: she will leave you, and come the next day in human shape for the promised gift.

879. No bird will touch any one's corn or fruit, who has never worked on a Sunday.

880. He that was born at sermon-time on a Christmas morning, can see spirits.

881. Where the mole burrows under the wash-house, the mistress will die.

882. If a herd of swine meet you on your way, you are an unwelcome guest; if a flock of sheep, a welcome.

883. If the crust of the saved up wedding-loaf goes mouldy, the marriage will not be a happy one.

884. In some parts the bride's father cuts a piece off the top crust of a well-baked loaf, and hands it to her with a glass of brandy. She takes the crust between her lips, not touching it with her hand, wraps it in a cloth, and keeps it in a box; the glass of brandy she throws over her head on the ground.

885. The first time a woman goes to church after a confinement, they throw on the floor after her the pot out of which she has eaten caudle during the six weeks.

886. If a suspicious looking cat or hare cross your path, throw a steel over its head, and suddenly it stands before you in the shape of an old woman.

887. He that kills a black cow and black ox may look for a death in his house.

888. If on coming home from church the bride be the first to take hold of the house door, she will maintain the mastery, especially if she says: "This door I seize upon, here all my will be done!" If the bridegroom have heard the spell, he may undo it by adding the words: "I grasp this knocker-ring, be fist and mouth (word and deed?) one thing!"

889. If *maggies* chatter or hover round a house, if the *logs* at the *back* of a fire *jump over* and *crackle*, guests are coming who are strangers.

890. In setting out for the wars, do not *look behind you*, or you may never see home again.

891. If you leave yarn on the spool over Sunday, it turns to sausages.

892. Ghosts are banished to *betwixt door and doorpost*; if a door be slammed to, they are too much tormented (995).

893. Look *over the left shoulder* of one who sees spirits and future events, and you can do the same.

894. If two friends walk together, and a *stone fall between them*, or a *dog run across their path*, their friendship will soon be severed.

895. If in going out you *stumble on the threshold*, turn back at once, or worse will happen.

896. The day before Shrove Sunday many people *cook for the dear little angels* the daintiest thing they have in the house, *lay it on the table at night*, set the windows open, and go to bed. (Obersensbach in the Odenwald.)

897. At harvest time he that gets his corn cut *first*, takes a *willow bough*, *decks it with flowers*, and sticks it on the *last load* that comes in. (Gernsheim.)

898. At the moment any one dies, the grain in the barn is *shuffled*, and the wine in the cellar *shaken*, lest the seed sown come not up, and the wine turn sour. (Ibid.) Conf. 576. 664. 698.

899. On St. Blaise's day the parson holds *two lighted tapers* crossed; old and young step up, each puts his head between the tapers, and is blessed; it preserves from pains in head or neck for a year. (Ibid.)

900. In some parts of Westphalia a woman dying in childbed is not clothed in the usual shroud, but exactly *as she would have been for her churching*, and she is buried so.

901. The ticking of the *wood-worm* working its way through old tables, chairs and bedsteads we call *deadman's watch*: it is supposed that the *dead man goes past*, and you hear his watch tick.

902.¹ *Set your hens to hatch on Peter-and-Paul's*, they'll be good layers.

903. Pull the *molchills* to pieces on Silvester's, they'll throw up no more.

904. If the *cuckoo* calls *later than John's*, it means no good.

905. Thrash before sunrise on Shrove Tuesday, you'll drive the moles away.

906. If it freeze on the shortest day, the *price of corn will fall*; if it's mild, 'twill rise.

907. *Sow no wheat* on Maurice's, or it will be sooty.

908. Who at John's beheading would fell a tree, will have to let it be.

909. A *March fog*, and a hundred days after, a thunderstorm.

910. When the *wind blows of a New Year's night*, it means a death.

911. At Martinmas you see by the *goose's breastbone* if the winter 'll be cold or not.

¹ 902—919 from Schmeller's *Dialects of Bavaria*, p. 529.

912. Chickens hatched out of *duck's eggs* change colour every year.
913. Who *drinks not on Good Friday*, no drink can hurt him for a year (see 356).
- 914a. Stuff a bed with feathers in a *waxing moon*, and they slip out again.
- 914b. On Ash Wednesday the devil *hunts the little wood-wife* through the forest.
915. If on Christmas eve, or Newyear's day, or eve (?) you *hang a washclout on a hedge*, and then groom the horses with it, they'll grow fat.
916. If you *thrash* in the Rauch-nights, the *corn spoils as far as the sound is heard* (see 418).
917. *Set no hens to hatch* on Valentine's, or all the eggs will rot.
918. *Jump over John's fire*, and you'll not have the fever that year.
919. If a *horse be let blood* on Stephen's, it keeps well all the year.
920. A wound dealt with a knife *whetted on Golden Sunday* will hardly ever heal.
921. If shooting at the butts that Sunday, you wrap your right hand in the rope by which a *thief has hung on the gallows*, you'll hit the bull's eye every time.
922. If a man has a *new garment* on, you give it a slap, with some such words as 'The old must be patched, the new must be thrashed;' and the garment will last the longer.
923. Sick sheep should be made to *creep through a young split oak*.
924. If a pregnant woman eat or taste *out of the saucepan*, her child will stammer.
925. If on a journey she mount the carriage over the *pole* or the *traces*, the child entangles its limbs in the navelstring (see 688. 933).
926. If a baby cries much in the first six weeks, pull it *through a piece of unboiled yarn* three times in silence. If that does no good, let the mother, after being churched, go home in silence, *undress in silence*, and throw all her *clothes on the cradle backwards*.
927. The first time the horned cattle are driven to pasture, draw a *woman's red stocking* over a *woodman's axe*,¹ and lay it on the *threshold of the stable door*, so that every beast shall step over it (see 752).
928. To keep caterpillars off the cabbages, a female shall *walk backwards naked in the full moon three times* in all directions through the cabbage garden.
929. If a single woman be suspected of pregnancy, let the manservant pull a *harvest-waggon in two*, and set the *front part facing the south* and the *hind wheels the north*, so that the girl in doing her work must pass between the two halves. It prevents her from procuring abortion.
930. When a *cricket* is heard, some one in the house will die: it *sings him to the grave*.
931. A *shirt of safety*, proof against lead or steel, must be spun, woven and sewed by a pure chaste maiden on Christmas day; from the neck down, it covers half the man; on the breast part two heads are sewed on,

¹ Any steel tool laid on the threshold will do; conf. Reichs-Auz. 1794, p. 656.

that on the right with a long beard, that on the left a devil's face wearing a crown (see 115).

932. The *key-test*: a hymn book is tied up, inclosing a key, all but the ring, which, resting on two fingers, can turn either way; questions are then asked.

933. A woman with child may not pass *under any hanging line*, else her child will not escape the rope. They avoid even the *string* on which a birdeage hangs (see 688. 925).

934. In setting *peas*, take a few *in your mouth* before sunset, keep them in silently while planting, and those you set will be safe from sparrows.

935. The sexton does not dig the grave till *the day of the burial*, else you'd have no peace from the dead.

936. Children *dying unbaptized* hover betwixt earth and heaven.

937. Children must not *stretch the forefinger toward heaven*; they *kill a dear little angel* every time (see 334. 947).

938.¹ Many would sooner be knocked on the head than pass *between two females*.

939. One man puts his *white shirt* on of a *Monday*; he'd rather go naked than wear clean linen on Sunday.

940. I know some that think, if they did not eat *yellow jam* on Ash Wednesday, *nine sorts of green herbs* on Maundy Thursday, *plaiice and garlic* on Whitwednesday, they would turn donkeys before Martinmas (see 275).

941. Bride and bridegroom shall *stand so close together that nobody can see through*.

942. They shall observe the *tap* of their *first beer or wine cask*, and step into bed together.

943. The bridegroom shall be married in a *bathing apron*.

944. He that wipes his mouth *on the tablecloth* hath never his fill.

945. 'Tis not good to have thy garment mended on thy body (see 42).

946. The *last loaf shoved into the oven* they mark, and call it mine host: 'So long as mine host be in house, we want not for bread; if he be cut before his time, there cometh a dearth.'

947. 'On thy life, point not with thy finger, thou wilt *stab an angel!*'

948. 'Dear child, lay not the knife so, the *dear angels will tread it into their feet!*' If one see a child lie in the fire, and a *knife on its back* at one time, one shall sooner run to the knife than to the child (see 209. 596-7).

949. *Cup or can to overspan* is no good manners; who drinks thereof shall have the *heart-cramp* (see 11).

950.² It shall profit the sick to smoke them with a *rod* that is broke out of an *old hedge* and hath *nine ends* or *twigs*.

951. Or with *hay* that is fetched *unspoken, unchidden*, from the loft of an *inherited barn*.

¹ 938—949 from Chr. Weise's "Three Arrant Fools," Lpzg 1704, pp. 253—7.

² 950-1 *ibid.*, p. 360.

952. On the *Absolution nights* (before Advent, before Christmas, before Twelfthday, and Saturday in Candlemas) the Gastein girls, as soon as it is dark, go to the sheep-fold, and *clutch blindly among the flock*; if at the first clutch they have caught a *ram*, they are confident they'll be married that year.¹

953.² Some, in the middle of the night before Christmas, take a *vessel full of water*, and ladle it out with a certain small *measure* into another *vessel*. This they do several times over, and if then they find *more water* than the first time, they reckon upon an increase of their goods the following year. If the quantity remain *the same*, they believe their fortune will stand still, and if there be *less water*, that it will diminish (see 258).

954. Some tie the end of a *ball of thread* to an *inherited key*, and unroll the ball till it hangs loose, maybe an ell, maybe six; then they put it *out of window*, and swing it back and forwards along the wall, saying '*hark, hark!*' From the quarter where they shall go a wooing and to live, they will hear a voice (see 110).

955. Some, the day before Christmas, cut wood off *nine sorts of trees*, make a *fire* of it in their room at midnight, strip themselves *naked*, and throw their *shifts outside the door*. Sitting down by the fire, they say: 'Here I sit naked and cold as the drift, If my sweetheart would come and just throw me my shift!' A figure will then come and throw the shift in, and they can tell by the face who their lover will be.

956. Others take *four onions*, put one in *each corner of the room*, and name them after bachelors; they let them lie from Christmas to Twelfthday, and the man whose *onion then buds* will present himself as a suitor; if none have budded the wedding won't come off.

957. Some, the day before Christmas, buy the *fag-end of a wheat loaf* for a penny, cut a piece of crust off, tie it under their right arm, wear it like that all day, and in going to bed lay it under their head, saying: 'I've got into bed, And have plenty of bread; Let my lover but come, And he shall have some.' If the bread looks gnawed in the morning, the match will come off that year; if it's whole, there's no hope.

958. At midnight before Christmas-day, the men or maids go to the stack of firewood, *pull one log out*, and look if it be straight or crooked; their sweetheart's figure shall be according (see 109).

959. Some, on Christmas eve, buy *three farthings* worth of *white bread*, divide it in *three parts*, and consume it *along three streets*, one in every street; in the third street they shall see their sweetheart.

960. The night before Christmas, you take two *empty nutshells*, with tiny wax tapers in them, to stand for you and your sweetheart, and *set them afloat* on a dishful of water. If they come together, your suit will prosper; if they go apart it will come to nought. (Ungewiss. Apotheker p. 649.)

961. If a master is left in the lurch by his man, or a girl in the family

¹ Muchar's Gastein p. 146.

² 953—9 from Praetorii Saturnalia, Lips. 1663.

way by her lover, you put a certain penny in the *pan of a mill*, and set the mill going. As it turns faster, such anguish comes upon the fugitive, that he cannot stay, but neck and crop he comes home. This they call 'making it hot for a man.' (Beschr. des Fichtelbergs, Lpzg. 1716. 4, p. 154.)

962. To discover what the year shall bring, they plant themselves on a *cross-roads* or *parting of ways* at 12 the night before Christmas, stand stockstill without speaking for an hour, whilst all the future opens on their eyes and ears. This they call 'to go hearken.' (Ibid. p. 155.)

963. On Andrew's day fill thee a glass with water: if the year shall be moist, it *runneth over*; if dry, it *standeth heaped atop*. (Aller Practic Grossm.)

964. On Andrew's eve the maids mark *whence the dogs bark*; from that quarter comes the future husband.

965. They tie a *farthing* to their *great toe*, sit down on the way to church, and look among the *Matin-goers* for their bridegroom. (Tharsander 1, 84.)

966. To know if an infant be bewitched, put under its cradle a vessel full of running water, and drop an *egg* in; if it *float*, the child is bewitched. (Val. Kräutermann's Zauber-arzt 216.)

967. Evil persons in Silesia did upon a time have a *knife forged*, and therewith cut but a *little twig* off every tree, and in a short time all the forest perished. (Carlowitz's Sylvicultur p. 46.)

968. The *oak* is a prophetic tree: in *gallnuts* a fly betokens war, a worm dearth, a spider pestilence (conf. 1046).

969. Wood felled in the dog-days *will not burn*.

970. A *piece of oak* passed lightly over the body in silence, before sunrise on John's day, heals all open sores.

971. The *elsbeer-tree* is also called dragon-tree: branches of it hung over house and stable on Walburgis-day keep out the flying dragon.

972. *Oak* and *walnut* will not agree: they cannot stand together without (one ?) perishing. So with *blackthorn* and *whitethorn*: if placed together, the white one always gets the upper hand, the black dies out.

973. Cut no timber in the *bad wüdel* (waxing moon): timber [schlagholz = strike-wood] felled at new-moon is apt to strike out again; that felled in a waning moon burns better.

974. When a *sucking babe* dies, they put a bottle of its mother's milk in the coffin with it; then her milk dries up without making her ill.

975. If you have warts, nail a big brown snail to the doorpost with a *wooden hammer*; as it dries up, the wart will fade away.

976. If an *old woman* meet you at early morn, and greet you, you must answer 'As much to you!'

977. Some people can *stop a waggon of hay* on its way, so that it will not stir from the spot: knock at every wheel-nail, and it will be free again.

978. In a *thief's footprints* put burning tinder: it will burn him and betray him.

979. If a swallow fly into the stable, and pass under the cow, she will

give blood for milk: lead her to a cross-way, *milk* her 3 times *through a branch*, and empty what you have milked backwards over her head three times.

980. A bunch of wild *thyme* or *marjoram* laid beside the milk keeps it from being bewitched.

981. If you walk once round your *garden-fence* on Shrove Sunday, not a plank will be stolen out of it for a year to come.

982. If you have many snails on your land, go before sunrise and take one snail from the east side; then by way of north to the west, and pick up another; then to the north; then by way of east to the south: if you put the four snails in a bag, and hang them inside your chimney, all the snails on your land will creep into the chimney, and die.

983. If, in cutting the vegetables in autumn, a *molehill* be found under the cabbage, the master will die.

984. In Westphalia, when a loaf is cut, they call the upper crust *laughing-knot*, the under the *crying-knot*. When maid or man goes out of service, they get a *jammer-knot* (wailing-crust), which they keep for years after.

985. When children have the *schluckuk* (hiccough?), their heart is growing.

986. The first *stork* a peasant sees in the year, he falls on the ground, rolls round, and is then free from pains in the back for a year.

987. On buying a cow from another village, you give beside the price a *milk-penny*, so that her milk may not be kept back. At the boundary you turn her three times round, and let her *look at her old home*, to banish her regret.

988. Many fasten *fern in blossom* over the house-door: then all goes well *as far as the waggon-whip reaches*.

989. On the first day of Lent, boys and girls run about the fields like mad, with blazing wisps of straw, to drive out the *evil sower*. (Rhöne).

990. The first night of Christmas the people of the Rhön roll on *unthrashed pea-straw*. The peas that drop out are mixed with the rest, which improves the crop.

991. On Innocents' day, every adult is *flogged* with a *rod*, and must ransom himself with a gift. The trees too are beaten, to promote their fertility.

992. Whoso doth any sewing to bed or clothing on a Sunday, cannot die therein till it *be unripped*.

993. If you rise from the spinning-wheel without twisting off the strap, the *earth-mannikin* comes and spins at it: you don't see him, but you hear the spindle hum.

994. A beggar that would pay his debt in full ought to say as many paternosters as it would take *blades of grass* to cover the bread given him. As he cannot, he says 'God yield ye!'

995. Never slam the door: *a spirit sits between*, and it hurts him (892).

996. The first child christened at a *newly consecrated font* receives the gift of seeing spirits and things to come, until some one out of curiosity step on his *left foot* and look over his *right shoulder*; then the gift passes

over to him. But that can be prevented by the sponsors dropping a straw, a pin or a piece of paper into the basin.

997. He that is always praying, and prides himself on it, *prays himself through heaven*, and has to mind geese the other side.

998. If you *drop bread-and-butter*, and it falls on the buttered side, you have committed a sin that day.

999. When girls are weeding, they look for the little herb '*leif in de meute*' (love meet me), and hide it about them: the first bachelor that then comes towards them is their sweetheart.

1000. Whoever builds a house must use *bought, stolen and given* timber to it, or he has no luck: a belief so general in Lippe, that even a large farmer who has wood of his own, will steal a beam, then go and accuse himself, and pay for it.

1001. When the *holy weather* (lightning) strikes, it can only be *quenched with milk*, not with water (conf. 1122).

1002. In weeding flax, the girls pull up the weed Red Henry (mercury?): whichever way the root grew, from there will come the sweetheart; if it grew straight down, the girl will die soon (conf. Dan. Sup. 126).

1003. Whoever is the first to see the *stork* come in, and to bid it welcome, not a tooth of his will ache that year.

1004. If you go to bed without *clearing the table*, the youngest in the house will get no sleep.

1005. If a maid have not spun her distaff clear by Sunday, those threads will never bleach white.

1006. She that sets the gridiron on the fire, and puts nothing on it, will get an *apron in her face* (be wrinkled).

1007. If you stand a new broom upside down behind the street-door, witches can neither get in nor out.

1008. If a woman nurse her babe sitting on the *boundary-stone* at the cross-way, it will never have toothache.

1009. *Children born after the father's death* have the power of blowing away skin that grows over the eyes for three Fridays running.

1010. Why give ye not the *bones* of the *Easter lamb*, that is blessed, unto dogs? They will go mad, say ye. Ye may give them, it harmeth not (Keisersb. Ameisz. 52).

1011. Wouldst *lame a horse*? Take of a tree stricken by hail, and make thereof a nail, or of a new gallows, or of a knife that hath been a priest's cell-woman's (conf. priest's wife, Spell xxxiv), or the stump of a knife wherewith one hath been stuck dead; and *push it into his hoofprint*. (Cod. Pal. 212, 53^b.)

1012. To know how many 'good holden' are conjured into a man, he shall draw water in silence, and drop burning coals out of the oven into it: *as many coals as sink to the bottom*, so many good holden has he in him.

1013.¹ If a *tempest* lasts three days without stopping, some one is *hanging* himself.

¹ Nos. 1013—1104 from the New Bunzlau Monthly for 1791-2.

1014. Who bathes in cold water on Easterday, keeps well the whole year.

1015. If you go out on important business, and an *old woman* meet you, it is unlucky; if a *young girl*, lucky.

1016. When the *night-owl* cries by day, a fire breaks out.

1017. If you look at a *babe in swaddling-bands*, cross it and say 'God guard thee!'

1018. Whoever sees the *corn in blossom first*, and eats *nine of the blossoms*, will keep free from fever (conf. 718).

1019. If a *howling dog* holds his head up, it means a fire; if down, a death.

1020. Whoever on St. John's Eve puts as many John's worts as there are people in the house, *into a rafter of his room*, naming the plants after the people, can tell in what order they will die: he whose plant withers first will die first (conf. Dan. Sup. 126).

1021. It is not good to *point with your finger at where a thunderstorm stands*.

1022. Blood let out of a vein should always be thrown into running water.

1023. Let no milk or butter be sold out of the house *after sunset*.

1024. Moles are removed from the face by letting a dead person's hand rest on them till it grow warm.

1025. The rainwater left *on tombstones* will send freckles away.

1026. If you see *blue fire* burn at night, throw a knife into it, and if you go there before sunrise, you will find money.

1027. Hairs that comb out should be burnt: *if a bird carries them to its nest*, it gives you headaches, or *if it be a staar* (starling), staar-blindness (cataract).

1028. When the *schalaster* (magpie?) cries round the house, guests are near.

1029. If you have the *hiccough*, drink out of your jug (mug) *over the handle*.

1030. When it *rains in sunshine*, the sky drops poison.

1031. Let a sold calf be led out of doors *by the tail*, and the cow will not fret; let a bought cow be led into stable *by the tail*, and she'll soon feel at home.

1032. When the *floor splinters*, suitors are coming.

1033. When a hanged man is cut down, give him a box on the ear, or he'll come back.

1034. If the *moon shine* on an *unbaptized* child, it will be moonstruck.

1035. If the *dead man's bier falls*, some one will die in 3 days; it will be one that did not hear it.

1036. If your *right hand itch*, you'll take money; if your *left*, you'll spend much.

1037. When a sudden shiver comes over you, *death is running over your grave*.

1038. If the *altar-candle goes out* of itself, the minister dies within a year.

1039. If you run in *one* boot or shoe, you lose your balance, unless you *run back the same way*.

1040. A horse goes lame, if you drive a nail into his *fresh footprint* (conf. 1011).

1041. On Christmas-eve *thrash* the garden with a flail, with *only your shirt on*, and the grass will grow well next year.

1042. As long as *icicles hang from the roof in winter*, so long will there be flax on the distaff the next year.

1043. If a *straw* lies in the room, there is *snow* coming.

1044. *Good Friday's rain* must be scratched out of the ground with needles, for it brings a great drought.

1045. If the godfather's letter be *opened over the child's mouth*, it learns to speak sooner.

1046. *Flies in gallnuts* betoken war, *maggots* bad crops, *spiders* pestilence (conf. 968).

1047. *Rods stuck into the flax-bed* keep the cattle unbewitched.

1048. *Three knocks* at night when there's nobody there, some one at the house will die in 3 days.

1049. If a woman dies in childbed, wash out her *plätsche* (porringer) directly, or she will come back.

1050. If bride and bridegroom on the wedding day put a *three-headed bohemian* (a coin) under the sole of their right foot, it will be a happy marriage,

1051. *Snow* on the wedding day foretells a happy marriage, *rain* a wretched.

1052. If you stir food or drink with a *knife*, you'll have the cutting gripes; if with a *fork*, the stitch.

1053. When one is dying hard, lay him on the *change* (where the ends of the boards meet), and he'll die easy.

1054. Give your pigeons drink out of a *human skull*, and other people's pigeons will come to your cot.

1055. When *hens crow*, a fire breaks out.

1056. A house where *cock, dog* and *cat* are *black*, will not catch fire.

1057. One where the *chain-dog* is *burnt to death*, will soon be on fire again.

1058. If the butter won't come, whip the tub with a willow rod, but *not one cut with a knife*.

1059. To win a maiden's love, get a *hair* and a *pin* off her unperceived, *twist the hair round the pin*, and throw them backwards into a river.

1060. If by mistake the pall be *laid over the coffin wrong side out*, another in the house will die.

1061. When you buy a dog, a cat or a hen, *twirl them 3 times round your right leg*, and they'll soon settle down with you.

1062. Under a sick man's bed put a potful of nettles: if they *keep green*, he'll recover; if they *wither*, he will die.

1063. A *worn shirt* shall not be given to be a *shroud*, else he that wore it will waste away till the shirt be rotten.

1064. If a women in childbed *look at a corpse*, her child will have no colour.

1065. A *hanged man's finger* hung in the cask makes the beer sell fast.

1066. If it *rain* on the *bridal wreath*, the wedded pair will be rich and fruitful.

1067. In measuring grain, *sweep the top towards you*, and you sweep blessing into the house; if you *sweep it from you*, you send it into the devil's hand.

1068. If a child's navel sticks out, take a *beggar's staff* from him *silently*, and press the navel with it cross-wise.

1069. To make a broodhen hatch *cocks* or *hens*, take the straw for her nest from the *man's* or the *woman's* side of the bed.

1070. He that has *white specks* on his thumb-nails, he whose *teeth stand close together*, will stay in his own country.

1071. If wife or maid lose a *garter* in the street, her husband or lover is untræ.

1072. To find out who has poisoned your beast, cut the creature's *heart* out, and hang it pierced with 30 pins, in the chimney; the doer will then be tormented till he come and accuse himself.

1073. Wheat, sown in Michael's week, turns to cockle; barley, in the first week of April, to hedge-mustard.

1074. If you have fever-frost (ague), go in silence, without crossing water, to a hollow *willow tree*, *breathe your breath into it three times*, *stop the hole up quick*, and hie home without looking round or speaking a word: the ague will keep away.

1075. Young mayflowers picked before sunrise, and rubbed together under your face, keep *summer-freckles* away.

1076. A woman with child shall not sit down on any box that *can snap to under her*, else her child will not come into the world until you have *set her down* on it again and unlocked it three times.

1077. If you see *dewless patches* in the grass before sunrise, you can find money there.

1078. Let linseed for sowing be poured into the bag from a good height, and the flax will grow tall.

1079. If you have fever, *walk over nine field-boundaries in one day*, and you'll be rid of it.

1080. Or: *hunt a black cat* till it lies dead. It is good for epilepsy to drink the *blood* of a *beheaded man*, and then *run as fast and far* as you can hold out.

1081. On Christmas-eve make a *little heap of salt* on the table: if it melt over night, you'll die the next year; if it remain undiminished in the morning, you will live.

1082. Whoever on St Walpurg's eve puts all his *clothes on wrongside out*, and *creeps backwards* to a *cross-way*, will get into witches' company.

1083. If the *reel hung awry*, and the *thread dangled downwards*, when a child came into the world, it will hang itself. If a *knife was lying edge upwards*, it will die by the sword.

1084. The smallest box in the house is usually placed before the child-birth bed: if any one sit down on it, and it *snaps to of itself*, the woman will never be brought to bed again.

1085. As many times as the *cock crows* during service the night before Christmas, so many *böhmén* will the quarter of wheat fetch the coming year.

1086. Whosoever shall spy the *first ploughman ply*, and the *first swallow fly*, on a year of good luck may rely.

1087. If a spinster in spring time, when birds come back, see *two wag-tails together*, she'll be married that year.

1088. If a bridal pair on their way to the wedding meet a *cartload of dung*, it betokens an unhappy marriage.

1089. Before sowing barley, let the seed run *through a man's shirt*, and the sparrows will spare it.

1090. If you eat *peeled barley*, apoplexy cannot strike you while there is a grain of it left in your stomach.

1091. If you strike a *light on the corner of the table or fireplace*, the 'brand' (blight) will fall on your millet.

1092. When the women are going to wash, every one in the house must *get up in a good temper*, and there will be fine weather.

1093. Spinsters on St John's-eve twine a *wreath of nine sorts of flowers*, and try to throw it backwards and in silence *on to a tree*. As often as it falls, so many years will they remain unmarried (conf. 848).

1094. If a chip in the fire in wintertime has a *large catstail*, it is a sign of *snow*; and if the catstail splits down the middle, of *guests*.

1095. It is not good to *walk over sweepings* (see Swed. 1).

1096. Children beaten with rods off a *broom that has been used*, waste away.

1097. If you want your cows to give much milk, buy a *summer* from the *summer-children*, and stick it over the stable-door.

1098. The first time the cows are driven to pasture, you tie *red rags* round their tails, so that they cannot be bewitched.

1099. If you want the witch to have no hold over your cattle, shut a *bear* up in their stable for a night: he scratches out the hidden stuff that holds the magic, and when that is gone, they are no longer open to attack.

1100. Flax bought on St Lawrence day will get 'burnt' (blasted).

1101. If you had something to say, and forget what, step out *over the threshold* and in again; it will come into your head again.

1102. Let a beemaster at *honey harvest give away* to many, and the bees will be generous to him.

1103. On Christmas-eve put a stone on every tree, and they'll bear the more.

1104. When a girl is born, lay over her breast a *net* made of an *old* (female) *cap*, and the *alp* (night-elf) will not *suck her dry*.

1105. On Allhallows-eve young folks in Northumberland throw a couple of nuts in the fire. If they lie still and burn together, it augurs a happy marriage; if they fly apart, an unhappy (Brockett p. 152).

1106. When the bride is undressing, she hands one of her stockings to a bridesmaid, to *throw* among the assembled wedding-guests. The person on whom the *stocking falls* will be married next (ibid. 218).

1107. Bride and bridegroom, at the end of the wedding, sit down on the

bridal bed in all their clothes except shoes and stockings. Each bridesmaid in turn takes the bridegroom's stocking, stands at the foot of the bed with her back to it, and throws the *stocking with her left hand over her right shoulder*, aiming at the bridegroom's face. Those who hit will get married soon. The young men do the same with the bride's stocking (ibid.).

1108. On St Mark's-eve some young people watch all night in the church-porch, and see the spirits of *all that are to die that year* go past, dressed as usual. People that have so watched are a terror to the parish: by nods and winks they can hint men's approaching deaths (ibid. 229). In E. Friesland they say such people 'can see *quad*' (bad).

1109. On Christmas-eve the *yule-clog* is laid on, and if possible kept burning 2 or 3 days. A piece of it is usually kept *to light the next year's log with*, and to guard the household from harm (ibid. 243). If it will not light, or does not burn out, it bodes mischief.

1110. In spring, when the farmer goes afield, and turns up the first furrows with unbolted plough, he sprinkles this *earth in the four corners of the living-room*, and all the fleas retire (Krünitz 1, 42).

1111.¹ *Dogs and black sheep* have also the gift of '*seeing quad*,' and you may learn it of them. When the howling dog has a vision, look through *between his ears*, and *lift his left leg*; or take him on your shoulder, and *so look between his ears*. If you wish to be rid of the art, you can transfer it to the dog by *treading on his right foot and letting him look over your right shoulder*.

1112. Whichever way the howling dog points his muzzle, from the same quarter will the coming corpse be brought.

1113. Sometimes the steeple-bells give out a dull *dead clang*: then some one in the parish will die soon (conf. 284). When the death-bell tolls, whichever side of it the tongue touches last, from that side of the village will the next corpse come.

1114. If a cabbage-plant blossoms *the first year*, or gets white places on its leaves, a misfortune will happen in the owner's house.

1115. A house *beside which a star has fallen* will be the first to have a death.

1116. It betokens war when the *cherry-tree blossoms twice* in a year.

1117. When the *sun shines on the altar* at Candlemas, expect a good flax-year.

1118. A witch can hurt cattle by *skimming the dew off the grass* in their pasture.

1119. *Eggshells* should be *smashed up small*; else the witch may harm the men that ate out of them, and the hens that laid them.

1120. If you find something eatable, throw the first mouthful away, or witches may hurt you.

1121. When 7 *girls* running are born of one marriage, one is a *were-wolf*.

1122. When lightning strikes, the fire can only be *quenched with milk* (conf. 1001).

¹ 1111—1123 E. Friesl. superst. (Westfäl. Anz. for 1810, nos. 68—72).

1123. If you *point* your finger at the moon, you'll get a wooden finger.

1124. Wisps of *straw*, taken out of a *bed* on which a *dead man* has lain, and stuck up in the cornfield, keep the birds away.

1125. Birds are kept out of the corn, if in harrowing you go to the left, and say a certain spell, but you must have learnt it from *one of the opposite sex*.

1126.¹ If a child look *into a mirror*, and cannot yet speak, it is not good.

1127. Two babes that cannot talk shall *not* be let *kiss one another*.

1128. *Crickets* or *ofen-eimichen* bring ill-fortune.

1129. Ye shall *not spin* nor *wash* while a dead person is yet above ground.

1130. *Three drops of blood* falling from one's nose signifieth something strange.

1131. On the sea one shall not say *thurm* or *kirche*, but *stift*, *spitze* and the like.

1132. One shall not speak the while *another drinks*.

1133. It is not good that *two drink together*.

1134. *Wood*, when it lies on the fire, and by reason of wetness letteth out air and *fumeth*, it signifieth chiding.

1135. When a mess, though it be off the fire, *still simmers in the pot*, 'tis good warrant there be no witches in the house.

1136. *Pocks* can be sold, and he that *buys* gets not so many as otherwise.

1137. When one hath to do out of doors, and *turneth about in the door*, and goes not straightway, it is not good.

1138. *Itching of the nose* signifies a sudden fit.

1139. If a *nail* being driven into the coffin bends, and will not in, another shall follow soon.

1140. Go not into service on a *Monday*, nor move into a house, nor begin aught, for it shall not live to be a week old.

1141. To stretch over the cradle is not good, thereof comes *tension of the heart*.

1142. When ye move into a house, if ye bring *salt* and *bread* first thereinto, ye shall lack therein nothing needful.

¹ 1126—1142 from 'Des ubralten jungen leiermatz lustigem correspondenz-geist,' 1668, pp. 170—176.

K. SCANDINAVIAN.

a. SWEDEN.¹

PERSONAL PRONOUNS :

	<i>He.</i>	<i>She.</i>	<i>It.</i>	<i>They.</i>
N.	han	hon (Dan. hun)	det	de (Obsol. the)
G.	hans	hennes	dess	deras (Dan. deres).
D.A.	honom (Dan. ham)	henne	det	dem (Obsol. them).

POSS. PRON. : M.F. *sin*, N. *sit*, Pl. *sina*, his, her, its, their (own), Lat. *suus*.

INDEF. ART. : M.F. *en*, N. *et*.

INDEF. PRON. : *någon*, *något* (Dan. *nogen*, *noget*), some, any. *Ingen*, *intet*, none.

DEF. ART. : usually a Suffix : M.F. *-en*, *-n*, N. *-et*, *-t*, Pl. *-ne*, *-na*. Thus in No. 9, *sko-n*, the shoe; *fot-en*, the foot; *golfv-et*, the floor; in No. 12, *skor-na*, the shoes.

PASSIVE formed by adding *-s* to the Active : No. 19, *låga-s*, is or are bathed; *lägg-s*, is or are laid.

An initial *j* or *v* (Engl. *y*, *w*) is often omitted before an *o* or *u* sound : *år* year, *ung* young; *ord* word, *urt* wort.

SWED. often changes *ld*, *nd* to *ll*, *nn* : *skulle* should, *andre*, *annars*, etc. other. The reverse in DAN. : *fulde* fall, *mand* man.

1. Ej må man möta *sopor i dörren*, om man vil bli gift det året (one must not meet sweepings in the doorway, if one would get married that year).

2. Om en flicka och gosse äta af en och samma beta, bli de kära i hvar-andra (if a girl and boy eat off one morsel, they get fond of each other).

3. Midsommars-nat skal man lägga 9 *slags blomster under hufvudet*, så drömer man om sin fäste-man eller fäste-mö, och får se den samma (dreams of his or her betrothed, and gets to see them).

4. Ej må ung-karl (young fellow) gifva en flicka *knif* eller *knapp-nålar* (pins), ty de sticka sönder kärleken (for they put love asunder).

5. En flicka må *ej se sig i spegelen* sedan ned-mörkt är, eller vid ljus (not look in her glass after dark or by candle), at ej förlora manfolks tycket (not to lose men's good opinion).

6. Bruden skal laga (the bride must contrive), at hon *först får se brud-gummen*, så får hon husbonda-kåstet (mastery).

7. Hon skal under vigslen (at the wedding), för samma orsak (reason) *sätta sin fot framför hans* (in front of his).

¹ Nos. 1—71 from Erik *Fernow's* Beskrifning öfver Wärmeland (Götheborg 1773, pp. 254—260); 72—109 from *Hülphers's* Beskrifn. öfver Norrland, 4 (Westerås 1780, pp. 308—310); 110—125 from *Johan Odman's* Bahusläns beskrifn. (Stockh. 1746, pp. 75—80).

8. Äfven för samma skäl (reason) skal hon laga, at hon *sätter sig först ned i brud-stolen* (sit down first in the bridal chair).

9. För samma orsak skal hon, liksom af våda (accident), *släppa skon af foten*, eller *näs-duken* (drop her shoe or kerchief), eller något annat *på golvet* (floor), som brudgummen af höflighet bugar sig (politely stoops) at hjälpa til rätta. Hans öde blir, at kröka rygg under hela ägtenskapet (bend the back all his married life).

10. Bruden skal stå *brudgummen nära*, at ingen framdeles må *tränga sig dem imellan* (no one in future squeeze in between them).

11. De hålla (they hold) i kyrkan *et band* eller *kläde imellan sig*, at de måga bli ensame tilhopa (dwell in unity together).

12. Bägge böra hafva *pengar i skorna* (both should have coins in their shoes), at mynt må aldrig tryta (never run short).

13. Den som (the one who) under vigslen *lutar* (turns) *från den andra*, dör (dies) först; äfven-så den som ser bäst ut (looks best).

14. Bruden skal *taga med så många fingrar på bara kroppen* (touch her bare body with as many fingers), under det hon sitter i brud-stolen, som hon vil hafva många barn (as she wishes to have children).

15. At hon må få lätt barn-säng (easy child-bed), skal hon, vid hemkomsten från kyrkan, til *vänster spanna ifrån buk-hjolen* om hon ridet, men *fimmel-stängen* om hon åket (undo leftwards the saddle-girth or the traces).

16. At bruden må bli god mjölk-ko, *möter hännens moder* hänne på gården, då hon kommer ur kyrkan, *med et mjölke-glas*, at ut-dricka.

17. Til mat (for food) på första barn-sängen, skal hon förse sig (provide herself) med en *kaka* och en *ost* (cheese), som hon har hos sig ligande (lying by her) i brud-sängen.

18. När barn äro nyss-födde, lägges (when babes are newly born, there is laid) en *bok under deras hufvud*, at de må bli nimme at läsa (quick at reading).

19. När de första gången lögas (when they are bathed the first time) *lägges penningar i vatuet*, at de må bli rika. En pung (purse), med pengar uti, *sys ok kring halsen* (is sewed also round the neck).

20. Något af *fudrens kläder* breddes på *glicko-barn* (is spread over girl-babies), och *modrens kjortel* på *gosse*, at få tyecke hos andra könet (to find favour with the other sex).

21. Modren bör *möta* barnet *i dörren*, när det föres bort (when it is carried off) til christendom; men när det föres hem, sedan (after) det är döpt, skal man *möta* det *i dörren* med en *bröd-kaka*, at det aldrig må fattas bröd (that it may never want bread).

22. Så länge barn ej fådt namn, må *ej elden släckas*, (the fire go out).

23. Ej må man gå *mellan eld och spen-barn* (between fire and sucking babe).

24. Ej må man sent *bära in vatten*, där (bring water in late where) spen-barn är, utan at *kasta eld deruti* (without putting fire therein).

25. Ej må någon som (Let no one that) kommer in i huset, *taga et barn i sina händer*, utan at förut *taga i elden* (without first touching the fire).

26. När barn få snart tänder, vänta de snart *nya syskon* efter. (If children teethe quickly, they expect new brothers and sisters soon).

27. Om barn *trivas* gerna i *varmt vatten*, bli de horaktiga.

28. Ej må man *vagga tom vagga* (rock an empty cradle), ty barnet blir grått och olåtigt.

29. När et *först-födt barn*, som är födt med tänder (born with teeth), biter öfver *onda betet* (the evil bite), så blir det läkt (it will be healed). See 37.

30. Barn må ej på en-gång *läsa* och *äta* (at once read and eat), ty det får trögt minne (sluggish memory).

31. Barnet skal först taga i (touch) *hund*, men ej i *katt*.

32. Om barn *leka med eld*, (play with fire) få de svårt at hålla sit vatten.

33. Barn som är afladt före vigslen (begotten before marriage) skal *modren* sjelf *hålla vid dopet* (hold at the font), eljest blir det icke ägta (else not legitimate); men är det födt förut (if born before), skal hon *hålla det på armen* när hon står brud (is married).

34. Om den sjuke får *främmande mat* (stranger's food), blir han frisk.

35. För läke-medel (medicine) bör man *ej tacka* (not thank), ty det har ingen verkan (for then it has no effect).

36. Ej må man gå öfver grafvar med öpet sår (open sore), ty det läkes sent eller aldrig (heals late or never).

37. *Onda betet* botas (is cured) af förstfödt barn med tänder (see 29).

38. Ej må man före morgonen omtala (talk of), om man *sedt spöke* (seen a spectre), at ej bli kramad och spotta blod.

39. Sedan *nedmörkt* är (after dark), må man ej gå til vatten, et ej få *onda betet*.

40. För samma orsak (reason), eller ock at ej bli kramad, skal man spotta 3 gånger (spit 3 times), då man *går öfver vatten* sedan *nedmörkt* är.

41. För den sjuka bör man låta bedja (have the sick prayed for) i 3 *kyrkor*, dock bör gerna där-ibland vara (but among them should be) en *offer-kyrka* så-som Gunnarskog, Visnum, Rada, om man bor dem så när (lives near enough). Det måste då hastigt slå ut, antingen til helsa eller döden (speedily issue either in healing or death).

42. Stora fiskars *tänder* böra *upbrännas*, at bli lycklig i fiske. (Big fishes' teeth should be burnt, to be lucky in fishing).

43. Man bör ingen tilsäga (tell no one), då man går åstad at fiska; och ej omtala, antingen (nor talk about whether) man får mycket eller litet (see 109).

44. Ej heller bör *någon främmande* (nor must any stranger) få se hur micket fisk man fått.

45. När man ror ut från landet at fiska, må man *ej vända båten ansöls*.

46. Knapnålar (pins) *fundna i kyrkan* och där gjorda til *mete-krokar* (and there made into bait-hooks) nappa bäst, eller äro gäfvast.

47. Går *qvinfolk* (if a female walks) *öfver mete-spö*, nappar ej fisken.

48. *Stulen fiske-redskap* (stolen fishing-tackle) är lycklig, men den bestulne mister lyckan (the person robbed loses the luck).

49. Ej må man *köra lik* (drive a corpse) til kyrka, ty hästen blir skämd (the horse gets shy).

50. Ej må man *lysa under bordet* (shew a light under the table), at ej gästerne skola bli *o-ense* (get dis-united, quarrel).
51. Ej må man *vända om* (turn back), då man går i något ärende (any errand), at det icke må *aflöpa illa* (turn out ill).
52. För *knappnålar* må man *ej tucka*, ty de tappas bort (get lost).
53. *Qvinfolks möte är ondt*, om det ej är en *löhora*.
54. Kommer en främmande in, der *ljus stöpes* (where candles are being dipped), skal han *taga i elden*, eljest losnar talgen af ljusen.
55. Ej må man *spinna om Torsdags qväll* (evening), eller i Dymmelveckan (Carnival); ty det spinner efter om natten (spins on all night).
56. Kommer främmande in, der *korf kokas*, spricker han sönder.
57. Om någon som har *onda ögon* (evil eye) ser då man slagtar, har kreaturet ondt för at dö (the beast dies hard).
58. Slår man (if you beat) kreatur med *vriden vidja* (turned wood), får det tarm-topp (bowel-twisting).
59. Vänder man toflor eller skor *med tån in åt sängen* (slippers or shoes with the toes towards the bed), så kommer *maran* (the mare) om natten.
60. *Påsk-afton* skal man göra *kors* (Easter-eve, make a cross) öfver fähusdörren (cowhouse-door) för troll-käringar.
61. När man *ligger första gången i et hus*, skal man räkna *bjelkarna* (count the rafters), så blir *sand* (comes true) hvad man drömer.
62. Om man *glömer* något (forget something) då man reser bort (sets out), är godt hopp för de *liema varande* (home-stayers), at den resande kommer tillbaka; men *se sig tillbaka* (to look back) är ej godt märke.
63. När *kattor tvätta sig* (wash), eller *skator skrattra* (magpies scratch) vid husen, vänta de främmande (they expect strangers). Har en sölaktig matmoder eller vårdslös piga icke förr sopat golvet (not before swept the floor), så bör det då *vist ske* (be done then).
64. Den som om *Jul-dagen först kommer hem* från kyrkan, slutar (will finish) först sin *ande-tid*.
65. Om man går *3 gånger kring kål-sängen* (ronnd the cabbage-bed) sedan man satt kålen, blir han fri för *mask* (free from slugs).
66. Om *qvinfolk* klifver *öfver skaklor* (climb over the shafts), skenar hästen eller blir *skämt*.
67. När *väf-stolen* tages ned (loom is taken down), skal man *kasta et eld-kol* där-igenom (burning coal through it); så får man snart up ny väf.
68. Lägges *eld i karet* före *mäskningen*, surnar ej *drikat* (if fire is put in the vessel before malting, the drink will not turn sour).
69. *Jul-afton* *kastar* man *stifu råghalms strå i taket* (rye-straws into the roof). Så många strå som fastna, så många *trafvar* råg får man det året.
70. *Tom säk* må ej bäras *oknuten* (empty sacks not to be carried untied). Går en *hafvande* hustru där-efter, så blir hennes foster aldrig mätt (baby never satisfied). Men råkar en *ko* (but if a cow chance) på den olyckliga vägen, så tar (gets) hon sig aldrig kalf.
71. Då man *lögar sig*, sättes *stål i vatnet* (in bathing, steel is put in the water), och *näcken* bindes sålunda: 'Näck, näck, stål i strand! far din var en stål-tjuf, mor din var en nål-tjuf; så långt (so far) skal du vara här-

ifrån, som detta rop höres (as this cry is heard).’ Och då ropa alle med full-hals: ‘*Ilo hagla!*’

72. Om kornet väl vil mylla sig (moulds well), är tekn til god års-växt (year’s-growth). När gödningen om våren (manure in spring) skåttas af kälän, hvarüst den legat öfver vinteren, *kastas någre korn in, brakningen*. Likeså, när man sår (sows), bör en *näfva-mull läggas i säd-skorgen* (handful of mould be put in the seed-basket); den dagen bör ock *ej tagas eld* ifrån gran-gården.

73. Om Påsk-lördag blåses (on Easter Saturday they blow) med en lång lur genom fähus-gluggen (through the cowhouse window); *så långt ljudet då hörs* (far as the sound is heard), så långt bort-blifva o-djuren (beasts of prey keep away) det året.

74. När man söker efter boskap i skogen (seek cattle in the wood), och *våkar en käckling* (talg-oxe) på högra handen (and a fatling turn up on your right), skal det söka finna igen.

75. Släppes svinen (if the swine are let out) *Lucii dag, få de ohyra* (uncanny); likeså sägas de bli *åker-gångse*, om de komma ut at Påskafton.

76. Går man vilse (astray) i skogen, skal man *stul-vända sig* (vända ut och in på kläderna), så kommer man til rätta (see Germ. 852).

76 b. Om boskapen Mikelsmäss-afton *köres tyst in* (are driven in silently), skal han vara rolig (quiet) i fähuset hela året.

77. När kon blir sprungen af oxen, bör man *med kokslef slå henne på ryggen*, annars bottnar hon (får ej kalvfen från sig).

78. När *askan* (ashes) *brinner väl ihop* (together), görs boskapen väl til (blifver dragtig, breed well).

79. At boskapen skal sjelfmant (may of themselves) komma hem ur skogen, måste sparas af *Fet-Tisdags mat* (some of Shrove Tuesday’s food saved up), at ge då den (against when they) om våren först släppes ut.

80. Vid första hö-ladningen (hay-loading) säges, at då *drängen* (if the lad, manservant) först får in sin hö-famn (fathom of hay), skal ox-kalfvar födas; men tvärtom, då *pigan* (and the contrary if the maid) har förträdet.

81. Om den, som byter sig til en häst (if he who acquires a horse) eller annat kreatur, låter det *äta af en jordfast sten*, så trives det väl. Någre hår af svansen bindas ok för den orsaken uti spjället.

82. När en byter sig til hemman (homestead), bör *litet fyllning* tagas ifrån gamla stall och fähns, och läggas i *hvar spilla* elles bås i det nya, at kreaturen må trifvas. Äfvenså sättes en *stor gran* i fähus-dörren, at kreaturen må gå der-igenom första gången.

83. Alt fullgjordt arbete *korsas öfver* (all finished work has the sign of the cross made over it).

84. Om man *Fet-Tisdag* går i ränbaka at åka på skida, ok mäktar stå utan at falla kull (without falling), skal det året blifva *långt lin* (the flax be long).

85. *Garnet* får *ej tvettas i nedan* (not washed downwards), ty då blir det grått.

86. Om alt är under lås (lock and key) *Michelsmäss-afton*, skola tjuftar ej göra skada (thieves do no harm) det året.

87. Om et *korn* eller annat finnes *under bordet* (if some grain or other be

found under the table), då der sopas (swept) Ny-års morgon, skal blifva ymnog års-vest (pretty good harvest).

88. När man på de 3 första sädes-dagar (days of sowing) sätter 3 *stickor i en myr-stak* (ant-hill), får man se, hvilket säde bäst lyckas: *kryper myran öfverst* på den 3, blifver den lyckligast.

89. Är sjö-redskap stulen, bör den *rökas med vriden eld* (if sea-tackle is stolen, it should be smoked with need-fire).

90. Vil vörten ej rinna genom råsten, bör man sätta en *ull-sax emellan banden och råstkaret*.

91. När brännvins-pannor vora i bruk (use), troddes (it was believed) at bränningen geck bäst i nedanet, om pannan då var förfärdigad; och tvärtom (and v. v.).

92. Då *svin* kommo at *lukta* eller *smaka* (smell or taste) af brännvins-ämnet (vapour), skulle hela bränningen förolyckas, så framt ej en *häst feck blåsa* (would be a failure, unless a horse blew) i pannan eller piporna (see Germ. 820).

93. Påsk-natten *ligga i strumpor* (stockings) var at förekomma (prevent) skabb.

94. När *lomen* ses flyga och strika öfver isen, skal bli många *o-ägta barn* det året. Den som *dåras* af honom, får såra händer (see 119).

95. *Gropar* vårtiden på gården (cracks in the yard in springtime) betyder at någon snart skal dö i huset.

96. Om någon mistänkt kom (suspicious person came) i gården, skulle man, at undgå (escape) spådoms sändningen, äntingen *slå* henne (either beat her) *så at blodet rann*, eller *kasta eldbrand* efter en sådan (such a one).

97. När bruden är klädd, bör hon först få se brudgumen *i sin skrud*, at äktenskapet må blifva kärligt.

98. När bruden kommer från kyrkan, skal hon sjelf *spänna ifrån* eller *sadla af* (unharness or unsaddle) hästen, at hon måtte lindrigt få barn.

99. Afven bör hon då först gå i kok-stugan (kitchen), och *se i sop-vrån*, at hennes föda må bli tillräkelig.

100. Dansar bruden *med pengar i skona* (money in her shoes), kan ingen trolldom bita på henne.

101. När en qvinna lyktat sin väf (has finished her weaving), och tar en *spjelka*, som *sutit i väjskelet*, *rider derpå ut genom dörren*, och möter en man, så skal den hafvande hustrun, hon tänker på (the woman she thinks of), få et goss-barn; men tvärtom (and v. v.).

102. Dricker hafvande hustrun *ur bredu kär* (out of a broad vessel), blir barnet bred-mynt (wide-mouthed).

103. Går hon genom et *hag-skott*, d. ä., der gårds-balken slutas, skal hon få fall-sjuka.

104. Om barnet får sofva (go to sleep) i *christnings-kläderna*, skal det ej bli okynligt (not be stupid), utan godt.

105. När *spjäll* om qvällen *skjutes*, hafva de ock fordom haft en särdeles (special) sång: 'Skjuter jag mitt spjäll sent om en qväll (late of an evening), . . . aldrig (never) skal min eld släckas ut.'

106. Den som *först kommer från kyrka Jul-dagen*, tros (is believed) först få så och berga (sow and reap), samt vara fränst i alt arbete (all work).

107. *Tvät-vattu* utslås aldrig *efter sol-gången* (washing-water is never emptied after sunset), utan at *deri stickes eld* (without fire being put therein) i stället för spottning om dagen.

108. Då boskapen först om våren utsläppes (let out in spring), *gå de öfver eld i et rykande fnöske* eller annat ämne (vapour).

109. Man bör gå bort, *utan at saga til*, eller *möta någon*, om fiske i vissa sjöar skal lyckas (if fishing in certain lakes is to prosper; see 43).

110. Ibland (among) the storre amuleter äro *bo-trä* (dwelling-trees), stora *hogar och berg*, uti hvilka man tror (believes) *underjordiskt folk* bo; så akta de sig högeligen, at icke allenast *intet hugga* (are careful, not only to hew nothing) *af slikt bo-trä*,—til undvikanda (avoidance) af o-lycka, som skedde in Foss-pastorat för 2 år sen, tå en bonde inbillade sig (imagined) at han fådt sin o-lycka, för thet han allenast *högg en gren* (cut a branch) *af slikt bo-trä*, ok gjorde knä-fall ok bad om förlåtelse, hvarföre han blef skriftad ok måste plikta;—utan ok hålla the särdeles (but also keep espec.) *Torsdags qvällen* så heliga, at the hvarken töra hugga elle spinna, at icke *tomte gubbarne* (lest the homesprites), som *bo i sådanne bo-trä* när vid gården, må fortörnas (be offended) och vika bort med all välsignelse.

111. The låta intet gärna (willingly) någon brud få *god häst*, at rida på, ty om hon intet er mö (for if she be no maid), blir han aldrig god thereafter.

112. Tå the äro fäste eller vigde (betrothed or married), lagar bruden, at ingen kommer at gå *emellan brudgummen ok henne*, ty eliest tro the, at the bli snart skilge genom döden eller eliest (soon parted by death or otherwise).

113. När bruden kommer til bröllops gårdens ägor (wedding house's grounds), komma the emot brudgummen ok henne med brännevin, ock dricka til hela foliet (whole party) från kyrkan: tå hon *slår bägaren med dricken bak om sig* (throws the cup of brandy behind her), *så långt* (far) *hon kan*, i hopp, at hennes ägo-delar skola blifva förmerade (increased).

114. *Måten* (the food) *står på bordet*, natt ok dag, så länge bröllopet påstår (lasts), i then tron, at brude-folken aldrig skal fattas (lack) mat eller dricka.

115. Få the *barn*, så låta the intet gerna sina barn döpas på samma dag the äro födde (born). Hvarföre the dömma (deem), at the barn, som om *Söndag* födas ok döpas, intet skola länge lefva. Men (but) lefva the, tror man, at intet tröll eller spöke (no witch or bogie) kan giora them skada.

116. *Döpelse-vatnet*, ther i (baptism-water, wherein) barnen döpte äro, söka the micket efter, thet the sedan, om the prästen o-vitterligit kunna få, (can get it unknown to the priest), bruka (use) til at bota siukdommar med.

117. Til sina siuka (to their sick) kalla the intet gärna *prästen*, förrän the ligga på thet yttersta (till the last extremity); ty the tro, at the o-felbart (without fail) dö, sedan the tagit Herrans helga nattvard (supper).

118. Hustrorna akta noga (watch strictly) sina barn: tils the bli döpte, ha the alltid *stål* ok *sy-nåler* (needles) *i barnets kläder*, at the icke af spöken skola blifva förbytte (not become booty of bogies).

119. Om våren äro the micket rädde för *fogle-rop* (much afraid of birds' cries) at the icke skola *dåras* (fooled) af them, särdeles *göken* (esp. the cuckoo); therföre gå the 1 April ok Maji aldrig ut fastandes (never go out fasting). See 128.

120. Om en flicka, enka (widow), eller karl blir *dörad*, tror then samma sig bli gift (fancy they'll be married) thet året; om gamla ok gifte bli *dörade*, befara the thet året svåra sjukdommar eller olycks-fall.

121. Somlige bruka slå sina späda (backward) barn 3 *slag med riset i ändan*, innan mödrarna gå i kyrkan, eller hålla sin kyrko-gång (churching); og tå mena the, barnen skola få *godt minne* (memory).

122. Som (as) the i gamla dagar dyrkat elden (worshipped fire), så ha the ok, här så väl som än i Norriget, brukat *dricka eldborgs skål*¹ hvar Kyndel-mässa (ty 'kindel' på gammal Götiska betyder lius): hvarföre, när the skulle *dricka eldborgs skål*, tåden the 2 *stora lius* ok satte på golfvet (lit 2 great candles and set them on the floor), emillan hvilka lades et hyende (a pillow between), på hvilket alla som i huset voro, then ene efter then andre, skulle sätta sig ok *dricka eldborgs skål* med dricka i en träskål (wooden cup). Ok när the utdruckit, skulle skålen *kastas bak öfver hufvudet i golfvet*. *Hväljdes* tå skålen öfver-ända (if the cup tipped over), trodde the at then skålen kastat (he who threw it) skulle thet året dö; men *stod han rätt upp*, vore tekn at han skulle lefva.

123. Innan dager har hustrun (housewife) lagt eld i bak-ugnen, ok tå thet bäst brunnit, haft tilreds en smör-klening (buttered slice) på kakebröd, jämte en skål öl (ale). Therpå har hon kallat alt sitt hus-folk ihop (together), ok stält them i en half-måne mit för ugnsholet (oven's mouth). Ok tå the alla under *knä-böjande* ok *lyck-önskan* (luck-wishing) atit en bit af smör-keningen ock druckit hvar (each) sin drick *eldborgs-skål*, sen hafva the kastat thet öfvriga af keningen ok dricken *uti elden*, i tro (belief) at thet året bli bevarade för elds-våda (safe from fire-accidents).

124. Så ha the ok brukat *tända eld* på then halmen *lik ha legat* (burn the straw a corpse had lain on), ok thet strax efter liket blifvit burit til grafva, tå the noga sedt på *röken* (watched the smoke). Om han *slagit ned på gården*, tå the säkert trodt (firmly believed) någon af närmaste släkten (kindred) på gården skulle snart följa efter. Men ther *han gik långt i högden eller längden up ivädet* (air), skulle sjukdomen ok döden flytta sig ther hän i öster eller vester, som röken for (E. or W., as the smoke went).

125. På det liket icke skulle spöka (that the dead might not haunt), brukade the at *strö hö-frö* (strew rye-seed) på kyrko-vägen ok grafven, tå the mänte (then they thought) at Satan ingen makt hade (see 150).

b. DENMARK.²

126. Det er skik (custom), at pigerne (girls) paa S. Hans-dag plukke de saa-kaldte *S. Hans urter* (worts, herbs), og sætte dem i bjelkerne (beams) under loftet, for at (so that) de deraf kunne slutte sig til det tilkommende (guess the future). Saaledes pleie de (thus they are wont) at sætte en *urt for sig* og en *for kiäresten* (sweetheart); og hvis disse da *væxe sammen* (if these grow together), betyder det bryllup (marriage). Ogsaa sætte de saadanne (such) urter i bjelken for deres parørende (relatives), at de deraf maa kunne vide (know), hvo der skal have langt liv, og hvo et stakket

¹ Drinking the fire's health; prevalent esp. in Krokstad and Nafverstad.

² From Thiele's Danske Folkesagn 3, 95—124.

(and who a short). *Voxer urten op, i-mod loftet* (toward the ceiling), da er det gode tegn; men *voxer den nedad* (downwards), da betyder det sygdom og död.

127. Naar piger og karle ville have at vide, hvo der skal skifte (leave), og hvo der skal blive (stay) i huset, da *kaste de en skoe over hovedet* mod dören. Falder (falls) da skoen saaledes, at *hälen vender* (the heel points) mod dören, da betyder det, at personen skal blive; men *vender taaen mod dören*, da er det tegn til, at han skal skifte.

128. Seer man *förste gang* i aaret *gjögen* (cuckoo), medens man endnu (still) er fastende, da hedder det 'gjögen ganter os!' (i Fyen: 'g. daaver os!'); og er det et mandfolk, skal han i dette aar *ikke hitte* kreaturer (not find cattle) eller andet hvad han monne söge. Er det en pige, maa hun vel vogte (guard) sig for ung-karlene, at hun ikke bliver gantet (fooled) af dem. Er det gamle folk, da have de vel aarsag til at frygte (reason to fear) for sygdomme (see 119).

129. Naar tjeneste-folk (servants) gaee i tjeneste, da maa de vel give agt paa, hvem de möde (notice whom they meet). En *gaaende* betyder oudt, men *ridende* godt.

130. Naar tyende (servants) förste-gang see *storken flyende*, da betyder det, at de endnu i samme aar skulde komme at skifte. Men see de den *staaende*, da skulle de blive i deres tjeneste.

131. Naar noget er *bort-stjaalet* (stolen), da kan man lade (let) en smed *slaa öiet ud* paa tyven (knock the thief's eye out).

132. For at optage en tyv, besynderligen mellem tyendet (espec. among servants), har det tilforn väret skik, at lade *soldet löbe* (it was the custom to let the sieve run). Husbonden pleiede (used) da at tage et *sold*, og sætte det i lige-vägt *paa spidsen af en sax* (balance it on the points of scissors), derpaa at opremse navnene (then call out the names) paa alle sine folk, og vel give agt paa soldet, som ufeilbarligen (unfailingly) *kom i bevægelse* (motion), naar tyvens navn nävntes.

133. Naar noget er *bort-stjaalet*, da skal man henvende sig (resort) til de saa-kaldte *kloge folk*, hvilka have den evne, at de kunne tvinge (force) tyven til at bringe det stjaalne igjen.

134. Fra Jule-dag til Nyt-aars-dag maa man ikke sætte nogen ting, *som löber rundt*, i gang (set nothing that runs round a-going), altsaa hvarken *spinde* eller *vinde*.

135. *Jule-nat* vid midnats-tid *reiser qvæget sig* på stalden (the cattle rise in their stalls).

136. Naar man Jule-aften sidder til bords, og önsker at vide, om nogen blandt de tilstede värende (wish to know if one of those present) skal döe inden näste Jul, da kan man erfare dette, naar man gaer *stil-tiende* indenfor og *kiger ind igjennem en vindues-rude* (go silently outside, and peep in through a pane). Den som man da seer at sidde ved bordet *uden hoved* (without head), skal döe i det kommende aar.

137. Ved gjeste-bud (feast) er det ikke godt at sidde *tretten* (13) till bords, thi da maa en af dem döe forinden (before) aaret er omme.

138. Om *Fredagen* skal man skjäre (pare) sine nägle, da faaer man lykke. Naar man har klippet sine nägle eller sit haar, da maa det *afklippede* enten

brändes eller *graves ned* (either burnt or buried); thi dersom onde mennesker faaer fat paa saadant (for if bad men get hold of such), da kunne de dermed forgjøre (undo) den person, som har baaret det.

139. Hvo der finder en *afbrudt sye-naal* (broken needle) paa gulvet, förend han har läst sin morgen-bön, faaer enten hug eller onde ord (blows or ill words).

140. Staaer *öinene aabne* paa et liig (if the eyes of a corpse stand open), betyder det, at snart nogen af samme familie skal fölgge efter.

141. *Kläder* og liined-stykker, som have tilhört en *afdöd* (belonged to one dead), henfalde og gaae let i-tu (to pieces), altsom legemet *forraadner* (rots) i graven.

142. Man maa ei give et liig *gang-kläder* af en endnu levende (of one yet living) med i graven; thi altsom kläderne forraadne i jorden, saa vil ogsaa den, som har baaret (he who has worn) disse kläder tilforn, tid efter anden forsvinde og hentäres (day by day waste away).

143. Naar talgen (tallow), som sidder omkring et *brændende lys*, böier sig ligesom en hövle-spaan (shaving), da betyder det, at nogen skal döe, og er det sädvanligen (usually) den, til hvem hövle-spaanen peger (points).

144. Naar man om morgenen finder *blaa pletter* (blue spots) på sit legeme, da er det *dödning-kneb*, og har det slägtninges eller kjäre venners (kinsman's or dear friend's) när fore-staaende död at betyde.

145. Naar en *skade* (magpie) sætter på huset, da kommer der fremnede (strangers).

146. Naar man förste-gang om aaret hörer *gjögen* at kukke (cuckoo sing), da skal man spørge: 'Hvor gammel bliver jeg?' eller ogsaa: 'Hvor länge skal det vare, indtil det eller det skeer (till so and so happens)?' Og giver den da svar ved at kukke (answer by cuckooing).

147. Naar man finder en *fire-klöver*, eller en *tvilling-nöd* eller en *skilling*, skal man vel gjemme det (save it up), eftersom sligt bringer lykke.

148. Naar man vil see *djävlen*, eller have med ham at gjøre (to do), skal man gaae *tre gange om kirken*, og tredje gang standse ved kirke-dören, og enten raabe: 'Kom herud!' eller ogsaa flöite igjennem nögle-hullet.

149. Naar man önsker at vide, om en afdöd mand har i levende live havt med fanden at bestille (dealings with the devil), da skal man *kige igjennem seletöiet* paa de *heste* (peep through the harness of the horses), som trække hans liig-vogn; og hvis det saa bar väret (if it was so), da vil man see en *sort hund* at sidde bag (black dog sit at the back) paa vognen.

150. Frygter man for spögerie, skal man *ströe hör-fröe* for dören, da kan intet spögelse komme over dör-tärsklen (threshold). See 125.

151. Naar man slaaer en *heste-skoe* fast paa dör-trinnet (nail a horse-shoe on the doorstep), da kan intet spögerie komme derover.

152. Naar man om morgenen kommer alt-fortidligt (too early) i kirken, da kan det vel hände (happen), at man seer de *döde*, hvorledes *de sidde i stole-staderne*.

153. *Troldene tör* (dare) ikke nävne Korsets navn (the Cross's name), men kalde det blot '*hid og did*' (merely Hither-and-thither).

154. Naar man er paa fiskerie, da maa man vel vogte sig for at *trätte*

om fangsten (guard against quarrelling over the lake); ej heller maa man *mis-unde* (grudge) andre, thi da forsvinde fiskeuè strax fra stedet.

155. Er nogen död, som frygtes for, at han vil gaee igjen (who you fear will come again), da kan man hindre sligt ved at *kaste en skaal-fuld vand* (cupful of water) *efter liget*, naar det ud-bäres.

156. Det er daarligt at skyde (silly to shoot) paa et spögelse, thi *kuglen farer tilbage* (ball flies back) paa den, som ud-skyder. Men lader man bössen med en *sölv-knap* (silver-button), da vil den visselig træffe.

157. Den tredje nat efter begravelsen pleie de döde at gaee igjen.

158. En frugtsommelig (pregnant) kone maa ei gaee over et sted, hvor man *har selbet en kniv*, thi det volder en sväär forlösning. Men naar man i forveien spytter tre gange paa stedet, da har det ei fare (no danger).

159. Naar et barn *veies* strax, som det er födt (weighed as soon as born), da vil det siden ei trives (not thrive afterwards).

160. Naar man löfter et barn *ud af et vindue*, og *tager det ind* igjen *gjennem et andet* (in again through another), da vil det aldrig siden blive større (never grow bigger).

161. Naar en *barsel-qvinde* döer uden at vare bleven forlöst (dies without being delivered), da vil hun fyrretyve uger derefter föde (give birth 40 weeks after) i graven. Derfor gives hende *naal, traad, sax* (needle, thread, scissors) og andet sligt med, at hun selv kan sye börne-töiet (sew the baby-linen).

162. Det er et godt middel imod tand-pine (remedy for toothache), först at tage en *hylde-pind* i munden (elder-twigg in mouth), og der-näst stikke den i väggen (wall) med de ord: 'Viig bort, du onde aand (go, evil spirit)!' Saa er ogsaa gavnligt mod kold-feber (good for ague), at stikke en *hylde-pind* i jorden, dog uden at mäle (without speaking) et ord der-ved. Da holder feberen sig til hyldepinden, og hänger sig ved den, der u-heldigviis först kommer til stedet.—In a MS. of 1722: Paganismo ortum debet superstitio, *sambucum* non esse exscindendam, nisi prius rogata permissione, his verbis: '*Mater sambuci, mater sambuci*, permitte mihi tuam caedere silvam!' Videmus quoque rusticos orsueros caesionem arboris *ter expuere*, quasi hac excretionem *vettas* aliosque latentes ad radicem arboris noxios genios abacturos. Passim etiam obvium, quod bacillum vel fracturi vel dissecturi, partem abruptam abscissamve non projiciant in terram, nisi ter in extremitatem fragminis expuerint, cujus quidem rei aliam non norunt rationem, quam curasse, ne quid sibi a vettis noceatur.

163. Af *bryst-benet* (breast-bone) paa *Mortens-gaasen* kau man see hvorledes (how) vinteren vil blive. Det hvide deri (white therein) er tegn paa snee, men det brune paa meget stærk kulde. Og er det at mærke, at den *forreste* deel ved halsen spaaer (part by the neck foretells) om vinteren för Juul, men den *bageste* (hindmost) om vinteren *efter* Juul.

164. Oft händer det, at söefolk i rum söe see et *skib* (ship), i alle maader som et andet, at seile forbi (sail past), og i samme stund forsvinde (vanish) for deres aasyn. Det er *dödning-seileren*, som varsler om (announces), at et skib snarligen (soon) skal gaee under paa det samme sted.

165. Naar man taler om *skadelige dyr* (noxious beasts), da maa man ikke

nævne deres rette navn, men omscrive det (periphrase it), og saaledes kalde rotterne (call rats) 'de lang-rumpede,' musene (mice) 'de smaa graa.'

166. Naar man vil vide sin tilkommende lykke i det nye aar, da skal man tage et brød, en *kniv*, og en *skilling*, og dermed gaae ud at see *maanen*, naar *nyet tændes* (moon newly lighted). Og naar man da slaaer op (opens) i en Psalme-bog, vil man af dens indhold kunne slutte sig til det vigtigste (guess the weightiest).

167. Naar en pige ved midnat nd-spänder *mellem fire kieppe* den hinde, i hvilken föllet er, naar det kastes (stretch betw. four sticks the afterbirth of a foal), og derpaa *nögen kryber der-igjennem* (creep naked through it), da vil hun kunne föde börn uden smerte (without pain). Men alle de drenge (boys) hun undfanger, blive *vär-ulve*, og alle de piger blive *marer*.¹

168. *Skjer-Torsdag-aften* (Maundy Thursd.) kaster bonden *öæer* og *jern-kiler* paa de *besaaede agre* (axes and iron bolts on the sown fields), og fäster *staal* paa alle döre, at ikke gamle kjerlinger (lest old witches) skulle skade ham.

169. Naar en kommer til kirke *Skjer-Torsdag*, og haver da, uden selv at vide det, et *höneke-äg* (chicken's egg), det er, det förste äg en höne lägger, paa sig; saa vil han see alle de kvinder, der ere hexe, at gaae lige-som med *sie-bötter* eller *malke-bötter* paa *hovedet* (see Germ. 783).

L. FRENCH.?

1. Le 24 décembre, vers les six heures du soir, chaque famille met à son feu une énorme bûche appelée *souche de Noël*. On défend aux enfans de s'y asseoir, parceque, leur dit on, ils y attraperaient le gale. Notez, qu'il est d'usage dans presque tous les pays, de mettre le bois au foyer dans toute sa longueur, qui est d'environ 4 pieds, et de l'y faire brûler par un bout. See 28.

2. Le jour de la fête de la Trinité quelques personnes vont de grand matin dans la campagne, pour y voir lever *trois soleils à la fois*.

3. Le 24 Juin, jour de Saint Jean, quelques personnes vont aussi sur une montagne élevée, et y attendent le lever du *soleil*, pour le voir *danser*.

4. Les herbes et plantes médicinales, cueillies la veille de la *Saint Jean*, passent pour avoir plus de vertus, surtout contre certains maux.

5. La coupe de chevenx ne doit se faire que lorsque la *lune* est *nouvelle*, sans cela les cheveux ne pourraient plus pousser. On ne doit point jeter la reconne des cheveux sur la voie publique, les sorciers pourraient y jeter un sort.

6. Les linges, qui ont servi au pansement des maux, ne doivent être ni brûlés ni jetés dans la rue, pour les mêmes motifs.

¹ 'Om bruden kryper genom en sela (horse-collar), får hon barn utan möda, hvilke dock skola blifva maror.' Westerdahl's Beskrifning om Svenska seder, p. 28.

² From Mémoires de l'académie celtique: Nos. 1—10 (Commercy en Lorraine) 3, 441—450 and 4, 83-4. Nos. 11—13 (Sologne) 4, 93-4. Nos. 14—20 (Chartres) 4, 242. Nos. 21-2 (Gironde) 4, 268. Nos. 23—28 (Bonneval) 4, 428. Nos. 29—32 (Pyrénées) 5, 386—390. Nos. 33—35 (Bonnevai) Mém des antiquaires 1, 239—242.

7. Si quelqu'un meurt, on voile les glaces de sa chambre.

8. Lorsqu'une personne est gravement malade, on a soin d'observer, si quelque *hibou*, *chouette* ou *chathuant* viennent voltiger autour de l'habitation.

9. *L'hirondelle* est un oiseau d'heureux présage; aussi ne la dérange-t-on jamais. Détruire son nid, c'est détruire ou atténuer les heureuses destinées, qu'on y attache en faveur de la maison.

10. *L'araignée* est un signe de bonheur, et annonce particulièrement de l'argent pour la personne, sur laquelle elle est trouvée. Plus une étable est garnie de toiles d'araignées, plus elle est digne de regards de la Providence.

11. Si une *jeune taure s'égare* la première fois qu'elle est mise aux champs, les Solonaises vont jeter deux liards dans la serrure, se mettent à genoux, et disent tout haut cinq pater et cinq ave, qu'elles adressent au bon saint Hubert; cette prière faite, elles sont bien sûres que les loups respecteront la taure, fût-elle au milieu d'eux, et qu'ils la ramèneront même à la bergerie.

12. Dans la *nuît du jour de Noël*, jusqu'à midi, les chevaux, les vaches, les bœufs, les taureaux, les ânes *parlent*. Ces animaux se plaignent ou s'applaudissent du traitement de leurs maîtres. Ce don de la parole leur arrive seulement avant minuit sonnant, et finit à midi du jour de Noël, ou plutôt si la personne, qui les soigne, est coupable d'un péché mortel.

13. Le même jour de Noël il ne faut pas mettre paître les bêtes à corne avant midi, parceque de suite *elles se battraient*, et se blesseraient certainement.

14. La veille de Noël, pendant la *généalogie* qui se chante à la messe de minuit, tous les *trésors cachés* s'ouvrent.

15. Dans la plupart des églises de campagne on fait encore aujourd'hui des offrandes de la *première gerbe de froment* coupée dans un champ. Ces prémices de la moisson ne reçoivent d'autres ornements qu'en paille plus ou moins façonnée. Cette gerbe est presque toujours surmontée d'une croix aussi en paille.

16. L'usage des *brandons* est consacré partout les premier et second dimanche de carême. On va brûler dans les champs, ou sur les chemins vicinaux, des flambeaux formés de paille en chantant: '*Brandons, brûlez pour les filles à marier!*'¹

17. Quand le mari met *l'anneau* au doigt de la mariée, il ne le porte que jusqu'à la *second jointure*. Celle-ci doit donc vite le pousser à la *troisième*, afin d'empêcher le malefice des sorciers, qui n'ont que cet instant du passage de l'anneau, pour l'opérer la nouûre de l'aiguillette.

18. Les mariés entendent la messe à genoux. A l'évangile on a soin de remarquer lequel des deux époux *se lève le premier*; on en augure que c'est lui qui sera le maître.

19. Au moment qu'on montre le bon dieu de la messe, ceux qui se trouvent placés auprès des mariés, leur *frappent trois petits coups sous les*

¹ Conf. Mém. des antiquaires 1, 237: 'Brandelons, brûlez par ces vignes, par ces blés; brandelons, brûlez pour ces filles à marier.' Puis on s'écrie: 'Mais les vieilles n'en auront pas.'

talons, avec le manche d'un couteau, pour empêcher qu'ils ne deviennent jaloux.

20. En sortant de l'église, on conduit la mariée en face d'une image de la vierge, auprès de laquelle est attachée une quenouille garnie de chanvre, on la lui présente ; elle *file deux ou trois aiguillées*, et l'emporte chez elle ; elle fait filer ou file le reste, et rend ensuite, avec l'écheveau de fil qui en est provenu, cette même quenouille, qu'elle a eu soin de garnir d'autre chanvre.

21. Un enfant mâle *qui n'a pas connu son père*, a la vertu de foudre les loupes, en les touchant pendant trois matinées de suite, étant à jeun et recitant quelques prières.

22. Le cinquième des enfans mâles venus au monde et de suite, *guérit les maux de rate* par le simple attouchement répété.

23. A-t-on chez soi une *poule*, qui chante comme le coq, on se dépêche de la tuer ou de la vendre, dans la crainte qu'elle n'attire quelque malheur sur la maison.

24. Est-on en voyage, si l'on rencontre dans son chemin des *piés par nombre impair*, c'est malheur.

25. Quand on veut savoir, quel mari ou quelle femme on épousera, il est d'usage de se lever, le *premier jour de mars*, au coup de minuit et pendant que l'heure sonne. On marche trois pas en avant de son lit, en prononçant ces paroles : 'Bon jour Mars, de Mars en Mars, fais moi voir en mon dormant la femme que j'aurai en mon vivant !' On revient à son lit en marchant en arrière ; on se recouche, on s'endort, on rêve, et l'homme ou la femme qui apparaissent alors, sont le futur époux.

26. Ceux qui possèdent de *mouches à miel*, ont grand soin, lorsqu'il meurt quelqu'un dans la maison, d'aller d'abord annoncer à chaque *ruche* l'évènement fâcheux, qui vient d'avoir lieu, et d'y attacher ensuite un petit *morceau d'étoffe noire*. Sans cela, ils périraient bientôt.

27. La veille de Saint Jean un *feu de joie* est allumé dans un carrefour. Au milieu du feu on place une longue perche, qui le domine, et qui est garnie de feuillages et de fleurs. Le clergé se rend en grande pompe au lieu de la cérémonie, allume le feu, entonne quelques chants, et se retire ; ensuite les assistants s'en emparent, *sautent par dessus*, et emportent chez eux quelques *tisons*, qu'ils placent sur le ciel de leur lit, comme un préservatif contre la foudre.

28. La veille de Noël, avant la messe de minuit, on place dans la cheminée de l'appartement le plus habité une *bûche*, la plus grosse, que l'on puisse rencontrer, et qui soit dans le cas de résister pendant trois jours dans la foyer ; c'est ce qui lui a fait donner la nom de *tréfué*, tréfouré, trois feux (see 1).

29. Une jeune fille qui désire savoir son futur époux, se lève avant le jour le *premier mai*. Elle prend un seau, qu'elle nettoie avec une branche de romarin, et s'achemine vers quelque fontaine solitaire. Rendue là, elle se met à genoux sur le bord de la fontaine, fait une prière, plante sa branche de romarin dans un buisson voisin, et remplit son seau de l'eau de la fontaine. Elle attend alors le *lever du soleil*. Aussitôt qu'il commence à paraître sur l'horizon, elle s'approche du seau, en *trouble l'eau avec la main*

gauche, et dit ces trois mots : ' Ami rabi vohi ! ' Elle doit répéter *neuf fois* la même chose, et avoir fini lorsque le soleil paraît en entier. Alors, si elle n'a été vue par personne, ni en venant à la fontaine, ni pendant les cérémonies qu'elle y a faites, elle voit *au fond du seau* la figure de celui, qu'elle doit épouser.

30. Un jeune homme, pour connaître la couleur de cheveux de celle, qui doit être sa femme, fait, la veille de S. Jean, *trois fois le tour du feu de joie*, prend un *tison enflammé*, le laisse éteindre dans sa main gauche, et le soir, avant de se coucher, le met sous le chevet de son lit, enveloppé d'une chemise qu'il a porté trois jours. Il faut que tout cela se fasse les yeux clos. Le lendemain matin, au lever du soleil, le jeune homme trouve, autour de son tison, des cheveux de la couleur que doivent avoir ceux de sa future épouse.

31. Il est d'usage de se marier *à jeun*. On croit, que ceux qui y manqueraient, sans des motifs bien puissants, n'auraient que des *enfants muets*.

32. Les époux ont grand soin, le jour de leur mariage, de mettre du *sel* dans leur poche gauche avant de se présenter à l'église. Ce sel empêche le nœud de l'aiguillette.

33. La *rosée* de la nuit de la *S. Jean* guérit la gale, et le *premier seau* tiré d'un puits à l'instant du minuit, qui commence le jour de S. Jean, guérit de la fièvre. Près de Nogent-le-Rotrou il y a une *fontaine* célèbre pour sa vertu curatrice pendant toute la nuit, veille de S. Jean. Hommes et femmes entrent dans ses eaux et s'y lavent : nulle idée d'indécence ne trouble la cérémonie.

34. Le *feu de S. Jean* ne brûle pas, on peut en prendre à la main les tisons enflammés.

35. Pour se défendre de la puissance des *bergers sorciers*, on met du *sel* dans sa poche, et en passant devant le berger on dit tout bas : ' Berger sorcier, je ne te crains ni te redoute.'

M. ESTHONIAN.¹

1. Marriages take place at the time of *new moon*.

2. If the suitor rides to the house where he goes a-wooing, he is careful not to take a *mare*, else there would be only *daughters* born of the marriage.

3. When the bride is betrothed, a *red string* is tied round her body ; and when the wedding is completed, she must so inflate herself as to break the string. A sure preventive of difficult confinements.

4. In many places the young couple *run out of church*, hand in hand, at the top of their speed, to secure rapid progress in their business.

5. When the bride is fetched, if she *falls on the way*, it betokens the early death of her first three or four children.

6. If they see the suitor arrive on horseback, they hasten to *undo his saddle-girth*. This also tends to facilitate childbirth in the future wife.

¹ Etwas über die Ehsten (Leipz. 1788, pp. 55-88). Nos. 93-99 from Hupel's Topogr. nachr. von Lief- und Ehst-land (Riga 1777. 2, 134-145).

7. The bride must not come out *by a gate* through which a *corpse* has lately been carried out.

8. When the bride is fetched in, she must wear no chains or bells, but be led in *in solemn silence*; else she will have restless noisy children.

9. Directly the wedding is over, the strongest of the relations or guests *lifts the bride and bridegroom aloft*, thereby to heighten their married bliss.¹

10. As soon as the wedded pair have stepped into their house, a *watchman* must stay a good while *by the household fire*, that no stranger may come near it, and contrive secret sorcery to their hurt.

11. The moment the bride enters, she is led through every part of the house, parlours, bedrooms, bathrooms, stables and gardens; and is bound, as she holds her husband's happiness dear, to drop *ribbons* or *money* into each part, even into the *well* and the *fire*.

12. When she sits down, they set a *male child* in her lap, that she may have the power to bear men-children.

13. In some parts they used, during the wedding feast, to stick *two swords into the wall* over where the bride and bridegroom sat; the one *whose sword kept up the longest vibration*, would *live longest*.

14. At the meal they are wilfully wasteful of the *beer*, and *spill* it about, so that superfluity may house with the happy pair.

15. Whichever of the pair *first goes to sleep*, dies first.

16. *Rain on the wedding-day* means frequent weeping for the wife.

17. At the marriage-feast they set *two candles before bride and bridegroom*; the one whose light goes out first of itself, is sure to die first.

18. The bridegroom's attendant cuts a *small piece* off a whole loaf, butters it, and puts it *in the bride's mouth*. Her children will then have a small smooth mouth.

19. In bringing the young wife into the husband's house, they *pull down the fence* on both sides of the entrance, that she may drive in swiftly without hindrance. Then her confinements will come off quickly and easily.

20. Women with child are careful, in lighting a fire, not to throw the wood *in against the branches*, else they would have a difficult labour.

21. A difficult labour is lightened by the husband *striding over the wife*.

22. No pregnant woman will sit on a *water-vessel*, lest she have too many *daughters*, or the fruit be lost in the water.

23. If two pregnant women *sneeze* together, they will have *daughters*; if their husbands sneeze, *sons*.

24. In beginning a loaf, a pregnant woman cuts a very *small slice* first, that her children may have pretty little mouths.

25. To *change the bustels* (bast-shoes) once a week in the middle of pregnancy, and to throw *salt three times* behind oneself shortly before confinement, will ease the labour.

26. None shall step *over the feet* of a pregnant woman, lest her children get crooked misshapen feet.

¹ RA. 433.

27. A newborn babe is not placed at once in the mother's arms, but first laid at her feet, that *her left foot may touch its mouth*; then it will not be rebellious.

28. A newborn baby's *bath-water* is emptied on the most out-of-the-way spot, lest, if many trample on it, the child be down-trodden and despised.

29. The midwife with the baby shall, soon after the birth, take the *uppermost seat at table*; it will then be more highly esteemed.

30. Never pass anything *over the baby's head*, or it won't grow; if such a thing happens, pull the hair on the top of its head upwards.

31. What a baby *first clutches at*, shows what will be its favourite occupation.

32. The first time a babe is laid in the cradle, they put a *knife*, a *cross-key*, and some *red yarn* beside it; these defend it from sorcery.

33. One born on one of the *last days of a week*, will marry late or never.

34. If a married woman has *boys only*, it is a sign of war; if *girls only*, of peace.

35. When a priest visits a sick man, they watch the gait of his horse as he draws near. If the *horse hangs its head*, they despair of the patient's recovery.¹

36. A *funeral* must on no account cross a cornfield, even when it lies fallow.

37. By a corpse they lay a *brush*, *money*, *needles*, and *thread*. Some brush the dead man's head, and lay the *brush* beside him, to bring him peace.

38. Some drive a *nail into the threshold* every time a person dies in the house.

39. The *vehicle* that has carried a corpse is not admitted *within the gate* at once, but left outside for a time; else more of the family would follow.

40. The *straw* on which the sick man died, is all carried out and burnt: by *footprints in the ashes* they can tell if the next loss will be of man or beast.

41. If one dies at *new moon*, he takes all the luck with him; if in *Shrove-tide*, he is buried as plainly as possible.

42. On All Souls day every family makes a *feast* for its *departed* members, and visits the churchyards. In some parts they set food for the deceased on the floor of a particular room. Late in the evening the master of the house went in with a *pergel* (a lighted brand split down its length), and invited the deceased by name to eat. After a time, when he thought the souls had made a hearty meal, he, while *beating his pergel to pieces on the threshold*, bade them go back to their places, and not trample the rye on their way. If there was a bad crop, it was ascribed to the souls having been entertained too scantily.²

43. About the Judgment-day the Esthonian has the notion that all the churches will then *topple over towards the North*. He cannot bear the thought of being buried in that part of the churchyard.

¹ Conf. Hupel's Topogr. Nachr. 2, 146.

² More fully in Thom. Hiörn 1, 49.

44. Till the baby is baptized, it has a hymnbook laid under its head, and a fire kept up beside it, to ban the devil, and keep him from changing the child.

45. During baptism they fix their eyes on the baby, to see if it *holds its head up* or *lets it sink down*. If up, it will have a long life; if down, a short.

46. Sometimes, during the service, the father *runs rapidly round the church*, that the child may be gifted with fleetness of foot.

47. If by bribing the sexton they can get the *baptismal water*, they dash it *as high as they can* up the wall. The child will then attain high honours.

48. During baptism you must *not talk*, or the child will talk in its sleep.

49. Don't have a *baptism* directly after a *burial*, or the child will follow the dead.

50. Leave the chrisom baby's *hands free*; it will then be quick and industrious.

51. During baptism a sponsor shall *not look about him*, or the child will see ghosts.

52. Many tie *rings to the swathings* of a chrisom boy, to make him marry early.

53. They do not like a child to be *baptized* on another child's birthday.

54. In the chrisom child's clothes some insert, unobserved, *money, bread, and garlic*; then the first two will never fail him, and the last protects from sorcery.

55. A *chrisom child's sleeping* shows it will not live long.

56. When *none but girls* are brought to the font, they will go unmarried long, perhaps always.

57. No sponsor *eats flesh* just before the christening, else the baby will have toothache.

58. Parents who lose their first children call the next ones *Adam and Eve*, and they live (see Germ. 26).

59. They will have no christening on a *Friday*; on *Thursday* it has more power.

60. A child christened on a *Friday* grows up a rogue, and comes under the hangman's hands.

61. *Thunder* comes of *God chasing the devil, overtaking him, and dashing him down*. During the storm they make doors and windows fast, lest the hunted devil take refuge in their house, and, as God is sure to catch him up, the house be thunderstruck.

62. Some during a storm fasten *two knives* outside a window, to prevent being struck.

63. Many, the *first time they hear thunder* in the year, take a stone, tap their forehead with it three times, and are free from headache for a year.

64. Anything struck by *lightning* they muse over gravely, especially certain riven rocks; they think the *devil*, having *taken refuge* in or under them, was there surprised and slain.

65. Many take the *rainbow* to be *Thunder's sickle*, with which he *punishes malignant under-gods* who try to injure men.

66. Many believe in the power of man to raise *wind*, and to change its direction. For this purpose they would hang up a *snake*, or set up an *axe*, in the direction whence they wished for a wind, and try to *allure it by whistling*.

67. A sudden noise on *New-year's night* foretells the death of an inmate.

68. They give wild beasts periphrastic names, and avoid their real ones, when they have to speak of them. The fox they call *Hallkuhb* (grey-coat), the bear *Layfalck* (broad-foot).

69. The first time they drive their cattle out in the year, they bury *eggs under the threshold* over which they must pass, whereby all discomfort is banned away from them. Once, when a cattle plague broke out, it was found that they *buried one head of the herd under the stable door*, as a sacrifice to Death, and to stay the murrain.

70. If the cattle return from pasture, still *chewing grass*, there will be a hay-famine.

71. They send the wolf to the rightabout by sprinkling *salt on his track*.

72. A great *howling of wolves* at early morning foretells plague or famine.

73. Formerly the Elsts believed, when they heard a great howling of wolves, that they were *crying to God for food*, and he then *threw them dumplings down from the clouds*.

74. If the wolf carries off a sheep or pig, they *let something fall*, of their clothes or of what they have in their pockets, believing that the wolf will then find his load too heavy, and drop his prey.

75. Some wear the tip of a *hen's wing* about them, and think it promotes early rising.

76. They do not like to name the *hare* often, they think it tempts him to come and damage their rye-grass.

77. If a *cock* or *hen* walking in the yard trails a *straw after it*, there will soon be a corpse in the house, its sex depending on that of the fowl.

78. You can enable a *hen* to lay eggs by beating her with an *old broom*.

79. Some, the first time of driving out cattle, put an *egg before the stable-door*; the beast that treads on it is ripe for death, and they try to sell it.

80. They gladly sell the *first calves* of young cows, where the mistress is her own mother's *first child*; such a calf cannot thrive.

81. The *yoke just taken off* or about to be *put on* must not be laid on the bare ground, or it will chafe and wound the ox.

82. A *fire* may be checked by *throwing in a live black hen as a sacrifice*.

83. In clearing out the corn and flour bins, leave a *little behind*, or it will bring misfortune.

84. No farmer is willing to give *earth off his cornfields*, he thinks it is parting with a good piece of his prosperity.

85. Let no one *step over your girdle*; it brings on the itch.

86. One is careful not to be beaten with *dry twigs*, it brings on consumption or leanness.

87. In *cutting a new loaf* they *throw some aside*; from a full cup they let *some drops fall on the ground*. It is a sacrifice to the Invisible Spirit.

88. Many a man looks glum if you try to find out the *depth of his well*, it would dry up if you did.

89. One does not like giving all the money in his purse at once; if it can't be helped, let your *spittle* fall in the purse.

90. They are anxious not to have *clothes-props* stolen: their loss runs them short of ash.

91. The first time the cowherds drive home in the year, they are on arriving *sprinkled with water*; it is thought to be wholesome for the cattle.

92. *No shearing of sheep at seed-time*, for then the wool does not grow again properly.

93. *Dung fallen off the cart* is not to be picked up again: it breeds vermin.

94. At flax-picking there is *no talking*, no question answered, no greeting returned; otherwise the flax does not answer well.

95. If the first that dies in a farmer's new abode be a *beast with hairy legs*, a blessing rests on the house; if a *bird with bare legs*, the farmer mopes, dreading losses and poverty.

96. At night when candles are lighted, the *people sigh* and cross themselves.

97. Every time they kill anything, if only a fowl, they put a *piece of it* behind the cattle-shed as a *sacrifice*.

98. On the accursed spot where a house was burnt down, they never build a new one; if, in laying the ground-beam, a single *spark is kindled* by a by-blow, it foretells a new fire, and they look out another place to build on.

99. On the site where a cowhouse is to be built, they first lay rags and herbs; if *black ants* creep on to them, it is a good sign; if *red ants*, the place is pronounced unfit to build on.

100. A *whirlwind* is the work of evil spirits: where you see dust gathering, you should *throw stones* or a *knife* into the heart of the whirl, and pursue it with cries.

101. At a wedding the bride *treads on the* bridegroom's *foot*, that she may never be oppressed by him.

102. *Red streaks* in the sky shew that the *dragon* is setting out; a *dark hue* in the clouds, that he comes home with booty. Shooting stars are little dragons.

N. LITHUANIAN.¹

1. When the elf is *red*, he brings people gold; when *blue*, corn or ill-luck.

2. It is not good for a corpse to lie so that it can be *seen in the glass*; some say the dead man gets up and looks at himself. Better hang it elsewhere.

3. On New-year's eve *nine sorts of things*—money, cradle, bread, ring, death's head, old man, old woman, ladder, and key—are baked of dough,

¹ Besseldt in Büsching's Wöch. Nachr., b. 3 (Breslau 1817). pp. 223. 339.

and laid under nine plates, and every one has three grabs at them. What he gets will fall to his lot during the year.

4. The same evening every girl takes *tow* or *flax*, rolls it into a little *ball*, sets it alight, and tosses it up. She whose ball rises highest, or burns longest, will get married that year.

5. If you spin on Shrove Tuesday, the flax will not thrive; if you go for a *drive* there will be good flax. All over Lithuania they *drive* on that day; if the gentlefolk don't themselves, they let their servants.

6. Sow *peas* when the wind sets from a soft (rainy) quarter; then they will boil well.

7. Grass *mown* under a *new moon* the cattle reject, or eat reluctantly.

8. The death of the master or mistress must be told the *horses* by *jingling the keys*, also to the other cattle, especially the *bees*. Otherwise the cattle fall, the trees decay, and the bees die out or move.

9. If a *hare* runs across your path, it means bad luck; a *fox* on the contrary a safe journey and good news.

10. If you take *needle* in hand on Good Friday, the lightning will be after you (see Germ. 43). All work on that day is fraught with mischief.

11. Girls must be weaned by a *waning moon*, or they'll have too large a bosom; boys at *full moon*, that they may grow big and strong; but no children during the *passage of birds*, else they'll be restless and changeable.

12. When visitors drive away, *don't sweep* your floors directly after; it would bring them ill-luck on their journey.

SPELLS.

I. *AS. spell for pricking pains.* Harl. MSS. no. 585. fol. 186 (communic. by Price). See p. 1244.

II. *AS. spell for fertilizing land.* Oxf. MSS. no. 5214 (Jun. 103). See p. 1236.

III. *Evorcismus ad pecudes inveniendas.*¹

Ne forstolen ne forholen nân uht thäs dhe ic äge, ne mâ the mihte Herod (no more than H. could) urne Drihten. Ic gethohte see Eád Elénan, and ic gethohte Crist on rôde âhengen. svâ ic thence this feoh tô findanne, näs tô othfeorganne and tô vitanne. näs tô othvyrceanne and tô lufianne. näs tô odhlædanne. *Gármund*, Godes dhegen, find thät feoh, and fêre thät feoh. and hafa thät feoh and heald thät feoh, and fêre hâm thät feoh. thät he næfre n'âbbe landes thät he hit odhlæde, ne foldau thät odhfêrie ne hûsa thät he hit odhhealde. Gif hit hvâ gedô, ne gedige hit him næfre binnan thrim nihtum. cunne ic his mihta his mægen and his mihta and his munderäftas. eall he veornige svâ er *vudu veornie*, svâ *bredhel theo* svâ *thistel*. se dhe his feoh odhfergean thence. odhde dhis orf odhehtian dhence. amen.

This man sceal cvedhan dhonne his ceápa, hvilcne man forstelenne. cydh, ær he ænig other vord cvedhe: Bethlem háttæ seo burh, dhe Crist on geboren väs. seo is gemærsôd ofer ealne middangeard. svâ dheos dæd vyrthe for mannum mære. per crucem xp̄i. And *gebide* the thonne *thriva eást*, and cvedh *thriva*: † xp̄i ab oriente reducat. and *thriva vest*, and cvedh: crux xp̄i ab occidente reducat. and *thriva súth*, and cvedh *thriva*: crux xp̄i a meridie reducat. and *thriva north*, and cvedh: crux xp̄i abscondita sunt (fuit?) et inventa est. Judcas Crist âhengen. gedidon him dæda thâ vyrstan. hælon thät hi forhelan ne mihton. svâ næfre theos dæd forholen ne vyrthe. per crucem xp̄i. Gif feoh sy undernumen. gif hit sy hors, *sing on his feotere odhdhe on his bridel*. gif hit sy other feoh, *sing on thät hofree*, and ontend dhreo candela, and dr̄p on thät ofree veax *thriva*. ne mæg hit the manna forhelan. Gif hit sy *inorf*, *sing on feover healfa thüs hûses* and æne on middan: crux xp̄i reducat. crux xp̄i per furtum periit, inventa est. Abraham tibi semitas vias, montes concludat Job et flumina, Isac tibi tenebras inducat. Jacob te ad iudicium ligatum perducet.

¹ Nos. III. IV. from Wanley's Catal. 114-5 (conf. 110^b. 186^a. 198^b. 275^a). corrected by Kemble's transcripts. Many more AS. spells might be culled out of MSS. cited by Wanley, pp. 44. 83. 223. 231-2-4. 247. 304-5.

IV. *Benediction.*

Ic me on thisse gyrde belûce, and on Godes helde bebeode, vidh (against) thane sâra sîce, vidh thane sâra slege, vidh thane grymma gryre, vidh thane micela egsa, the bidh æghvam lâdh, and vidh eal thät lâdh, the in tō lande fare. *Sige-gealdor* ic begale (sing), *sige-gyrd* ic me vege. vord-sige and veorc-sige. Se me dege ne me merne gemyrre. ne me maga ne gesvence. ne me næfre mînum feore forht ne gevurdhe. ac gehæle me Aelmihtig and Sunu frôfregâst calles vuldres vyrdig Drihten. Svâsvâ ic gehýrde heofna scyppende Abrahame and Isace and svylce men, Moyses and Jacob and Davit and Josep and Euan and Annan and Elizabet, Saharie and ec Marie môdur xps. and eác thæ gebrôdhru Petrus and Paulus and eác thûsend thira engla. clîpige ic me tō âre vidh eallum feondum. Hi me fêrion and fridhion and mîne fêre nerion. eal me gehealdon, men gevealdon. Vorecs stîrende sî me vuldres hyht. hand ofer heáfod hâligra rôf sige-rôfra sceote sôdh-fâstra engla biddu ealle blîdhu môde thät me beo *hand ofer heáfod*. Matheus *helm*. Marcus *byrne* leoht lifes rôf. Lucas mîn *svurd* scearp and scîreg. *scild* Johannes vuldre gevlightegôd. vega Seraphin. Fordh ic gefare. frind ic gemête. eall engla blæd. eádiges lâre. bidde ic nu God sigere Godes miltse sidhfät gôdne. smylte and lihte vind veredhum vindas gefran circinde vâter simblige hâledhe vidh eallum feordum. Freond ic gemête, vidh thät ic on this älmihgian (sic) môte belocun vidh thâ lâdhan. se me lifes eht on engla blâ blæd gestathelôd, and inna hâlre hand hofnarices blæd, thâ hvile the ic on this life vunian môte. amen.

V. *Adjuratio contra grandinem.*

(Munich MS. of 11th cent., Cod. Tegerns. 372.)

Signo te *aer* nomine Domini adjuro te *diabole* et *angelos* tuos adjuro vos ut non feratis *grandinem* neque aliquam molestiam in terminum istum, et non habeatis dicere coram Deo, quia nemo vobis contradixerit. contradicat vobis Deus et Dei filius, qui est initium omnium creaturarum. contradicat vobis sancta Maria adjuro te *Mermeut*, cum sociis tuis, *qui positus es super tempestatem*, per illius nomen te adjuro, qui in principio fecit coelum et terram. adjuro te *Mermeut* per illius dexteram, qui Adam primum hominem ad imaginem suam plasmavit. adjuro te *Mermeut* per Jesum Christum filium Dei unicum conjuro te *daemon* et *satanas* te conjuro, ut non habeas hic potestatem in isto loco vel ini sto vico nocere nec damnum facere, nec tempestatem admittere nec pluviam valentissimam jacere, etc.

A German *weather-spell* in a later Munich MS. (Cgm. 734, f. 208) has: 'ich peut (bid) dir *Fasolt*, dass du das wetter verfirst (removest) mir und meinen nachpauren ân schaden (without hurt).'

VI. *For a sick Horse* (p. 1235).

(from Cod. Vindob. theol. 259, bottom of right-hand page.)

Petrus Michahel et Stephanus ambulabant per viam. sic dixit Michahel. Stephani equus infusus. signet illum Deus. signet illum Christus et erbam comedat et aquam bibat.

VII. *Contra malum malannum.*

(from a Bonn MS. of 1070-90, in Wackernagel's Wessobr. Gebet 67-70.)

Cum minimo digito circumdare locum debes ubi apparebit, his verbis :
ich bimniun dih *suam* pî Gode jouh pî Christe. Tunc fac crucem per
medium † et dic: daz tû niewedar ni gituo noh tolc noh tôt houpit.
item adjuro te per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum ut amplius non
crescas sed arescas.

VIII. *For a bloody flux.*

(Cod. Vindob. R. 3282, fol. 32. Twelfth cent.)

Dere hêligo Christ was geboren ee Betlehêm,
dannem quam er widere ee Jerusalêm,
dâ wart er getoufet vone Johanne
in demo Jordâne,
duo verstuont (stood still) der Jordânis fluz
unt der sîn runst.
alsô verstant dû *bluot-riinna*
durch des heiligen Christes minna,
dû verstant an der nôte,
alsô der Jordan tâte
duo der gnote *sce* Johannes
den heiligen Christ toufta.
verstant dû *bluot-riinna*
durch des heiliges Christes minna.

VIII^b. *Blessing on a Journey* (Diut. 2, 70).

Ic dir nâch sihe, ic dir nâch sendi mit mînen funf fingirin *funvi undi
funfzic engili*. Got dich gisundi heim gisendi. *offin* sî dir daz *sigi-dor*,
sami sî dir daz *slegi-dor*¹ (s.l. for 'selgidor'; query, sælde-dor?). *bislozin*
sî dir daz *wagi-dor*, sami sî dir daz *wâjin-dor*.² des guotin sandi Uolrichis
segin vor dir undi hindir dir undi obi dir undi nebin dir sî gidân, swâ dû
wonis (dwellest) undi swâ dû sîs, daz dâ alsî guot fridi sî, alsî dâ wæri, dâ
mîn frauwi sandi Marîe des heiligiu Cristes ginas (was recovering).

IX. *The same* (An Engelberg Cod.; Diut. 2, 293).

Herre see Michahêl hiute wis-tu (be thou) N. sîn *schilt* und sîn *sper*.
mîn frouwa sca Maria sî sîn *halsperge* (hanberk). hiute muoze er in deme
heiligin fride sîn, dâ Got inne wære, dô er in daz paradise châme. Herre
Got dû muozist in *bescirmin* vor wâge und vor wâfine, vor fiure, vor allen
sînen fiandin gesiunlichen und ungesiunlichen. er muoze also wol *gese-*

¹ Gate of the flood; conf. *Egi-dor*, vol. i. 239.

² Conf. MS. 2, 198^b: 'der frîiden tor ist zuo getân.'

ginôt sîn sô daz heilige wizzôt wære, daz mîn herre scē Johannes mîme herrin dem almehtigen Gote in den mund flôzte, do er'n in deme Jordâne toufte. amên.

In nomine Domini. daz heilige lignum domini *gisegine* mich hiute, undenân und obenân, *mîn bâch sî mir beinîn, mîn herze sî mir stâhelîn, mîn houbet sî mir steinîn* (my belly of bone, heart of steel, head of stone). der guote scē Severîn der phlege mîn, der guote scē Petir unde der guote scē Stephan *gesegineigin* mich hiute for allir mînir fiande gewâfine. in nomine Dei patris et Filii et spiritus sancti. also milte und also linde (soft) muozistu hiute sîn úfin mîme lîbe (body) swert und aller slahte gesmîde, sô miner frouwun scē Mariun sweiz (sweat) wære, dô si den heiligin Crist gebære. Pater noster.

X. *From a Munich MS. (Hoffm. Fundgr. 343).*

Ich slief mir hiute suoze
 datz mînes Trehtîns fuozen.
 daz heilige himel-chint
 daz sî hiute mîn *frîde-schilt*.
 daz heilige himelchint bat mich hiut úf stan,
 in des namen und gnâde wil ich hiut úf gân,
 und wil mih hiute gurten
 mit des heiligen Gotes worten,
 daz mir allez daz holt sî (be gracious)
 daz in dem himel sî,
 diu *sunne* und der *mâne*
 und der *tage-sterne* scône.
 mîns gemuotes bin ih hiute balt,
 hiute springe ih, Herre, in dînen gewalt
 sant Marien lîchemede
 daz sî hiute mîn *frîd-hemedede*.
 aller mîner viende gewâfen
 diu ligen hiute unde slâfen
 und sîn hiut alsô palwahs
 als wære miner vrouwen sant Marien vahs,
 dô si den heiligen Christum gebære,
 und doch ein reiniu mait wære.
 mîn *houpt* sî mir hiute *stalîn*,
 deheiner slahte (no kind of) wâfen snîde dar in.
 mîn swert eine wil ih von dem *segen* sceiden (exempt from the
 spell),
 daz snîde und bîze allez daz ih ez heize,
 von mînen hauden
 und von niemen andern ;
 der heilige himel-trût
 der sî hiute mîn *halsperge* guot.

XI. *Tobias's blessing on Tobit's journey.*(Braunswg. nachr. 1755, p. 321. Hoffm. Fundgr. 261).¹

Der guote hêrre sante Tobías,
 der Gotes wîzage (prophet) was,
 sînen lieben sun er sande
 sô verre in vremdiu lande.
 sîn sun was ime vile liep,
 unsanfte er von ime schiet (parted),
 umbe in was im vil leide (very sad),
 er sande in uber vierzec tage-weide (40 days' journey).
 Er sprach: "der Got der vor niemen verborgen (hidden ist,
 und des eigen schale (servant) dû bist,
 der an niemanne wenket (is faithless),
 die armen vil wol bedenket,
 der müeze dich hinte behüeten
 durch sîne vaterlîche güete
 über velt, durch walt
 vor aller næte manec-valt,
 vor hunger und gevørde.
 Got müeze mîn gebete erhœren,
 sô dû slâfest oder wachest
 in holze oder under dache.
 dîn vîende werden dir gevriunt,
 Got sende dich heim vil wol gesunt
 mit vil guotem muote
 hin heim zuo dînem eigen-guote.
gesegenet sî dir der wec (way),
 uber strâze nnd uber stec,
 dâ vor und dâ hinden
 gesegenen dich des Hêrren vînf wunden.
 ictweder halben dar en eben
 gestê dir der himelische degen.
 in Gotes vride dû var,
 der heilige engel dich bewar.
 der *lîp* (body) sî dir *beinîn*,
 ez *herze* sî dir *steinîn*,
 ez *houbet* sî dir *stechelîn*,
 der *himmel* sî dir *schiltîn*,
 diu helle sî dir vor versperret,
 allez übel sî vor dir verirret (miss its way),
 ez paradîs sî dir offen,
 alliu wâfen sî vor dir verslozzen (shut up),
 daz si daz vil gar vermîden (avoid)
 daz dich ir dekeinez steche noch en-snîde (nono prick or cut).

¹ First 4 lines borrowed; see Eschenbg's Denkm. p. 279. Tobias segenspr. H. Sachs 1, 439^d.

der mâne und ouch diu sunne
 diu liuhten dir mit wunne.
 des heiligen geistes siben gebe
 lâzen dich mit heile leben.
 der guote sante Stephan
 der alle sîn nôt überwant (overcame his trouble)
 der gestê dir bî (stand by thee),
 swâ dir dîn nôt kunt sî.
 die heiligen zwelf boten (apostles)
 die êren (commend) dich vor Gote,
 daz dich diu herschaft gerne sehe.
 allez liep mûeze dir geschehen.
 sante Johannes und die vier êvangeliste
 die râten dir daz beste,
 mîn frouwe sante Marie
 diu hêre unde vrîe.
 mit des heiligen Kristes bluote
 werdest dû geheiliget (ze guote),
 daz dîn sêle (sô dû sterbest)
 des himel-rîches niht verstôzen werde
 nâch den weltlîchen êren.
 Got gesegne dich dannoch mêre.
 sante Galle dîner spîse pflêge (thy food prepare),
 sante Gêrtrût dir guote herberge gebe (lodging give).
 sælec sî dir der lîp (body),
 holt (kind) sî dir man unde wîp,
 guot rât (counsel) dir iemer werde,
 daz dû gâhes lôdes (sudden death) niene ersterbest."

Alsô segente der guote
 Santobîas sînen sune,
 und sande in dô in ein lant,
 ze einer stat, diu hiez ze Mêdiân,
 diu burc diu hiez ze Râges:
 sît wart er vil frô des.

Got sande in heim vil wol gesunt
 mit vil guotem muote
 hin heim ze sînem eigen-guote.
 Alsô mûezest dû hiute gesegenet
 des helfen hiute die heiligen namen drî,
 des helfe hiute diu wîhe,
 mîn liebe vrouwe Marie,
 des helfen mir alliu diu kint
 diu in dem himel-rîche sint,
 und der guote Santobîas
 und sîn heiliger trût-sun. amen.

XII. *For stolen goods.*¹

(MS. of 1347 at Sant Paul in the Lavant valley.)

Darnach dise nachgende gebette, daz soltu dri-stunt sprechen in eim gadem (chamber), daz dich niemen irre (disturb), so *kument darin engel* und sagent dir daz du fragest :

“Der heilig Crist vuor von himele mit engeln manegen, do fuort er an sinen henden en Frones-bilde (Lord's image). under einem boume er geraste (rested), do entslief er so vaste. do komen die leidigen diebe, und verstalen im sin Frones bilde. do er erwachte, trurete er so vaste. do sprach diu genedige min frowe sant Marie, ‘des sol guot rat werden, wir sulen uf diser erden von dem heiligen kinde daz dink noch hi-naht (to-night) vinden.’—Sabaoth Herre, ich bitte dich durch din einborn sun Jesum Christum, daz du vergebest mir min sünde, und gib mir ein guot ende. Jesu Crist, des waren Gotes sun du bist. ich bit dich, und man dich, daz du dis dinges verrihtest mich.”

Disen selben segen maht du ouch sprechen, so dir oder eim andern diner guten fründen *üt* (aught) *verstolen wirt*, daz gar schedelich si und redelich, nüt nmb kleine üppig sache, nuwent da ez noturfug und redelich si; wände (for) so di segen ie edeler und ie besser sint, ie minre (the less) sü helfent da man sü bruchet unnotdurftelich (spells lose their virtue if used on trifling occasions).

XIII. *Exorcism of Gout* (MS. at Göttweich; of 1373).

Ich virbeden dir, gycht, bi der heylgir wandillungin. vnd bi den heylgin V wunden vnsers herren Jesu Christi. vnd bi deme bluode dat Gote vyt (out of) sinen V wunden ran. vnd bi dem erstin menschin dat Got vf erden ye gemacht, oder ye liz geborren werden. Ich virbeden dir bi den *drin nagelin*, de Gode durch sine hende vnd durch sine vusze vrde geslagen. Ich virbeden dir bi den *vyer hulden* (4 gracious ones) *de da stuonden vf zweyjn vuoszin* vnd sprachin vys (out of) zweyir muodir libe, ‘wer si bede van rechtir lybden, vmme allis dat mogelich is, des wulden si in geweren.’ dat was Maria, Godis muodir, vnd was Jesus Christns. vnd was min frauwe sancte Elsebe, vnd was myn herre sancte Johannes der denfir. Ich virbeden dir bi deme bebinden vrdeil (varying verdicts) das Got wil gebin ubir mich vnd ubir alle doden und lebenden. Ich virbedin dir bi deme fronen cruce vnsers herren Jesu Christi, da he de martil ayn leyt (suffered) durch mich vnd alle cristeneyt. Ich virbedin dir bi der gotligir kraft de da ist in hymil vnd in erden, dat da mir Godes knegthe (servant) nyt in-schades an allen minen glederen (limbs), an haubde, an hirne, an augen, an cenden (teeth), an armen, an henden, an vingeren, an rippen, an rucke, an lenden, an huffin (back, loins, hips), an beynen, an vuozin, an cein (toes), an aderen (veins), noch an allen, da ich mich mach keren (may turn) oder wenden. Des helfe mir de Godis kraft, vnd dat heylge graf, da Got selve inne lach (lay), da her bebede (quaked) allit dat da was. Pylatus sprach, ‘hais du gesugthe odir gegichte?’ neyn, ich in-han sin nyt.—It sy frauwe oder

¹ Nos. XII. XIII. XIV. communic. by Hoffmann.

man, der düse wort ubir yme dreyt, der sal sigchir sin (may be sure) dat in de geuchte nummer gelemen kan (never can lame). Ich geleufe dat keyn wif noch keyn man, der düse wort ubir sprechen kan. want der sunder (for the sinner) an deme cruce genade gewan. De mach mich Godis knegt N. gesunt an selen und an libe, as Maria was, do si irs lieben kyndis genas (got well). amen.

XIV. *Herdsmen's charm* (see p. 1241).

XV. *For the blowing Worm* (Cod. Pal. 367, 173^b).

Dis ist eyn guter *seyn vor den blasinden worm*: "Der gute herre senthe Iob der lak in deme miste. her clagete deme heilge Criste, wi syn gebeyne essen die worme cleyne. Do sprach der heilge Crist. wen nymandt besser ist. ich gebite (bid) dir, *worm*, du siest wies (white) adir swartz, geel adir gruene adir roet. in desir stundt siestu in dem pferde toet. in Gotis namen amen." Nota. man sal das pferdt nennen alz is geharet is (by hue of hair; see XXXV).—Dis ist eyn *seyn vor den pirczil*:¹ "Horestu, *worm* yn fleische und in beyne. vornem was das heilge euangelium meyne. du seist weis, swartz adir geel, grüne adir roet. der gebutet myn herre senthe Iob in desir stunt siestu in dessem pferde toet. in Gotis namen amen." Nota. man sal deme pferde treten uf den vorder-fuss, und sal ym runen (whisper) in das rechte oer desen segn (conf. RA. 589).

XVI. *Conjuring a magic Horse* (Cod. Pal. 212, 45^b).

Wiltu machen ein pferd das dich trag wo du wilt, so nymb ein plut von einer fledermaus (blood of a bat). wen es dan nacht ist, so *gang zu einem haus heimlich an das ende sin*. und schreib an die haus-tur und die in namen omnii. geapha. diado. wen du si geschriben hast, so gang dan ein weil, und kom dan herwider, so findestu ein ros bereit *mit satl und mit zaum* (bridle) und mit allem gezeuge. Wen du dan uf das ros wilt sitzen, so *tritt mit dem rechtem fuss in den linken stegreif*, und sprich die beschwerung: "Ich beschwer dich, ros, bei dem Vater und bei dem Sone und bei dem heiligen Geist, und bei dem schepfer himelreichs und erdreichs, der alle ding aus nichts gemacht hat. Ich beschwer dich, ros, bei dem lebendigen Got und bei dem waren Got, bei dem heiligen Got, das du an meinem leib noch an meiner sel noch an meinen glidern nit geschaden mugst, noch mit keinerlei hindernus." So sitz frolich uf das pferd, und solt dich nit segen, und forcht dich nit. Wan du komst an di stat do du gern werest, so *nymb den zaumb vnd grab in under die erden*. Wan du das ros wilt haben, so nymb den zaumb und *schutel in vast*, so komt das ros. So beschwer es aber (again) als vor, und sitz doruff und rit wo du wilt, und *lug* (look) *das du den zaumb wol behaltest* (keepest). verleurstu den zaumb, so mustu das pferd wider machen.²

¹ *Bürzel, gun-birzel*. Frisch 1, 157^c. 383^a.

² Conf. *supra*, Hartlieb, p. 1768. The importance of bit and bridle in magic horses is seen in the story of King Beder in the Arabian Nights.

XVII. *Conjuring the Hedge-stick.*¹

Geh zu einem zaun-stecken und sprich: *Zaunstecken, ich weck dich!* min lieb das wolt ich. ich beger (desire) vil mer, dan aller teufel her (host). Her zu mir, so rür ich dich zaunstecken. alle teufel müssen dich wecken, und füren (lead thee) in das haus, do mein lieb get in und aus. dass du müssest faren in die vier wend (4 walls), wo sich mien lieb hin ker (turn) oder wend! es ist aller eren wol wert. ich send ir einen *bock* (zumpfert). Ich ruf ench heut alle gleich. bei den *drei negehn* reich. und bei dem rosen-farben blut, das Gott aus seinen heiligen wunden floss. ich beut (bid) ench teufel her. ir bringet zu mir mein lieb N. her, *zwischen* (twixt) *himel und erden, das es nit berür* (touch) *die erden, fürt es ob allen baumen her*, als man Maria thet, do si fur in ires Kindes reich."—Und nim die characteres alle zu dir, und blas dreimal auf die hant, und schlage dreimal gegen in (them), so mügen sie dir nit geschaden.

XVIII. *Against Wolves, etc.*

Christ sun gieng unter thür, mein frau Maria trat herfür: 'Heb uf Christ sun dein hand, und verseggen mir das viech und das land, das *kein wolf beiss*, und *kein wulp stoss*, und kein dieb komm in das gebiet. Du herz trutz markstein, hilf mir das ich kom gesunt und gevertigt heim!' (Conf. XL^b.)

XIX. *Das die Wolf das viech nit essen.*

Ich beschwer dich, *Wolf-zan* (-tooth), bei dem vil heiligen namen, und bei dem vil heiligen Barn, den unser liebe frau trug an irem arm, das du noch alle dein genossen das viech nit beissen noch stossen. Es muss dis nacht sein als war und als vast, als das heilig paternoster was, das Got aus seinem munde sprach.

XX. *On Going Out.*

Hude (to-day) wil ich uf sten, in den heiligen friden wil ich gen, do unser liebe frane in gieng, do sie den heiligen Crist inphieng. Noch hute wil ich mich gorten (gird) mit den heiligen funf worten, mit den heiligen sigeringen, mit allen guten dingen. *Allez daz dayes alt sy daz sy mir holt!* unser lieben frauwen zunge sy aller miner fiende münde! amen.

XXI. *For a Journey.*

Ich dreden hude (I tread to-day) uf den phat, den unser herre Jesus Cristus drat. der si mir also süss und also gut! nu helfe mir sin heilges rose-farbes blut, und sin heilge funf wunden, das ich nimmer werde gefangen oder gebunden! von allen minen fienden mich behude, daz helfe mir die here hude (heavenly care), vor fließen, vor

¹ Nos. XVII-XXXVII from Mone's Anzeiger for 1834, p. 277; the same Anz. for '34, p. 46, has a Wound-spell and a Blood-spell from a Wolfenb. MS.; and those for '33, p. 234, and '37, p. 464, a spell against sorcery, and a few against fire.

swerten und vor schiessen, vor aller slacht ungehüre, vor schnoder gesellschaft und abentüre; das alle mine bant von mir enbunden werde zu hant (at once), also unser here Jesus inbunden wart, do er nam die himelfart!

XXII. *Ain schöner segen, alle Sebtemer zu thun.*

Am Mantag vor der Fronfasten (ember-week). der Mantag is kräftiger dan die Fronfasten. *vor aufgang der sonne, unbeschrauen.* sprich also: "Hier ein, in dese hof-stat gehe ich 'nein. solche land beschliesst (encloses) Got mit seiner aignen hand. er beschliesst sie also fest mit dem süssen Jesu Crist, disen gibel oben und disen gibel unden. diser gibel unden, der ist mit engeln uberzogen verbunden. *Feuer vom dach, dieb vom loch, rauber vor der thür!* unser liebe frau trit heut selbst dafür, das ave-maria sei vor der thür, das paternoster der rigel (bolt) dafür. und was der lieb h. Lorenz hat gegert, das hat der heilig Crist bewert, das niemant stärker ist dan der heilig Crist, der gehe herein und nemb was hier innen ist. im namen † † † amen." 15 pat., 15 ave, und credo.

XXIII. *Against Hail.*

Item, *mach den pfeil (i.e. figure of an arrow) auf die erden gegen dem wetter,* oder auf ein deller (plate), und setz in gegen dem wetter; und nim ein weich-brun (holy-water pot), und spritz dreu kreuz gegen dem wetter im namen, u. s. w. und sprich: "Ich peut (bid) dir, *schaur und hagl,* in der kraft der *heilgen drei nagl,* die Jesu Cristo durch sein heilge hend und fuss wurden geschlagen, er du kumbst zu der erd, das du zu wind und wasser werd, im namen etc." mach dreu kreuz mit dem weich-brun gegen das wetter.

XXIV. *For a Fire.*

Wellent ir feuer leschen (quench), so sprechent wie hernach folgt; auch *das ir ain prant (brand) von demselbigen feuer in der hand habt,* wo aber solliches mit beschehn mücht, sol es dannacht mit andacht gesprochen werden: "Unser lieber herr Jesus Christus gieng uber land, und er fand einen riechenden prant, den hneb er uf mit seiner gotlichen haut, und geseget disen riechenden prant, das er nimer weiter kum. in dem namen etc." und darzue bett 5 p. 5 a. 1 cr.

XXV. *Against Fire.*

Wer feuer verhüet, dass sein haus und statel nit pinnent werd, der mach alweg mit der hand ein kreuz, und sprech wie hernach folgt: "*Mein haus das sei mir umbeschwaifen mit engelischen raifen,* mein haus sei mir bedeckt mit einer englischer deck! das helf mir Gotes minn, der sei alzeit haus-vater und wirt darin!"

XXV^b. *For a Fire.*

Sprich: "*Feuer*, ich gepeut (bid) dir in dem namen Jesu, das du nit weiter kumest. *behalt* (hold in) *dein funk und flammen*, wie Maria ir jungfrauschaft und er (honour) behalten hat vor allen mamen. das sei dem feuer zue puess zelt (counted as quittance) in namen etc."

XXVI. *Against Fever.*

Zwig, ich *buck dich*, *Rett nû mid mich* (twig, I bend thee, fever, void me)¹ bi dem heiligen nagel, der unserm lieben herren Cristo Jesu durch sin rechten hand ward geschlagen! und als menig blûts-tropf dar-von ran, als meniger *rett mid mich*, und gang mir ab! im namen u. s. w.

XXVII. *Against Diseases.*

Ich stand uf den mist (dunghill), und ruf zu werden Crist, das er mir buss (rid me of) die rechten *sporen-fuss*, und das *heupt-gescheub* und den *herz-ritten*, und allen seinen sitten, und *gel-sucht* und *sibenzich gesucht*; und ist ir keiner mer (any more), den buss mir Gott der herre, und gang aus her *ruck-bein*, und gang aus her *ripp*, und gang ab in das wilt zorach! das buss dir der man, der den tot an dem heiligen creuz nam.

XXVIII. *Against the Worm.*

"Ich beschwör dich, *Wurm* und *Würmin*, bei der waren Gottes minn, und bei der waren Gothait gut, das dein aiter (matter) und dein blut werd lauter und auch rain (pure) als unser lieben frauen gspint, die sie gab Jesu Crist irem lieben kint! im namen Got des vaters etc." Item, *nim den gerechten dumen* (right thumb) *in die gerechte hant*.

XXIX. *The Same.*

"*Wurm*, bist du dinne, so beut ich dir bei sant . . . minne, du seiest weiss, schwarz oder rot, dass du hie ligest tot!" Ist's ain vich (animal), so streichend im mit der rechten hand über den rucken ab. ist's dan ain mensch, so *nemend in den finger* (take his f.) *in die hand*. und sprechend 5 vatter unser, 5 ave Maria und ain globen (belief).

XXX. *Against Aque.*

Grüss dich Gott, vil-heiliger tag! nimm mir mein 77 *kalt-wee* ab; is eben einer drunder, der nit zu erbitten ist, so nem mir's der lieb herr Jesus Crist, der am heiligen frau-kreuz verstorben ist. in dem namen u. s. w.

XXXI. *To be worn under the right arm 24 hours.*

Es giengen drei selige brüder aus in guter frist (time),² begegnet inen herr Jesus Christ. unser lieber herr Jesus Christ sprach: 'Wo welent ir hin!'—'Wir welent hinter den zaun (hedge), wir welent *suchen das*

¹ *Rett* = rite (febris). 'Mit der metten dû mich *mit*!' Koloez 263.

² A spell in Keisersp. Ameis 50^a begins: 'Es giengen drei brüder über feld.'

kraut (seek the herb) das zue allen wunden guet ist. es sei gleich *gehauen* oder *gestochen* (a cut or a stab). Unser lieber herr J. Cr. sprach: 'Gant auf Messias berg, nement die wol von denen schafen, und das moes von denen steinen, und das öl von denen bemen.' druck darein und darauf, so heilt die wunde von grund auf, es sei gleich *gehauen* oder *gestochen* oder *brochen*, wie es möcht ergangen sein, so sol es weder *geschwelen* oder *schweren* (swell nor fester), sol auch keines eiters begeren (conf. XXXIX). Wie Lucas auf Severines-berg hat gesprochen, wie die Juden unsern herrn J. Chr. umb unschult haben gestochen. das walt Got der vatter u. s. w.

XXXII. *A fine charm for Stanching Blood.*

In unsers herren Gottes herz da *stuenden* (stood) drei rosen. die erst ist sein dugent, die ander ist sein vermögen, die dritt ist sein will—*Pluet steh still!* im namen u. s. w.

Another: Longinus der man, der unserm herren Jesu Crist sein gerechte seiten hat auf-getan (opened), daraus raun wasser und bluet—ich beschwöre dich, *bluet*, durch desselbigen bluets ehre, das du *nimer bluetest mere!* im namen u. s. w.

Another: O Got, der immer ewig ist, der aller menschen hilf und trost ist—ich бүt dir, *blüt*, das du *stil standist*, als die menschen am jungsten tag (last day) *still stan* müssend, die nicht nach Gottes willen hant getan (have done).

XXXIII. *For the Nail in a horse's eye.*

Welches ros (whose horse) den *nagel* het in dem ougen, der sol ain stro nemen ain nacht, als dick er mag, und sol im sin atem (breath) in das oug nüchter kuchen (breathe, fasting), und sol mit seinem finger gen dem oug grifen, und sol sprechen: "Ich gebüt dir's, *Nagel*, bi dem vil hailgen Gottes grab, da Got in selber lag unz an (until) den hailgen Oster-tag, das du verschwinist, *Nagel*, und dörrest (dwindle and dry up), als die Juden taten, die verschwinend und verdorrenden. das gebüt der Vatter u. s. w."

XXXIV. *For the Worm in horses.*

Welches ros (whose horse) die würm in dem gederm (guts) hat, und in dem magen, der sol das ros mit seinem linken fuss stossen, und sol sprechen: "*Wurm*, und al di *würm*, die in dem ros sind, das euch des ros lib, flaisch, gederm und bain also laid sige (as loathsome be) ze niessen und ze bruchen, und euch das als unmar (distasteful) sig, als unserm Herren ains *pfaffen wip*, die *des tüfels velt-merch* (field-mare) *ist*, als was müssent ir (so surely may ye) in dem ros-flaisch sterben. das gebüt euch u. s. w."

Welches ros den *uss-werfenden* (vomiting) *wurm* hat, der sol sprechen: "Ich gebüt euch, *wurm* und *würmin*, das du des rosses flaisch und bain und al sin lip [lassest], das dir darin sig als wind und als we, und dir darinne sig als laid, als S. Petern was unsers Herren marter, do er vor den richtern und den Juden floch; dar dir darinne werd als we, unz das er das wort

gespräch, das S. Peter sprach, do er ze Rom ze dem ersten in das münster trat; das ir uss dem ros fliessend, oder aber heruss fallend, oder in dem ros sterbend, und ewer d'heiner nimmer lebend werde. das gebüt euch der man der die marter und den tod laid (suffered)."

XXXV. *For a Horse.*

Item ain pfärt, das sich *strichet*, so züch es unter den himel an ainem Sontag frü vor der sunnen ufjang, und ker dem ros den kopy gegen der sunnen, und leg dine zwen dumen (thumbs) crüz-wis iber ain ander, und halt die hend nmb den fuss, doch *das sie den fuss nit an rüren* (not touch), und sprich: "Longinus war ain Jud, das ist war. er stach unsern Herrn in sein siten, das ist war (und nem das pfärd bei der varb), das si dir für das streichen güt!"

XXXVI. *On losing a Horse-shoe.*

Item ain pfärd, das ain isen verliert, so nim ain brot-messer (bread-knife), und nmb-schmit in den huf an den wenden von ainer fersen (heel) zû der ander, und leg im das messer crüz-wis uf die solen, und sprich: "Ich gebüt dir, *huf* und *horn*, das du als lützel zerbrechist, als Got der herr die wort zerbraech, do er himel und erd beschlüf." Und die wort sprich dri-stunt nach einander, und 5 pat. n. und 5 ave Maria ze lob; so trit das pfärd den huf mit hin, bis das du glichwol zû ainem schmit komen magst.

XXXVII. *Wo man die Milch stelt.*

Nimb weich-wasser (holy water) und spreng's in den stall, nimb gunreben (ground-ivy), geweicht salz und mer-linsen (duckweed): ich gib dir hent gunreben, merlinsen und salz; *gang uf durch die wolken und bring mir schmalz und milich und molken!*

XXXVIII.¹ *Against the Holdichen.*

Fahr aus, und fahr ein in N. wie bist du hereingekommen? du sollt gedenken, dass du da wieder heraus kommst. wer dich herein gebracht hat, soll dich wiederum herausbringen, er sei *hei* oder *sei*; und sollt einen beweis (sign) von dir geben, dass man siehet, dass du hinweg bist.

Another: Das walte Got und der teufel! fahr hin da du nutze bist, und thu wie ich empfangen habe!

Another: *Alle in und alle ut!* so spricht die liebe jungfrau sente Gerdrut.

Another: Wolauf *elb* und *elbin*, *zwer*g und *zwer*gin, unterwärts und oberwärts. du sollst zu dem und dem, du sollst *seine beine necken* (torment), du sollst *sein fleisch schmecken*, du sollst *sein blat trinken*, und *in die erde sinken!* in aller teufel namen.

Another: Du *elben* und du *elbime*, mir ist gesagt, du kannst *den künig von der künigin bringen*, und *den vogel von dem nest*. du sollst noch ruhen

¹ Nos. XXXVIII. XXXIX. from Voigt's Quedlinburg Witch-trials.

noch rasten, du kommst denn unter den busch, das du den menschen keinen schaden thust.

Another: Op nnsers Gottes berge ist unsers herrn Gottes born (well), in unsers herrn Gottes born ist unsers herrn Gottes nap (bowl), in unsers herrn Gottes nappe ist unsers herrn Gottes appel, liegt sente Johannis evangelium, das benimt einem (rids one of) die *bösen dinger*. der liebe Gott wolle helfen, dass es vergehe, und nicht bestehe!

Another: Joseph und gardian die giengen vor Gott den herrn stan; da sie vor Gott den herrn kamen, trauerte (sorrowed) Joseph also sehere. Es sprach Gott mein herre: 'Joseph, warum trauerst du so sehr?'—'Die *untersen kleine* wollen ausfaulen (the nderground tinies want to rot) mein fleisch und meine beine.'—'Ich verbiede es den *untersen kleinen*, das sie nicht ausfaulen mein fleisch und meine beine!'¹

Another: Die heiligen Drei Könige giengen über das feld, do *mutten ihnen* (met them) *alp* und *elbin*.² *Albinne*, das solt du nicht thun, kehre wieder um.' im namen u. s. w.

Another: *Hebbe-mutter* und *hoch-mutter*, lege still ein deinem blode, als Jesus ging in seiner mutter schote.

XXXIX. *Against Diseases.*

Unser herr Jesus Christus und dieser wasser-fluss. ich verbüsse dir, *sieben und siebenzig schuss* (77 shot); *sieben und siebenzig seuche*, die seind mehr denn wir verbüssen; weichen von diesem geruch (?) *neunerlei geschuss!* das sei dir zur busse gezählet (counted as quittance). im namen etc.

Es giengen drei Salomen über einen öl-berg, sie giengen über eine grüne aue, da begegnet ihnen Marie unse liebe fraue: 'Wohin ihr drei Salomen?'—'Wei willen hen-gahn ut, und *seuken* mangerlei *god krut* (see XXXI), dat *stikt nicht*, dat *brikt nicht*, dat *killt nicht*, dat *swillt nicht*.' im namen u. s. w.

Unse leve frue ging still over land. se gesegene desen *hilligen brand*, dat he *nich quillt* oder *schwillt* und *inworts fritt!*

Wollet ihr hören des Herrn wunder grot, da Jesus Christus von Marien auf den erdboden schot, in einer hilligen spangen, damit sie den herren Jesum Christ empfangen. sie trug ihn unterm herzen vierzig wochen ohne schmerzen, sie trug ihn gen Betlehem in die stadt, da Jesus drinne geboren ward. Sie schickten ihn über das wilde meer, es wäre noth sie hinter ihn kämen, drei scharfe dornen mit sich nähmen. das eine was de harte nagel, de ward dem heiligen Christ durch hände und füsse geschlagen. Die falschen Juden waren oft behende (quick), sie warfen ihm ein dornen kron auf sein haupt, dass ihm sein rosin-farbnes blaut durch seinen braunen bart floss. Johannes thät einen hellen schrei: 'Hilf Gott, mir bricht mein herz entzwei. die mutter Gottes will gar verderben, J. Christus wird gar am kreuze sterben.' Wie he do gestorben was, do verwandelt sich laub und gras, und alles was auf dem erdboden was. Ut welken munde (out of

¹ A similar formula in the little Book of Romanus (Görres's Volksbücher, p. 205).

² The orig. has absurdly 'alfinadi alfinie,' evid. for the L. Sax. *alf indi elfin*.

whose mouth) dies gebet wird gesprochen, der wird (may he be) *nicht gehauen* oder *gestochen*, dem wird *kein haus verbrant*, kein jungfräulich herz wird auch zu schanden, keiner frauen . . . gelungen! das helf mich Gott und seine heiligen fünf wunden.

XL. *Fragm. of a prayer against Fire and Tempest.*

(Andr. Gryphius' *Horribiliter*. p. 768.)

Das walte der es walten kann! Matthes gang ein, Pilatus gang aus, ist eine arme seele drans (i.e., out of hell). 'Arme seele, wo kommst du her (from)?'—'Aus regen und wind, *aus dem feurigen ring*.'

XL.^b *Beginning of a Spell* (14th cent.).

Unser Herr saz und stunt nder der kirch-tür, da kam sein lieb traud muter gangen (herfür): 'Draut son, mein herre, wie siezest du trawren so sere?'—'Ach, herzen-liebew muter mein, solt ich nit trawrig sein?' Da kom ich an *bulwechs perg* gangen, da *schoz mich der bulwechs*, da *schoz mich die bulwechsin*, da *schoz mich als ir hin-gesind* (all their household), etc. Conf. XVIII.

XLI. *For a Fire.*

A fire can be charmed, if he that speaks the charm *ride three times round the flame*; it will then go out. But the third time, *the fire makes a rush at him*, and if it catch him, he is lost.—'Feuer, stand stille um der worte willen, die S. Lorenz sprach, da er den feurigen rost ansach (looked at the burning gridiron).'

Another: 'Gott grüsse dich, *liebes feuer*, mit deiner flamme ungeheuer! das gebeut (bids) dir der heilige mann Jesus, du solt stille stan, und mit der flamme nit für bass gan (no further go)! im namen etc.'

Another: 'Feuer-glut, du sollst *stille stehn*, und wie das liebe Marien-kind die marter am kreuze hat ausgestanden, der hat um unserer sünde willen all *still gestanden*.'—While uttering these words three times, one shall take a little earth from under one's right (or left) foot, and cast it in the fire (conf. a Danish spell in Nyerup's *Morskabsl.* 200).

XLII. *Against Elbe.*

Ich beschwöre dich, *alb*, der du augen hast wie ein kalb, *rücken wie ein teig-trog*, weise (shew) mir deines herren hof!

Ihr *elben*, sitzet feste, *weicht* (budge) *nicht aus eurem neste!* Ihr *elben*, ziehet fort, weicht bald an andern ort!

Im thume steht die rosenblume, sie ist weder braun noch fahl. so müssen die *läuf-dinger* (hip or thigh elben) zersteuben und zerfahren (disperse), und kommen der hirtischen Margareten in's teufels namen an! (Carpzov's *Pract. rer. crim.*, pars 1, quæst. 50, p. 420).

In *burying her elben*, the witch puts a little wax, some threads of flax, and some cheese and bread in the grave with them, and accompanies the

action with the words: 'Da, *elben*, da, wringet das *wachs*, spinnet das *flachs*, esset den *käse*, esset das *brot*, und lasst mich ohne noth!' (Elias Casp. Reichardt's Verm. beitr. 3, 369).

XLIII. *For Fever, etc.*

Fieber hin, fieber her! lass dich blicken nimmer mehr! fahr der weil in ein wilde au! das schafft dir ein alte frau. Turtel-täubchen ohne gallen; kalte gichtchen, du sollst fallen!

For worm in the finger. Gott vater fährt gen acker, er ackert fein wacker, er ackert *würme* heraus. einer war weiss, der ander schwarz, der dritte roth; hie liegen alle *würme* todt.

For ulcered lungs. Scher dich fort, du schändliches *brust-geschwür*, von des Kindes rippe, gleich wie die kuh von der krippe! (see Superst. 873).

For barm-grund. To uproot this eruption, wash in a pool where cats and dogs are drowned, saying the words: 'In dit water, worin versupen manch katt und hund, darin still ik di barmgrund. im namen u. s. w.' (Schütze's Holst. Id. 1, 70).

XLIV. *For the Gout.*

Before daybreak on the first of May, the gouty man must go into the wood, there silently let three drops of his blood sink *into the split of a young pine*, and having closed up the opening with wax from a virgin beehive, must cry aloud: 'Give you good morning, *Madam Pine*, here I bring you the *gout* so fine; what I have borne a year and a day, you shall bear for ever and aye! Earth's dew may drench you, and heaven's rain pour, but *gout* shall pinch you for evermore!' (Ernst Wagner's A B C eines henneberg. fiebel-schützen, Tüb. 1810, p. 229).

XLV. *For Women in Labour.*

Unser liebe frau und unser lieber herr Jesus Christ giengen mit einander durch die stadt: 'Ist niemand hier der mein bedarf (has need of me)? Liegt ein krankes weib, sie liegt in Kindes banden. Gott helf ihr und ihrem lieben kind von einander! das thu herr Jesu Christ, der schliess auf (may he unlock) schloss, eisen und bein!'—Conf. the following in Mone's Anz. for 1834, p. 278: Ich bitte dich, Maria und Jesu Christ, das mir das schloss verschlossen ist, der Maria ruhet unter ir brust, das mir das schloss wider uf wisch (fly open).

XLVI. *To forget Women* (conf. ON. *ô-minnis-öl*).

Ich weiss wol wo du bist, ich sende dir den vater herrn Jesu Christ, ich sende dir der treusten boten drei (three messengers), die auf erden und himmel sind, den einen in dein gemüte, den andern in dein geblüte, den dritten in deines herzens block: Gott gebe dass *alle weiber und mägde in deinem herzen verstocken* (moulder)! Ich sende dir den süssen herrn Jesum, den süssen herrn Christum, die stumpfen *nügel drei*, die Gott dem

¹ Many such beginnings, e.g.: 'Christ and his mother came out of a wood, went over field and went over land, up hill, down hill, faggot in hand, etc.'

herrn wurden geschlagen, den einen durch seine hände, den einen durch seine füsse, den dritten durch sein herze: Gott gebe dass du müssest *vergessen alle weiber in deinem herzen!* im namen etc.

XLVII. *To stop Thieves.*¹

Wie Maria im kinde-bette lag, drei engel ihr da pflagen (tended). der erste hiess S. Michael, der ander S. Gabriel, der dritte hiess S. Rafael. da kamen die falschen Juden, und wollten ihr liebes kindlein stehlen. Da sprach Maria: 'S. Petre, bind!'—Petrus sprach: 'Ich hab gebunden mit Jesu banden, mit Gottes selbst-eignen (very own) handen.' Wer mir ein diebstal thut stehlen, der muss stehn bleiben wie ein stock, über sich sehen wie ein block. wann er mehr kann zählen (count) als sterne am himmel stehn, alle schnee-flocken, alle regentropfen, wann er das alles kann thun, mag er mit dem gestolen gut hin-gehn wo er will. wann er's aber nicht kann, so *soll er stehn bleiben mir zu einem pfand* (pledge), bis ich mit meinen leiblichen augen über ihn sehe, und ihm ur-laub (leave) gebe, wieder zu gehn.

XLVIII. *To root one to the spot.*

Hier stand so fest, als der baum hält sein äst (boughs), als der nagel in der wand (wall), durch Jesum Marien sohn; dass du weder schreitest noch reitest, und kein gewehr (weapon) ergreifst! In des Höchsten namen sollt du stehn.

XLIX. *The Same.*

Ich thu dich anblicken, drei bluts-tropfen sollen dich erschrieken in deinem leibe, der erste mit einer leber, der zweite mit einer zunge, der dritte mit einer mannes kraft. Ihr reitet oder geht zu fuss, gebunden sollt ihr sein so gewiss und so fest, als der baum hält seine äst (boughs), und der ast hält seine nest, und der hirsch (hart) hält seine zungen, und der herr Christus uns hat das himmelreich errungen (won); so gewiss und wahr sollt ihr stân, als der heil. Johannes stand am Jordân, da er den lieben herrn Jesum getaufet; und also gewiss und wahrhaftig sollt ihr stehn, bis (till) die liebe göttliche mutter einen andern sohn gebähret, so gewiss sollt ihr sein gebunden zu dieser tag-zeit und stunden (hour)!

L. *To make oneself Beloved.*

Ich trete über die schwelle (threshold), nehme Jesum zu meinem gesellen (companiou); Gott ist mein *schuh*, himmel ist mein *hut* (hat), heilig kreuz mein *schwert*; wer mich heute sieht, habe mich *lieb und werth!* So befehl (commit) ich mich in die heilige drei benedicts pfennung (keeping?), die neun-mal-neun (9×9) geweiht und gesegnet sein; so befehl ich mich in der heil. Dreifaltigkeit leuchtung; der mich heute sieht und hört, der habe mich *lieb und werth.* im namen etc.

¹ Similar Danish spells in Nyerup's Morskabsl., pp. 197-8.

LI. *To make oneself Invisible.*

Grüss euch Gott! seid ihr wol-gemut (are ye merry)? habt ihr getrunken des herrn Christi blut?—‘Gesegne mich Gott, ich bin wol-gemut, ich habe getrunken des herrn Christi blut.’ Christus ist mein *mantel*, *rock*, *stock* und *fuss*, seine heilige fünf wunden mich verbergen thun (do hide). *Rep.* ‘Gesegne mich—Christi blut.’ Christus der herr, der die blinden sehend gemacht, und die sehenden blind machen kann, wolle eure augen verdunkeln und verblenden (darken and dazzle), dass ihr mich nicht sehet noch merket u. s. w.

SWEDISH.

LII. (from Fernow's Wärmeland, p. 250 seq.)

Sanct Johannes evangelist, han bygde bro (built bridges) för Jesus Christ. vår Herre är min *brynja* (armour), och Jesus är min försvar. ser väl för (provides against) min fall idag och hvar dag, för *den heta eld* (hot fire), för *den kvassa orm* (sharp worm). för *den blinda man*, som alla vähla villa kan. Den ena bön (prayer) för min nöd, den ara för min död, den tredje för min fattiga själ (poor soul).

Afton-bön (evening prayer). Jag lägger i vårs Herres tröst, korsa (crosses) gör jag för mit bröst. *signe mig Sol*, och *signe mig Måne* (sun and moon bless me), och all den *frögd som jorden bär* (joy that earth bears). Jorden är *min brynja*, och himmelin är *min skjöld*, och jungfru Maria är *mit svärd*.

åter: Nu går jag te sängje (bed), med mig har jag Guds ängle, tolf (12) te hand och tolf te fot, tolf te hvar ledamot (limb).

ännu en annan: Vår herre Jesus rider öfver hede (heath), där *möter han den lede* (evil one). ‘Hvart (whither) skal du hän?’ sade vår herre Jesus. —‘Jag skal åt kött *at suga blod*.’—‘Nej, jag förmenar dig; du skal *ur ben och i kött* (out of bone and into flesh), *ur kött och i skinn*, *ur skinn och ändå at helfvetes pina!*’ genom tre namn.

At döfva verk (to allay pain): Vår herre Jesus rider in på kyrko-gård, där *döfde han både verk och sår*. Jesus *sommade*, verken *dommade*; Jesus *vaknade*, verken *saknade*. genom tre namn.

DANISH.

LIII. (from Nyerup's Morskabsl. 200. 201).

At dölge eg og od (to blunt the edge and point). Läs disse ord strax naar (as soon as) du seer knivene eller sværdene dragne: ‘Stat, *eg og od*, med de samme ord som Gud skabte himmel og jord. stat, *eg og od*, med de samme ord som Gud skabte sig selv med kjød og blod i jomfru Mariä liv! i navn Gud faders etc.’

Vor herre Christus red i herre-färd, dövede han alle dragne sværd; alle de vaaben (weapons) som han saae, dem tog hane *eg og odde* fra, med sine to händer og med sine ti fingre, med sit velsignede blod, med sin värdig hellig aand (spirit) og med sit hellige kors, med sine tolv engle og med sine

tolv apostle. Fra *klod* og ud til *od*, det *hvide skal ikke bide* (white shall not bite), det *røde skal ikke bløde*, förend Christus sig igjen lader föde (till C. again be born), dat er skeet og skeer aldrig mere.

Jesus gik ad vejen fram, der *mödle ham Rylla den lede og gram*. 'Hvor vil du gange?' siger Jesus.—'Jeg vil gaac til N. N.'—'Hvad vil du der?' siger Jesus.—'Jeg vil *hans blod lapt*, jeg vil *hans ben bidt*, og *hans händer slidt*, jeg vil hans hilse fortappe.'—'Nej,' siger Johannes evangelist, 'det skal du ikke gjöre; mens Jesu navn mane dig *af blod i flod!* Jesu navn mane dig *af been i steen!* Jesu navn mane dig *af hold i mold!* Jesu navn mane dig *ud til verdens ende!*

Jesus han sig under espen stod, han svedte vand (water), han svedte blod. Flye *ägte rosen* for ordet (before the word), *som den döde under jorden, som duggen (dew) for dagen!* Jeg binder dig med min haand, og med Jesu haand, med jomfru Marias haand, med de ni (nine) gode Guds engler, *med hvid ull (wool) og grøn gräs* og den hellig Aauds sande läst. i navn etc.

Lucia den blide skal flye mig ad vide (sweet St Lucy let me know): *hvis dug jeg skal brede* (whose cloth I shall lay), *hvis seng (bed) jeg skal rede*, *hvis barn jeg skal bäre*, *hvis kjäreste (darling) jeg skal väre*, *hvis arm jeg skal sove i* (sleep in).

FROM JUTLAND.

A ligger mä paa mi hyver ley (I lay me on my right side), saa soner a paa *vor from Frey*. Herud (get out), *Ragirist!* herind, Mari med Jesu Christ! Herud, dit slemme skaan (filth)! herind, Mari med det lille baan!

Tvi! det sætter a mellem *deulen* aa mä (this I'll put twixt the d. and me): 'Du gjör di finger for brey (too broad), aa di taa for laang' sagde jomfru Mari.—'Da skal a *bind dem i en silke-traa*' sagde Jesus; 'vig bort, du *deuel*, aa i 7 ond aander!' Saa sætter a vor Haris 12 engler omkring mä, to ve min hoved, to ve hver a min bien (2 at each leg), to ve mi hyver aa to ve mi venster sie (left side); saa vil a si paa den denel der skal gjör mä nöy. i Giösus naun, amen.

LIV. *In anointing with salt for the Gripes (?)*.

(fr. Skand. Lit. selsk. Skr. 19, 376.)

Christus gik sig til kirke, med bog i hände; kom selver jomfru Marie gaagende. 'Hvi fälder du löd (pale), min välsignede süu?'—'Jeg haver faaet stärk *greb*, min velsignede moder.'

LV. *Against Gripes.*¹

Jeg giör at dette menneske for *berg-greb*, for *söe-greb*, for *dödmans greb*, for alle de greb, som falder *imellem himmel og jord*. i de tre navn etc.

¹ Nos. LV—LVIII from Hans Hammond's Nordiska Missions-historie (Kjöbenh. 1787), pp. 119. 120.

LVI. *Against Rendsel* (gout, rheumatism).

Jesus gik sig efter vejen frem, der mödte han slangen (snake). 'Hvor har du agtet dig?' sagde der herre Jesus. Saa svarede han: 'til den, som svag er (is weak).' Saa svarede den herre Jesus: 'Jeg skal dig igien vende (turn thee back), hiem igien sende. jeg skal sende dig *udi bierget blaa* (into the blue mtn), der skal du staae, saa længe som verden (world) staaer, jeg skal binde dig med mine ti fingre og med tolv Guds engle.' udi tre navn etc.

LVII. *For a Broken Bone.*

Jesus reed sig til heede (heath), der reed han syndt (asunder) sit fole-been. Jesus stigede af, og lögte det (doctored it). Jesus lagde *marv i marv, been i been, kiöd i kiöd.* Jesus lagde derpaa et blad, at det skulde blive i samme stad. i tre navne etc.

LVIII. *Against Qvärsil* (a horse-disease).

Jeg gör at dette best for qvärsil udi 3 navn. der ere 3 ord som döver (allay) qvärsil: et er *jorden*, det andet er *solen*, det tredie er Jesu Christi moder jomfrue Marie.

LIX. *For Nettle-sting.*

When badly stung with nettles, you take a few leaves of *dock, dockon* (rumex obtusifolius), spit on them, and rub the place with them, uttering the words: '*In dockon* (elsewh. *dock*), *out nettle!*' In Chancer's Troil. and Cr. 4, 461: '*Nettle in, dock out.*' A Mid. Lat. saw: '*Exeat urtica, tibi sit periscelis amica!*'—Brockett's Glossary of North-country words, p. 57. [*Out nettle, in dock!* Barnes, p. 49.]

A more copious Collection of such Incantations (of which but a bare beginning is here made) would be needed to throw a full light on their origin and drift. But older documents seem indispensable;¹ many are taken down from the people's mouth corrupt and unintelligible. Their substance is often antique and highly poetic; some are distinguished by a compressed conciseness, e.g. 'Oben aus, und nirgend an!' or 'Wer mich scheusst, den schiess ich wieder,' and 'Shot me thou hast, I shoot thee again.'

The same incidents, the same turns of expression, re-appear in different countries: a sign of long and wide diffusion. Thus, the elf or devil, bound on a mischievous errand, is *met* and baulked (XXXVIII. LII. LIII. LVI); then again, the *meeting* of those in search of remedies forms a prelude (XXXI. XXXIX). The successive casting-out from marrow to bone, fr. bone to flesh, fr. flesh to skin, in VI and LII, shews the oneness of the

¹ Horst (Zauber-bibl. 4, 363) got a number of Spells out of a 15th cent. parchment at Trier, but does not give them in his book, which has a wearisome abundance of worthless things. Probably the little Book of Romanus (Görres no. 34) contains available matter.

Old German spell with the Swedish. It is ancient too for protection to be expressed by *gates* (VIII^b), *hauberk*,¹ *shirt*, *shield*, *helmet* and *sword* (IV. X. L. LII), or by a body of *bone*, a heart of *stone*, a head of *steel* (IX. X. XI). Often Alliteration still peeps out through the Rhyme, e.g. in the numbers 77 and 55 (XXX. XXXIX. VIII^b), and in the AS. spells III. IV.

As alliteration and rhyme are mixed, the contents seem also to combine a worship of Heathen and Christian beings. *Mary* stands side by side with *Earth* and *Sun* (LVIII), also with *Earth* and *Heaven* (II). *Sun* and *Moon* are invoked in X and LII, and in XXXV the head must be turned toward the *Sun*: a primitive worship of Elements. The Jutish formula LIII retains even the *goddess Freya*, if the translation be correct: 'I lay me down on my right side, so shall I sleep with lady Freya.' Who is *Ragirist*? (ON. *ragr*=timidus, *malus*, conf. *Ragi og Riste!* herud *Ragi Rist*, Antiqu. num. 3, 44). *Rylla* too in LIII seems a nickname (conf. *Rulla* s. 2, 298).

Many spells rest on mere *sympathy between the simile and the desired effect*. The blood, the fire, are to stand as still as Christ hung on the cross (XLI, *sanguis mane in venis, sicut Christus pro te in poenis; sanguis mane fixus, sicut Christus crucifixus*); as Jordan stood at the baptism (VIII); as mankind will stand at the Judgment-day (XXXII). The fire is to keep in its sparks, as Mary kept her maidenhood (XXVI); the worm in the flesh to feel such pain as Peter felt when he saw the sufferings of his Lord (XXXIV); the hoof to break as little as ever God broke his word (XXXVI). Yet sometimes the formula of the simile bears a direct relation to the effect, as in VIII^b, where a peace is prayed for, like that which prevailed at the birth of Christ.

Our poets of the 13th cent. mention several spells, but quote none. 'Das swert bedarf wol *segens wort*,' Parz. 253, 25; 'swertes *segen* êren,' MS. 2, 233^a; 'wunden *segen* sprechen,' Parz. 507, 23. Only in Diut. 1, 36² are a few words introduced of a Blessing on a Journey: 'gnot sî iu weter nude wint!' An *âbent-segen*, a *morgen-segen*, are alluded to in MS. 1, 184^a. 2, 36^a; conf. 1, 161^a. 2, 207^b. A morning-blessing composed by Walther stands in his works 24, 18.

¹ A MS. at Cambr. Univ. LI. 1, 10 has a Latin spell, entitled *Lorica*, with an AS. interlinear version: 'hanc *loricam Loding* cantavit ter in omni die.' There are 89 lines of rhyme, imploring protection for all parts of the body and in all dangers. The first four lines are:

Suffragare, trinitatis unitas,
unitatis suffragare trinitas,
suffragare quaeso mihi posito
maris magni velut in periculo.

It is not very poetical, nor always intelligible; but it is of the 9th cent.

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