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# TEUTONIC MYTHOLOGY.

BY

## JACOB GRIMM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION

WITH

*NOTES AND APPENDIX*

BY

JAMES STEVEN STALLYBRASS.

VOL. I.

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# 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in the various versions of a myth, it has never been superseded and perhaps it never can be.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.

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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 *ä*, as 'wæg' instead of 'väg'. I have also used the words 'Dutch, Mid. Dutch' in a wider sense comprehending all the Teutonic dialects of the Netherlands, instead of coining the awkward adjective 'Netherlandish'.

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

TO

Professor MAX MÜLLER, M.A., &c., &c.,

This Work

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY PERMISSION.

A. King and Co., Printers, Aberdeen.

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# 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 *ἑτερόδοξοι*, *βάρβαροι* were not used in that sense); but with the Jews and Christians of the N.T. are contrasted *ἔθνος*, *ἔθνεα*, *ἐθνικοί*, Lat. *gentes*, *gentiles*; Ulphilas uses the pl. *thiudôs*, and by preference in the gen. after a pronoun, thâi thiudô, sumâi thiudô (gramm. 4, 441, 457), while *thiudiskôs* translates *ἐθνικῶς* Gal. 2, 14. As it was mainly the Greek religion that stood opposed to the Judæo-Christian, the word Ἕλλην also assumed the meaning *ἐθνικός*, and we meet with *ἑλληνικῶς*=*ἐθνικῶς*, which the Goth would still have rendered *thiudiskôs*, as he does render Ἕλληνες *thiudôs*, John 7, 35. 12, 20. 1 Cor. 1, 24. 12, 13; only in 1 Cor. 1, 22 he prefers Krêkôs. This Ἕλλην=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. *diete* for gentiles (Graff 5, 128). In the meanwhile *pagus* had expanded its narrow meaning of *κώμη* 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. *háithns* agrestis, campestris = paganus (Ulph. in Mark 7, 26 renders *ἑλληνίς* by *háithnô*), the Old H.G. heida an adj. *heidan*, Mid. H.G. and Dutch heide *heiden*, A.S. hæð *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. heidanêro. 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 earlier[1] 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, Bohemians[1] and Poles in the tenth, Sorbs in the eleventh, and Russians at the end of the tenth.

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

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

When Chlodowig (Clovis) received baptism, and the Salian Franks followed his lead, individuals out of all the Frankish tribes had already set the example. Intercourse with Burgundians and West-goths had inclined them to the Arian doctrine, while the Catholic found adherents in other parts of Gaul. Here the two came into collision. One sister of Chlodowig, Lanthild, had become an Arian christian before his conversion, the other, Albofled, had remained a heathen; the latter was now baptized with him, and the former was also won over to the Catholic communion.[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 Albofledis. . . . Lanthildis *chrismata* est, Greg. Tur. 2, 31. So among the Goths, *chrismation* is administered to Sigibert's wife Brunechild (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 katholicos, 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 seventeenth[3]; nay, the remotest Laplanders cling to it still.

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

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

The 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 sögur 4, 116. 7, 151.

[3] Wedekind's notes 2, 275, 276. Rhesa dainos, p. 333. The Lithuanians proper converted 1387, the Samogits 1413.

slavish subjection to distant Rome, could not fail in many ways to offend the national feeling. Not only the rude bloody sacrifices, but the sensuous pleasure-loving side of heathenism was to them an abomination (see Suppl.). And what their words or their wonder-working gifts could not effect, was often to be executed against obdurate pagans by placing fire and sword in the hands of christian proselytes.

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

Although expiring heathenism is studiously thrown into the shade by the narrators, there breaks out at times a touching lament over the loss of the ancient gods, or an excusable protest against innovations imposed from without[1] (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 Sôlar lioð 17 we read of Vêbogi and Râdey 'â sik þau trûðu,' in themselves they trusted; of king Hâkon (Fornm. sög. 1, 35) 'konûngr gerir sem allir aðrir, þeir sem trûa â mâtt sinn ok megin,' the king does like all others who trust in their own might and main; of Barðr (ibid. 2, 151) 'ek trûi ekki â skurðgoð eðr fiandr, hefi ek þvî lengi trûat â mâtt minn ok megin,' I trust not in idols and fiends, I have this long while, &c.; of Hiörleifr 'vildi aldri blôta,' would never sacrifice (Landn. 1, 5.7); of Hallr and Thôrir goðlauss 'vildu eigi blôta, ok trûðu â mâtt sinn' (Landn. 1, 11); of king Hrôlfr (Fornm. sög. 1, 98) 'ekki er þess getit at Hrôlfr konûngr ok kappar hans hafi nokkurn tîma blôtat goð, heldr trûðu â mâtt sinn ok megin,' it is not thought that king H. and his champions have at any time, &c.; of Örvaroddr (Fornald. sög. 2, 165; cf. 505) 'ekki vandist blôtum, þvî hann trûði â mâtt sinn ok megin'; of Finnbogi (p. 272) 'ek trûi â 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. sög. 2, 207. Islend. sög. 1, 11. ed. nov. 372. Nialss. 160); when another calls the gods rångeyg (squint-eyed, unfair) and rokindusta (Fornm. sög. 2, 154). When we come to Freyr, I shall quote a story manifestly tending to lessen the reverence for him; but here is a passage from Oswald 2913: 'dîn got der ist ein junger tôr (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. Vilk. 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 *Hřmiles* (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); *Sâmr* 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. Landnâmabôk 3, 12 says of Helgi: 'hann trûði â Krist, en þô hêt hann â Thôr til sæfara ok harðræða ok alls þess, er honum þôtti 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 relic 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. muspilli, O. Sax. mudspelli, with the Eddic muspell, of the O.H.G. itis, A. Sax. ides, with the Eddic dîs, or of the A. Sax. brosinga mene with the Eddic brîsînga 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! aedepol! 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. *guđ*, A.S., O.S., O. Fris. *god*, O.H.G. *cot*, O. Norse *gođ*; 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 *guđs* 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).[2] 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; Uhland p. 198.

[3] The Slav. *bôgh* is connected with the Sanskr. bhâga felicitas, bhakta devotus, and bhaj colere; perhaps also with the obscure bahts in the Goth. andbahts minister. cultor; conf. p. 20, note on boghât, dives. Of *θεός*, deus we shall have to speak in ch. IX.

*good*, Goth. gôds, O.N, gôðr, A.S. gôd, 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 gôd, 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. Geátas, O.H.G. Kôzâ; Goth. Gautôs ?).

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 qvadâta (a se datus, increatus, Sanskr. svadâta, conf. Dêvadatta *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 samozazdâni bôzhe! 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 *guda*, 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*, *aptcot* (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 εἷς ὁ θεός*, Mark 10, 18, Luke 18, 19, which in Gothic is rendered 'ni hvashun þiuðeigs alja ains Guð', but in A.S, 'nis nân man gôd buton God âna'. God is the giver of all good, and himself the highest good, summum bonum. Thus Plato names him *τὸ ἀγαθόν*.

[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. cotâ, 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; εἴδωλα 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 *götzen* ihrer *götter*, making götze=idolum. In Er. Alberus fab. 23, the *götz* is a demigod[1] (see Suppl.). The O.N. language distinguished the neut. *goð* idolum from the masc. *guð* deus. Snorri 119 says of Sif '*it* hârfagra 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. Frîb. Trist. 497.

[1] Writers of the 16-17th centuries use *ölgötze* for statue (Stieler says, from an allegorical representation of the apostles asleep on the Mount of Olives, öl = oil). Hans Sachs frequently has 'den ölgötzen tragen' for doing house drudgery, I. 5, 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 götze, was a vessel, and belongs to giozan=fundere.

[2] Such a fear may arise from two causes: a holy name must not be abused, or an unholy dreaded name, *e.g.*, that of the devil, has to be softened down by modifying its form; see Chap. XXXIII, how the people call formidable animals by another name, and for Donner prefer to say donnerwetter (Dan. tordenveir for Thursday), donnerwettstein (wetterstein or wetzstein ?), donnerkeil, donnerwäsche, dummer. In Fornm. sög. 10, 283 we have Oddiner for Oðinn; perhaps Wuotansheer (Woden's host) was purposely changed into Mutesheer; whether Phol into Fâlant, 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 nâch *mir*, west willekomen; Parz. 305, 27. wis willekomen *mir* und *got*; Frauend. 128, 13. sît *mir gote* wilkomen[1]; Eilh. Trist. 248. rehte *got* wilkomen *mir*; Dietr. 5200. Nu sît ouch *mir got* wilkomen; Dietr. 5803. sît willekomen *got* und oueh *mir*; Dietr. 4619. nu wis *mir got* wilkomen; Oswalt 208. 406. 1163. 1268. 1393. 2189. du solt grôz 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 bêthiu *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 Slovèny say to the arriving guest 'bôgh 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. 67ª 86ᵇ), with which are also associated the names of helpful gods: heill þu farir, heill þu *âsyniom* sêr! fare thou well, be thou well by (the aid of) the Asynior; Sæm. 31ª. heill scaltu Agnarr, allz þic heilan biðr vera tŷr 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 waltvogellîn;* Ecke 96. niemen bevinde daz wan er und ich und ein kleinez vogellîn, 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. sög. 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, b], 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 *tiuvel* loben; Iw. 1273. in beschirmet der *tiuvel* 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 *süezen zuht*, do'r Parzivâlen worhte (in amiable trim—form, training—when he made Percival); Parz. 148, 26. got der was vil *senftes muotes*, dô er geschuof sô reine ein wîp; MS. 1, 17[b]. got der was *in fröiden*, dô 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 fruht, wan ime was gar *wol ze muote*; MS. 1, 24[b]. got si zer werlde brâhte, dô *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, dô er ir lîp als ebene maz; Misc. 2, 186. ich weiz daz got *in fröiden* was, dô er niht, frouwe, an dir vergaz waz man ze lobe sol schouwen. Ls. 1, 35. So a troubadour sings: belha domna, *de cor y 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 flîz; Parz. 88, 15. jach, er trüege den gotes flîz; Parz. 140, 5. got het sînen flîz gar ze wunsche wol an si geleit; Wigal. 4130. ich wæn got selbe worhte dich mit sîner gotlicher hant; Wigal. 9723. zwâre got der hât geleit sîne kunst und sîne kraft, sînen flîz und sîne meisterschaft an disen loblîchen lîp; Iw. 1685. So in

sentiment, that imputes to God a propensity to gaze at human beauty, or to do whatever men do: got möhte selbe *gerne sehen* die selben juncfrouwen; Fragm. 22ª. gott möht in (him, *i.e.* the musician) *gerne hœren* in sinen himelkœren; Trist. 7649. den slac *scolte* got selbe haben *gesehen* (should have seen that stroke); Rol. 198, 18. Karl 72. got selbe möht ez *gerne sehen*; Trist. 6869. ein puneiz (diadem), daz in got selber *möhte sehen*; Frauend. 84, 16. gestrîten dazz d'engel *möhten hœren* in den niun kœren; Willeh. 230, 27. si möhte nâch betwingen mite (might nigh compel withal) eines engels gedanc, daz er vil lîhte *einen wanc* durch si *von himele tœte* (fail from heaven for her); Iw. 6500 (imitated by Ottocar 166ª). ich weiz daz wol, daz sîn got nicht *verdrüzze*; MS. 2, 127ª. ir hâr gelîch dem golde, als ez got *wünschen solde;* MS. 2 62ᵇ. 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 valkürs 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 genuocte da mite, ob er *solhen marstaller hœte.* This view of a sympathizing, blithe and gracious god, is particularly expressed in the subst. *huldi*, O.N. *hylli*: Oðins hylli; Sæm. 47ª. Ullar hylli ok allra goða; Sæm. 45ᵇ.

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. 85ᵇ. Oðinn *ofreiðr*; Sæm. 228ᵇ. *reið* varð þâ Freyja oc fnasaði; Sæm. 71ᵇ.—she was wroth,

Chrestien: ja ta 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* deûm, 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: propitiine 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 habeas! Vita Meinwerci, 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. sög. 2, 29. 231. goða *gremi* (deorum ira) is announced; Egilss. 352. at *gremia* goð (offendere deos); Fornald. sög. 2, 69. was imo god *âbolgan;* Hel. 157, 19. than wirdid iu waldand *gram*, mahtig *môdag;* Hel. 41, 16 (elsewhere: diu Sælde, or the world, earth, is *gram*). ein *zornec* got in daz gebôt (bade them), daz uns hie suohten mit ir her; Parz. 43, 28. hie ist geschehen gotes *râche;* Reinh. 975. got wil vervüeren sînen *zorn;* Osw. 717. ich wæne daz got *ræche* da selbe sînen *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: ûz in *gotes haz!* Trist. 5449. ûz strîchet (sheer off) balde in *gotes haz!* Trist. 14579. nu vart den *gotes haz* alsam ein bœswiht von mir hin! Frauend. 109, 12. mich hât der *gotes haz* bestanden; Kl. 518. iuch 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 Rüediger 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;* Eracl. 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, Nürnb. 1680, p. 158, 180.
[2] Serious illness or distress is habitually called 'der *gotes slac*,' strôke.

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 Θρῄϊκες καὶ πρὸς βροντήν 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. frô mîn the *gôdo;* 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 *almahtico,* cot *heilac;* Wesso-

[1] When lightning strikes, our people say: If God can burn, we can build again; Ettners 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 *boghât* (dives), Lith. *bagotas*; compare ops, in-ops (Russ. u-bôghiy), opulentus with Ops, the Bona Dea. Conf. Diefenb. celt. 1, 196.

brunn. Gebet. *mahtig* drohtin; Hel. 2, 2. freá *ælmihtig;* Cædm. 1, 9. 10, 1. se *ælmihtiga* wealdend; Thorpe's anal. 83. mannô *miltisto* (largissimus); Wessobr. Geb. vil *milter* Christ; Cod. pal. 350, 56.—The AS. has freq.: *êce* 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* wuldorcyning; 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 walten,* 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. *eald* metod. MHG. hât 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), bôgh 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 hôhste 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 trehtîn, wie vergæze dû ie mîn sô? 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. *freâ;* which name I shall treat of more fully by and by. —OHG. *truhtîn*, MHG. *trehtîn*, OS. *drohtin*, AS. *dryhten*, ON. *dróttinn.*—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 *Ζεὺς πατήρ*, esp. in the voc. *Ζεῦ 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 faþs lord, as pater *πατήρ* is with *πότις, πόσις*, 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, *miötuðr* 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 máitan (to cut), the OHG. mëzan and meizan; in the Lat. mētiri and mĕtere, besides there being no shifting of consonant (d for t), the quantity is inverted. The ON. *miötuðr* appears to be also sector, messor; in Snorri 104. 105, the wolf's head with which Heimdall was killed is called 'miötuðr Heimðallar,' and the sword is 'mans miötuðr'; so in Fornald. sög. p. 441, 'manna miötuðr' (see Suppl.). In MHG. too, the poets use mezzan of exquisite symmetry in creating: dô 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?

rîchen fröuden 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, dô er dich als *ebene maz;* MS. 1, 22$^{b}$ wer kunde in sô gemezzen, Tit. 130. 1. anders denne got uns maz, dô 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* ûf ir vel, ir mündel rôt und wîz ir kel'; which throws a significant light on the Gothic tribal name *Gáuts,* A.S. *Geát* OHG. *Kôz* (see Suppl.).—AS. *scippend,* creator, OHG. *scefo, scephio,* MHG. *schepfære,* 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. *waldand frô* mîn, Hel. 148, 14. 153, 8. *freá dryhten,* Beow. 62. 186. *lîf-freá,* Cædm. 2, 9. 108, 18. 195, 3. 240, 33. Beow. 4. The earthly cuning with a prefix can be used of God: *wuldorcyning,* king of glory, Cædm. 10, 32. *hevan-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 himele,* Nib. 2090, 4. 2114, 1. 2132, 1. 2136, 1.

Of such *epic formulas* (see Suppl.), beautiful specimens, all of one tenour, can be cited from the poets, especially the Romance: they are mostly borrowed from God's dwelling-place, his creative power, his omnipotence, omniscience and truth:—Dios aquel, que esta en alto, Cid 800. 2352. 2465. qui la amont el seint cel maint (abides), Ren. 26018. qui maint el firmament, Berte 129. 149. der hôho sizet unde nideriu sihet, N. ps. 112, 5. qui haut siet et de loing mire, Ren. 11687. qui haut siet et loins voit, Berte 44, 181. Guitecl. 2, 139. der über der blauen decke sitzt, Melander Jocoseria 1, 439. cot almahtico, dû himil inti erda gaworahtôs (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, Méon 3, 460. des hant daz mer gesalzen hât, Parz. 514, 15. qui fait courre la nue, Berte

136. 183 (*νεφελληγερέτα Ζεύς*). par celui qui fait toner, Ren. 16658. 17780. par qui li soleus raie, Berte 13. 81. der himel und erde gebôt und die mergriezen zelt (counts the sea-sands, or pebbles), Mar. 18. der der sterne zal weiz, Wh. 466, 30. der die sterne hât gezalt, Parz. 629, 20. der uns gap des mânen (moon's) schîn, Wh. 476, 1. qui fait croitre et les vins et les blez, Ferabr. 163ª. der mir ze lebene geriet (planned), Nib. 2091, 4. Kl. 484. der mir ze lebene gebôt (bade), Roth. 215. 517. 4552. der uns daz leben gebôt, Mar. 24. (M. Dut.) bi den here die mi ghebôt (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 mancunnies forwardôt, Hel. 152, 5. qui sor tos homes puet et vaut, Méon 4, 5. dominus qui omnia potest, Docum. of 1264 in Wenk 3, no. 151. wider den nieman vermac, A. Heinr. 1355. der aller wunder hât 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, Frîd. 355. der in diu herze siht, Wh. 30, 29. der ie daz guote geriet (aye the good devised), Greg. 2993. ther suntilôso man (sinless), O. iii. 21, 4. dem nie voller genâden zeran (tear, waste), Er. 2490. qui onques ne menti (nunquam mentitus), Berte 82. 96. 120. 146. Méon 3, 8. icil dieu qui ne ment, et qui fist tot quanque mer serre, Ren. 19338. er mik skôp ok öllu ræðr, Fornm. sög. 1, 3. sâ er öllu ræðr, ibid. 8, 107. er sôlina hefði skapat, ibid. 1, 242. hêt â þann sem sôlina 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 *âs*, pl. *æsir* (see Suppl.). *Landâs* (Egilss. pp. 365-6) is patrium numen, and by it Thor, the chief god of the North, is designated, though *âs* and *allmâttki âs* is given to Oðinn (Landn. 4, 7). *âsmegin* 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, Ansnôt correspond in sense to Cotahelm, Cotahilt, &c.; AS. Osweald, Oslâf, Osdæg, Osrêd; ON. Asbiörn,[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. *âs*, 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 *âs* is especially used of jugum terræ, mountain-ridge, Dan. bierg-aas (dettiâs = sliding beam, portcullis, Landn. 3, 17). But here we have some other striking passages and proofs to weigh. An AS. poem couples together '*ésa* gescot' and '*ylfa* gescot,' the shots of anses and of elves, jaculum divorum et geniorum, just as the Edda does æsir and âlfar, Sæm. 8ᵇ 71ᵃ 82ᵃ 83ᵇ. Jornandes says, cap. 13: Tum Gothi, magna potiti per loca victoria, jam proceres suos quasi qui fortuna vincebant, non puros homines, sed *semideos*, id est *anses* (which would be anseis) vocavere. What can be plainer? The Norse æsir in like manner merge into the race of heroes, and at much the same distance from an elder dynasty of gods whom they have dethroned. And here the well-known statement of Suetonius and Hesychius,[2] that the Etruscans called the gods *œsares* or *œsi*, 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 τυῤῥηνός, τυρσηνός 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. ccxcv. For Asketill, Oscytel, see end of ch. III.

[2] Suet. Octavian. cap. 97. futurumque, ut inter deos referretur, quod *œsar*, id est reliqua pars e Cæsaris nomine, Etrusca lingua *deus* vocaretur. Hesych. s.v. *αἰσοί*. *θεοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Τυῤῥηνῶν*. 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 τυρσηνοί, would rather imply that these were a hostile and dreaded people.—TRANS.

we observe that the Etruscan religion, and perhaps also the Roman and the Greek, supposed a circle of *twelve* superior beings closely bound together and known by the name of *dii consentes* or *complices* (see Suppl.), exactly as the Edda uses the expressions *höpt* and *bönd*, literally meaning vincula, for those high numina (Sæm. 24ª 89ᵇ. Sn. 176. 204), and also the sing. *hapt* and *band* for an individual god (Sæm. 93ᵇ). 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 δέω I bind; that same 'ans' a yoke, is the same thing as the 'brace and band' of all things; neither can we disregard the fact that *twelve* is likewise the number of the Norse æsir; conf. Sæm. 3ᵇ: 'æsir or þvî 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 blîð regin,[1] holl regin (kind, merciful gods), uppregin, ginregin (superæ potestates) have entirely this technical meaning. *Ragnarökr* (Goth. raginê riqvis? dimness, darkness of gods) signifies the end of the world, the setting of the divine luminaries. Sæm. 89ᵇ has "*rögnir* ok *regin*" coupled together, rögnir (cf. 196ª) being used to distinguish the individual *ragineis* (raguneis?), masc. These ON. regin would be Goth. ragina, as the höpt and bönd are Gothic hafta and banda, all neut.—The same heathen conception peeps out in the OS. *regang*iscapu, *reganog*iscapu, Hel. 79, 13. 103, 3, equivalent to fatum, destiny, the decree and counsel of the gods, and synonymous with *wurd*giscapu, Hel. 103, 7, from *wurd*, fatum. And again in *metodog*iscapu, 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 Völs. 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: 'aldâ wîp und man verjach, si ne gesachen nie helt sô wünneclîch, *ir 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 *sô hêrlîchen gât*' (see Suppl.).

heathen poetry. But these gen. plurals regano, metodo again point to the plurality of the binding gods.

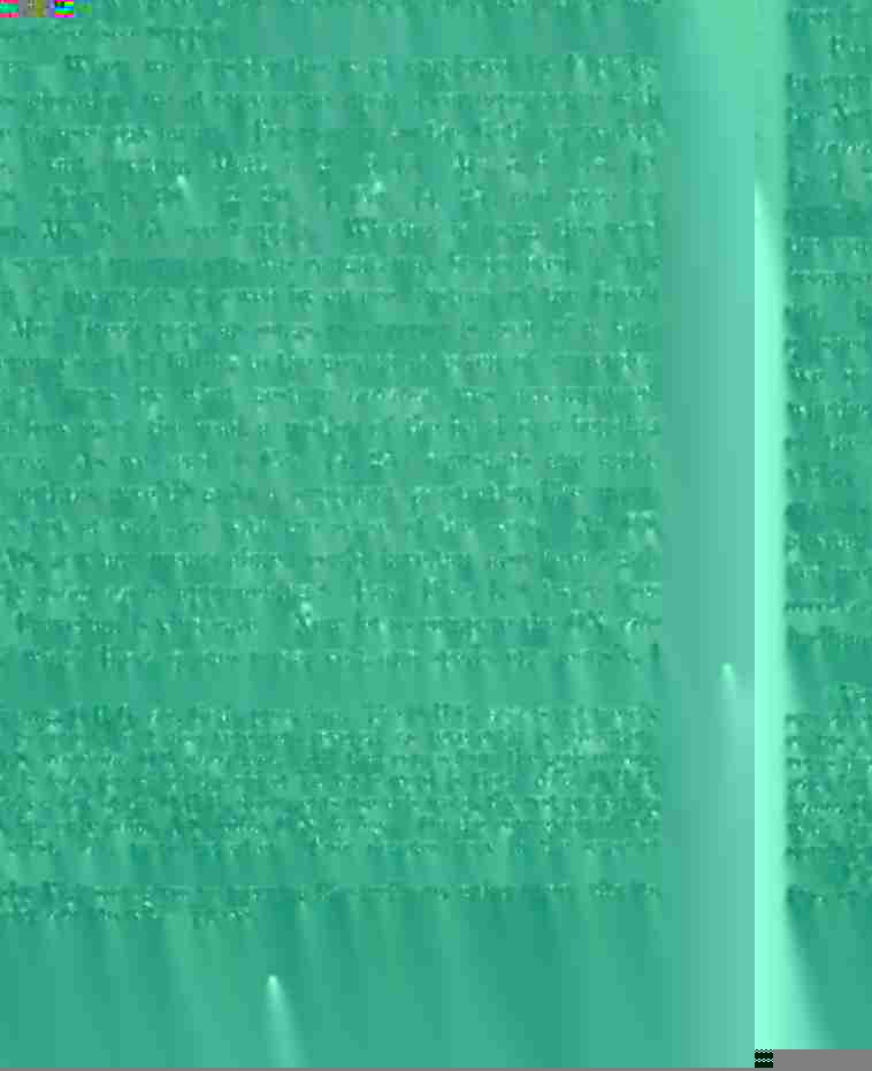
The collection of Augustine's letters contains (cap. 178), in the altercatio with Pascentius, a Gothic or perhaps a Vandal formula *sihora armen*, the meaning of which is simply *κύριε ἐλέησον*.[1] Even if it be an interpolation, and written in the fifth or sixth century, instead of at the end of the fourth, it is nevertheless remarkable that *sihora* should be employed in it for God and Lord. Ulphilas would have said: fráuja armái. The inf. *armên*, if not a mistake for *armê*, 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*, *sigtŷr*, *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*, *sigorawealdend*, *sigoragod*, *sigoracyning*. 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 (âs, 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 frôho (lord) and the father, the beholding, 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. 3, 359. The Morduins say when it thunders 'pashangui Porguini pas,' have mercy, god Porguini; Georgi description 1, 64.

[2] den sig hât got in sîner *hant*, MS. 2,16ª.

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

and ragin, all lead both individually, and with all the more weight collectively, into the path to be trod. I shall take up all the threads again, but I wish first to determine the nature and bearings of the cultus.