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THUNOR THE THUNDERER,
CARVED ON A SCANDINAVIAN FONT
OF ABOUT THE YEAR 1000.

THE FIRST YET FOUND GOD-FIGURE
OF OUR SCANDO-GOTHIC FOREFATHERS

BY

PROF. DR. GEORGE STEPHENS, F. S. A.,
LONDON, EDINBURGH, CHEAPINGHAVEN, STOCKHOLM &c.,



WILLIAMS AND NORGATE;
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1878.

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RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

TO

THE REV. CLAES JOHAN LJUNGSTRÖM,

Rector of Rånnum in Westgotland, Sweden,

THE FIRST PUBLISHER OF THE OTTRAVA FONT.



Varþær barn til kirkiu boret oc
 beþiz cristnu. þa scal faþir ok moðer
 fa guðfæpur oc guðmoðor oc salt oc
 uatn. þæt scal bæræ til kirkiu þa scal
 a prest kallæ han scal a kirkiu bole
 boæ. barn scal brymsignæ firi utan
 kirkiu. dyr. Siþen scal font wigyæ.
 prester barn döþæ. oc guðfaþir a haldæ.
 gudmoþer til namns sygiæ. prester scal
 byuþe husu [=huru] lengi faþir oc moþer
 sculu vardvetæ. Hændir þæt sot a vegh
 oc ma igh til kyrkiu coma. þa scal gud-
 faþir döþæ oc gudmoþer a haldæ. i
 vatn. æn vatn. ær til i namn faþurs
 oc suner oc andæs helagha.

*Is a child to church borne and asketh
 Christendom, then shall father and mother
 get godfather and godmother and salt and
 water. One shall bear it to church, and
 call for the priest. He shall at the church
 house dwell. The barn shall be cross-
 signed outside the church-door. Then
 shall the Font be hallowed. The priest
 shall baptise the child, the godfather
 hold it, the godmother say out the name.
 The priest shall say how long the
 father and mother must take care of
 it. Should it fall sick on the way and
 cannot come to church, the godfather shall
 baptise it and the godmother hold it, in
 water if water be there, in the name of
 the Father and the Son and the Holy
 Ghost.*

*Schlyter. Codex Juris Vestrogotiæ. Stockholm 1827, 4to. Earliest Church-balk. Sec.
 I, p. 3. (Date about 1200—1250. Date of Ms. close of the 13th century).*

A krist skulu allir kristnir troæ
at han ær guþ. ok æi æru guþær flere.
æn han æn. ængin skal affgubum
blotæ. ok ængin a lundi ællr stenæ
troæ. allir skulu kirkiu dyrkæ. þit
skulu allir baþi quikir ok döþir.
komæandi ok farendi. i. weruld ok aff.

*On Christ shall all Christians trow
that He is God, and not are gods other
than He alone. None shall to idols
offer, and none shall on groves or stones
believe. All shall Church honor. Thither
shall all, both quick and dead, coming
and faring (hence-going). into this world
and out of it.*

*Schlyter. Codex Juris Uplandici. Stockholm 1834, 4to. Church-balk, Sec. 1. p. 11.
(Publisht under Birger Jarl, about 1296. Date of Ms. about 1300).*

THU(NO)R THE THUNDERER.

Pictures are poor men's books (John Damascenus).

Brethren and Sisters in the Faith, Friends and Neighbors from far and near, whether happily already followers of the White Christ or cleaving yet to the Gods of our forefathers, and specially ye, now here present, who ask me by Holy Baptism to receive this child into the Ark of the Church, listen a short stund while I first expound the figures I have let carve on this Laver of Regeneration!

The cunning stone-smith hath obeyed my wish, and hath given us on this Doop-stone a short outline of what ye, and this infant thro you, should know, to guide him onward in his path of Christian duty.

Many words I need not; for much that is good and true is common to all the children of men in every time and land, not least in this time and this land, whether still holding fast pagan lore, shadows and symbols of things divine now misinterpreted and misunderstood, or already members of the mystical body of Our Lord. Man was made in the image of God, and all the glory is not yet departed from his brow.

All, then, bow we before a common Allfather, all thank we Him for His endless goodness, all hope we happiness hereafter thro His infinite love to His children. But all, alack all of us, also know that Guile and War entered Walhall, that this is now a world of Sin and Sorrow and Death. The peace and innocence of Ida's fields, of Eden and its Paradise, have long since fled away. The canker of Self hath toucht everything. The brother's hand is raised against the brother. The crafty Serpent triumpht. Our fore-elders fell. They stood not in the day of trial. The forbidden fruit was eaten.

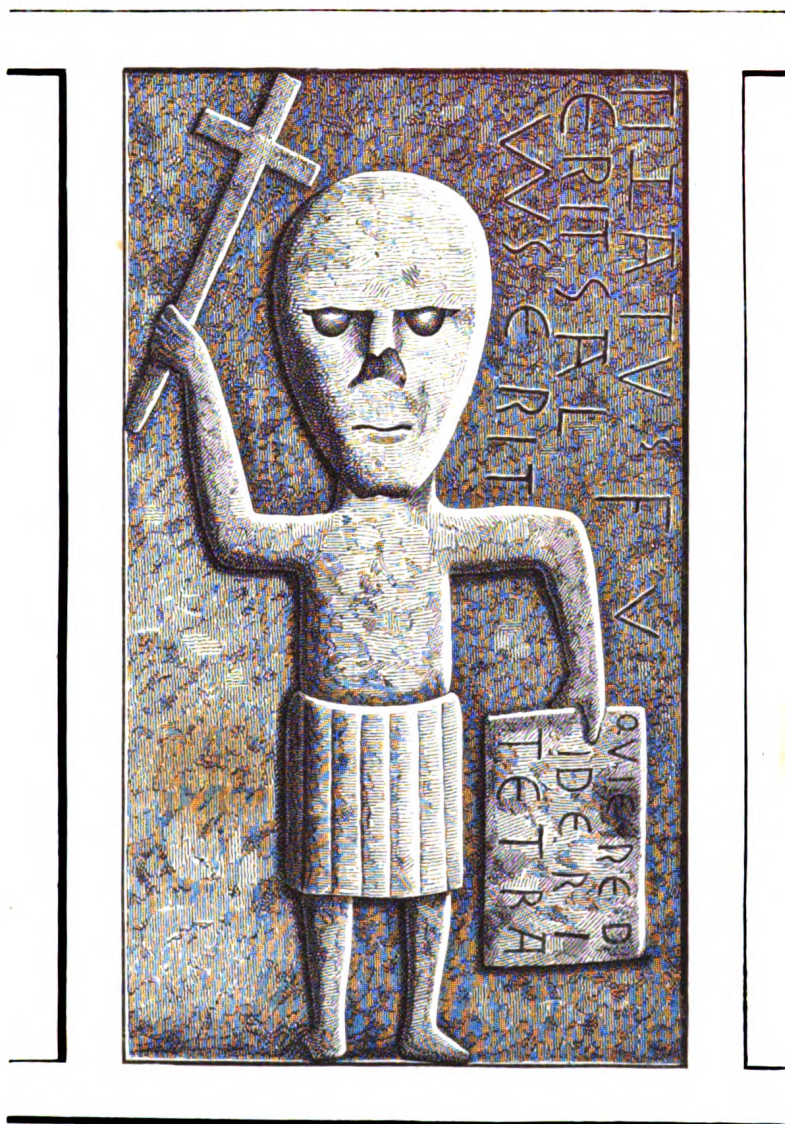
And here, lo, we see the Worm with the Apple in his mouth. Ask and Embla, Adam and Eve, or how else the first happy pair may be hight in the folk-talks of the world, lost the Garden, were driven from the Tree of Life. Thorns and thistles grew up unto them, and in the sweat of their brow shall they gain a bit of bread.



For this great Fall the gentile world no sure help knoweth. Stocks and stones, idle tales, dim sayings, Elves and offerings, bloody rites and cruel overtraw, well-meant but childish house-lore unworthy of bold bearded men and of fair honorable women, hateful feuds, fierce selftortures, temple juggleries, songs of priests, about Gods who fight and fall — these and suchlike cannot

aid us. No heathendom could ever yet heal the soul wounded by sin, the heart broken by sorrow.

Here then we all stand together. The facts of life are round about us, are in our own bosom. Mask it as we will, call it as we choose, we are full of fear and feebleness, long for an outgang from this cave of darkness,



we reach after a brighter day, waiting the whisper of God whose music wonderful shall tell us of something higher, better, heavenly!

And blessed be God, He left not His fallen children. He gave the Word and the Word was made flesh: I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou

shalt bruise his heel. Hence was the Son of God, the Lord Christ, born of a Virgin; hence gave He Himself for us, and bought us back the Golden Land and Life Everlasting. O wondrous grace and glory! The Son of the Almighty Father is our Captain and our Brother. His Cross is our Banner!

See! the Bodesmen of His kingdom, each Priest of His Church, every Christian man and woman, hath He bidden: go into all the world, and with mouth and life preach the gospel to every creature. Eke said He — the letters even now are flowing and rippling and sparkling from out the Gospel-book, as the Holy Mark hath uttered them:

HE THAT BELIEVETH AND IS BAPTIZED, SHALL BE SAVED.

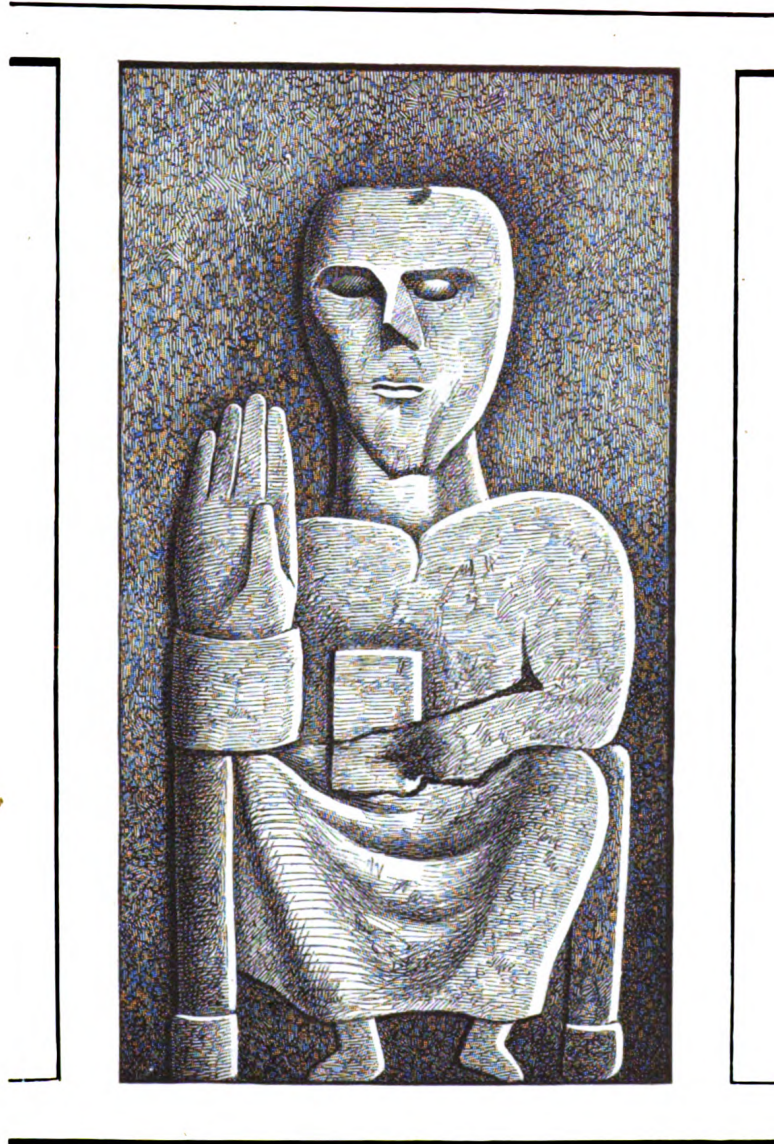
He that believeth, old or young. If old, so much the greater need, ere the last shadows fall, to hasten to our heavenly Jordan. If young, He waiteth who said: suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven. Soothly, therefore flock we, worn and weary, to the arms of our Healer. Therefore spreadeth the kingdom from heart to heart, from landscape to landscape; therefore am even I come hither, back to the shining home of my forefathers, to preach the Glad Tidings. And thus groweth the grain of mustard into a tree that shall overshadow all the nations, therefore standeth Holy Church on high, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.

Haste we then glad to take the yoke of Jesus, for it is light. Him to serve is to be truly free. Richly giveth He of the treasures of His grace. Death is the wages of unrighteousness, but with Him is joy for evermore. Bondmen and free, prince and people, we are all one in Him. The waters of Baptism cleanse from sin, and make us heirs of the kingdom, if only we hold fast by the Holy Covenant. Take we then the White Weeds with joy, even tho with trembling!

Yet forget not, Brethren dear, that this Sacrament is only the beginning of our Christian life. We must go on in the way of truth, step by step, from mystery to mystery. The Holy Font must be followed by laying on of hands in Confirmation by the Bishop, and this must be upheld by the Holy Supper, the Body and the Blood of Christ, spiritually eaten and drunken. And as the Priest baptizeth, so doth the Bishop confirm. He is here before us, seated on his chair, and with uplift fingers to bless the young soldiers of the Church. In his other hand holdeth he The Book, the wondrous Word of Life. When then this child hath reacht years of discretion, forget not to bring him to your Bishop to renew the solemn promise and vow made in his name by helpsome Godfathers and Godmothers. On the threshold of

manhood let him once more openly renounce the Devil and all his works, and gird himself to fight in the battle of life against all things sinful and shameful, under his Captain Christ.

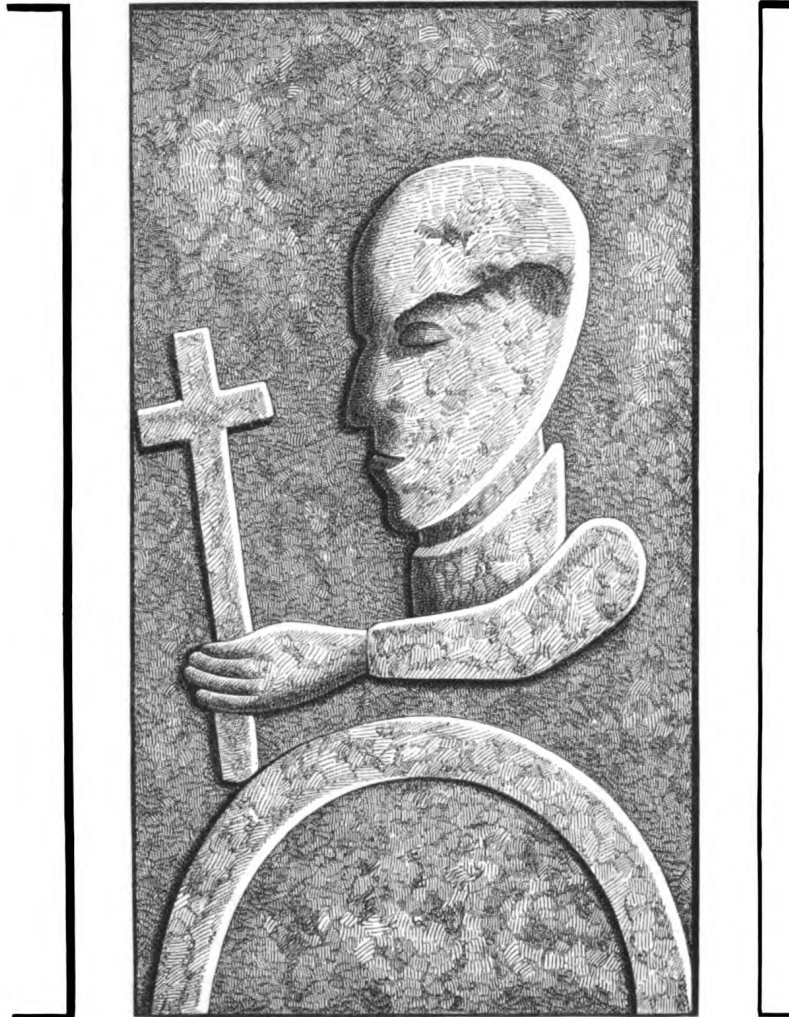
Thus confirmed, we must daily grow in all the gifts of grace, in wisdom and understanding, in counsel and ghostly strength, in holiness and low-



liness, in all true godliness, going onward and upward from height to height, no longer babes in Christ. Putting away all gods made or fancied by our fore-elders or ourselves, yet more abhorring to make ourselves god, our own might or wisdom our sufficient helper, we must hold fast our faith in One God, the Almighty, the All-merciful, but in three persons, FATHER, SON AND HOLY GHOST.

We must reach as it were unto the courts of our king's palace, our eyes bathed in the streams of light flowing from the cloud-hidden Sanctuary.

Listen we to the honied words falling from the lips of Saint John, the Celestial Doctor: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God.



All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men.

Behold this lofty witness here before you on this Holy Basin, Cross in hand, above the Rainbow, the arch of heaven. Be fulfilled with his teaching, so often redd out to you in your own tung when we meet for worship. And

forget never his deathless precept; that sentence summing up all knowledge, all the Law and all the Gospel; that heart-lore which shall dry the tear from the lid of the helpless and break away the iron fetter from the neck of war-slave or house-theow, our brother tho a thrall; that snatch of heaven-song which rang so merrily when the silly shepherds heard the good tidings of great joy to all people, while the air was fragrant with Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men; that dread command that with levin-glitter lighteneth from the east to the west; that still small voice that whispereth in our dreams and in our day-dreams:

LITTLE CHILDREN, LOVE ONE ANOTHER!

So shall Walhall be given back to us, Eden be our own once more, that blessed Garden offer us its flowers and fruits and sunshine, its day without night, its joy unmarred by grief, its life without death.

It is here before you. The stone-smith hath fashion'd it to my mind. There standeth the Gate of Paradise, within whose walls ye shall one day enter. The Tree of Life is there, yours for ever. It towereth high above the portal, tempting you to to come in. And outside are the four rivers of the New Jerusalem, the bright flood flowing thence and branching into four, even Pison and Gihon and Tigris and Euphrates. These and yet not these. For all things seen are shadows of the unseen. These four onward-sweeping wave-flows, what are they other than the four Evangelists of Christ? Soothly, they are Matthew and Mark, Luke and John, who receive from Christ and give all nations to drink that Living Water which refresheth the thirsty sons of men and putteth death far from them. Soothly the well-spring of these waters, the real source whence they all issue, is the Lord Christ, the Lamb of God, whose light is the starry orb of the Golden City, whose glory dwelleth within her, so that Sun nor Moon can be needed there.

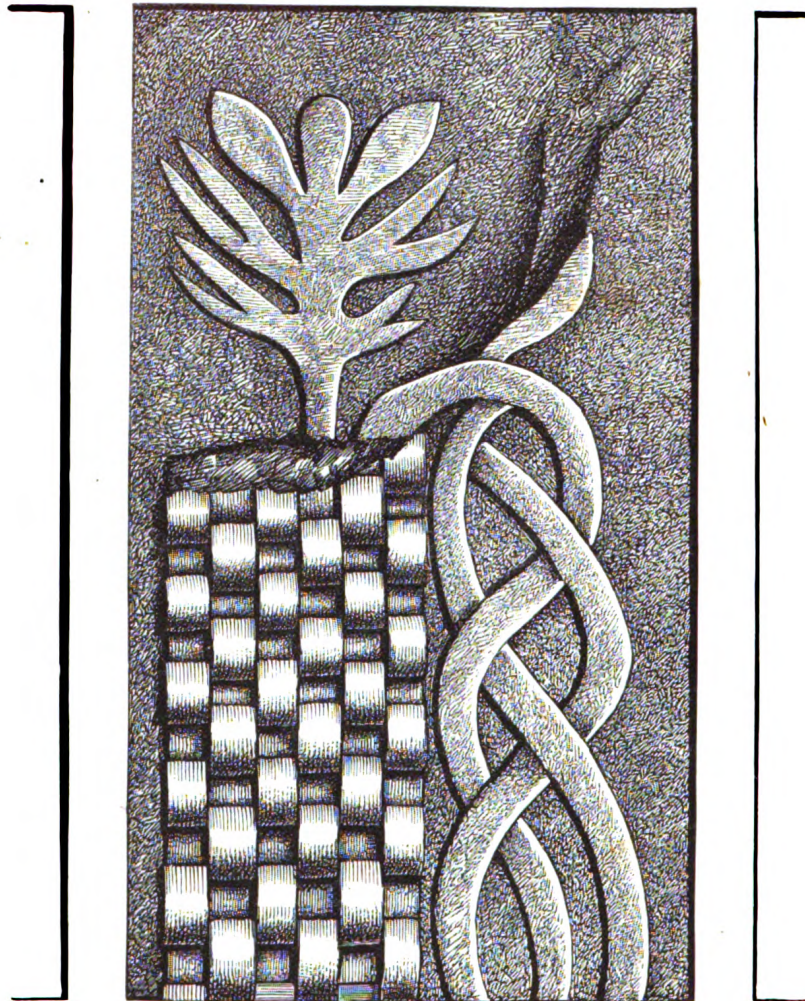
For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. Our first parents broke God's law.

Fearfully fell they,
and fell was their penance;
guilt after, gain'd they
but God's dread wrath and
bale-sorrow blasting;
their bairns, time thro,
with tears deep atoning
their taste of yon apple —

the Lord's word un-listed.
Their land should they therefore,
the shining and sweet-deckt,
sadly abandon
thro grudge of the hell-adder,
grim when be-guil'd he
elders our
in those first yore-days

thro false-minded framings;
 that far thence those wand'ers
 in death's outer dale-home
 a dwelling mote seek them,
 seats all sorrowful.
 Soothly was given them

life with gloom louring,
 (their lea ever holy,
 fiends thro false-tung'd,
 fastly y-barréd
 winters full many)
 till, the worthy, the worshipful —



mánkind's great mirth-spring,
 the mood-weary's cheerer
 earth and heaven's only hope —

by hitherward coming
 to save each dear saint-child,
 open struck it once more!

But trow not that this can be, while ye only look on. Faith without works is dead. Ye must fight as good kemps against the World, the Flesh and the Devil. Evil men and evil powers are round about us. In this land few, as yet, even name the name of Christ. Ye walk as it were with your life in your hands, for often must we seal our belief with a baptism of blood. All kinds of wickedness and cruelty, savage inroads, burnings of home-



steads and of the poor folk therein, with theft of children for sale in pagan markets, are rife around us, and tempt to quick gain by quick means. But all these things are the drivings of demons, the fristings of fiends, the glamour of ghost-trolls. Against all such stand ye fast. Take the whole armor of God, your loins girded with truth, having on the breastplate of righteousness, your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, and wielding fearlessly

the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, the sword of the spirit. Sleep not. Be constant in heart. On, Cross-men, on! Let each one be a Christian Thur!

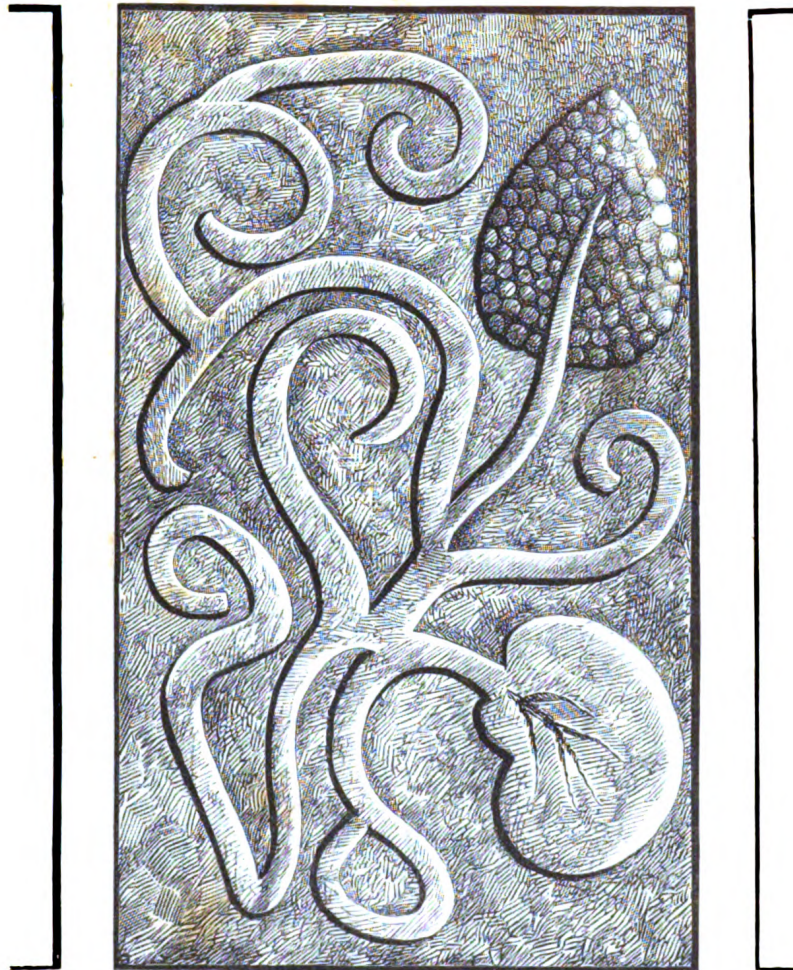
For as ye have the White Baldor, the wise and mighty (W)Odin's son, an aftergleam and image of the White Christ, the spotless son of the only one God, the Lord of Law and Right, — so talk ye also of the doughty Thu(no)r, the Asa-Thu(no)r, the aftergleam and image of Christ the Conqueror, Christ who smiteth Satan, who standeth alway against all evil things, and hunteth down to Hell the foul flocks warring against him. As each good glaive and valiant helt among our fore-elders hath gladly battled on the side of one-eyed (W)Oden and of his son the stalwart Thu(no)r, so let each good swordsman among us struggle strongly for Allfather and for Christ.

Your Thur is here. Look! in his forehead are still bedded shivers of the flintmace hurled against him by the skyhigh Hrugner. Still his red Beard frighteth the Monsters afar. Still his Megingjarder, his Belt of Strength, girdeth him round about. With his iron-gripe, his hand-shoe, his adamantine Glove, still graspeth he his Mjolner, the famous Dwarf-smithied short-hafted Hammer, flinging it with unerring aim at Ettins and Goblins, while ever it runneth back to his fingers again. Still handleth he the Steer-oar with which he helpt so wondrously in the giant Hrymer's boat, when he dasht his death-mall against the Midgarth Worm, the World-snake, whom we see in small under his right arm. And strange creatures, his foes and victims aye, from wild and wold and wood and cliff and crag and car, are near him above his shoulders.

Children, whenever ye see your Thur, resolve to be no less daring and dauntless against foul wight and false wanderer and fierce waylayer than he. Ye fight hence-forth under a nobler chieftain, a deathless captain, Christ. Thu(no)r, so ye sing and say, in the last dread doomsday shock, the weird of the world and its gods, shall mightily massacre the brood of the Giantess, yon infernal Midgarth-dragon, but himself falleth, poisoned by the streams of burning etter he had spewed out over him. Our leader, the fair Folk-Frea, Christ the Comforter, shall cast the Dragon-devil into the lake of fire and brimstone along with Death and Hell, and shall rule triumphant, King and Kaiser, in the Holy City of the New Heaven and the New Earth!

Only so will Christ acknowledge you as His. Only so can ye be His mystical members, true branches grafted into Him the true Vine. Idle, helpless, timeserving, cowardly, selfish, mere slaves of softness and sloth, ye are cut off from Him the Holy Tree. Steadfast for Him, living and dying for

Him, battling for Him by word and deed and a pure daily ensample, ye shall, as limbs, have part in the sap and life running alway thro the Vine of Heaven. I am the True Vine, saith the high and holy one; my Father is the husbandman. The branch cannot bear fruit except it abide in the Vine. Bear ye abundantly blossoms of righteousness thro Him the Righteous.



Here is the Vine on this granite Font-book. The cunning artificer hath pourtrayed it well, leaf, tendril, cluster, the rich grape-group, whose wine's savor is Life Everlasting. Remember we this alway, resisting the Devil that he may flee from us! Make we the Prince of Peace our pattern, and so be knitted to Him the True Vine for ever! Then are we one with Christ and He with us, thro Love. Love is stronger than death, overcometh all things. Faith, Hope, Love; but the greatest of these is Love. What shall separate us from

the love of Christ, what break us away from the Heavenly Vine? I trow, nothing in Heaven or Earth or Hell, neither principalities nor powers. For He is faithful and just to keep His word to us. Cleave we unto Him, lose we never His almighty help, legions of His Angels keeping watch and ward round about us. To Him be wuldor, ore, herying and lordship, — glory, honor, praise and dominion, — for ever and for aye! So be it!



But all this is in and thro and by Christ, Christ the Crucified, as I have taught ye so oft, repeating the Holy Creed of the Apostles, which we will hold fast till our life's end. Christ is greater than a thousand Thu(no)rs. He shall mightily succor His people. He shall uphold and comfort them in life and in death, giving them at last a house not made with hands, eternal

in the heavens. This Christ, our youthful champion, who died that He might kill Death and that we might live, hangs in effigy there on the Rood-tree.

That Cross of offence, that accursed trunk, that gallows of shame and sorrow, hath become the thrice-happy Rood-token, the bright Beacon, the Christian's battle-banner, the sign of Blessing to all mid-earth. See! Itself the fount of life all worlds round, it buds and blooms and breaks forth about Him into the Stem of Life, even the Tree of Paradise lost by Adam, with fruit celestial and undying foliage. As Adam died, so Christ maketh alive. The king of kings and lord of lords is He. Blessed be His name!

Tire not to tellen
of the Tree of Glory,
where the Prince of Peace
tholéd (*suffered, underwent*) His Passion
for the sins many
of Man's children,
the olden misdeeds
of father Adam.

Death He there tasted:
but the Dreeten (*Lord*) thence breaking,
with His mickle might
for the help of man,
to Heaven ascended.
Here will He eft eke
in this our mid-earth
mánkind visit
on the Day of Doom,
He the Dread-One,
God Almighty,
and His Angels with Him.
Who hath power of judgment —
so will judge them,
each and every,
as erewhile here
in this miserable life
their deeds merited.

Pale need no one,
panic-stricken,
at the words which then
the Waldend (*Ruler, Lord*) speaketh.
Fore that crowd speireth (*asketh*) He
whether creature be any
who for God's name's sake
will give himself up
to torment and death,
as on the Tree He did.
Fear then af-frayeth,
and few bethink them
what to the Saviour
they mo say or answer.
Yet pale need no one,
panic-stricken,
in breast who e'er beareth
this blessedest token.
Thro the Cross each Christian
may reach the Kingdom;
soar may each soul
from earth skyward,
if to wun with the Waldend
she willeth rightly.

So sang my gifted landsman, the heaven-taught shepherd-songster, England's glory, this Northland's child, Cædmon of the Angles in broad Northumberland. His verses never leave me. Let them abide with you also.

And now, little children, the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you alway!

Amen! †

I ought to apologize to my reader for beginning with this unexpected little Homily, to some perhaps a mere rhapsody. But the facts are before us. The carvings of the Baptismal Vessel cannot be explained away. Such a Catechism-Font¹⁾, undeniably bearing in one of its compartments the figure of a chief Scando-Gothic God, is *unique*²⁾, must have a meaning, and demands exposition. This can only be done by using the oldest Christian symbolisation, and by reference to the time and place when the Font was made. I may not everywhere have entirely succeeded in every detail. But I think that, on the whole, the signification must be nearly as I have suggested. Perhaps others may find some better clue. Every olden relic, however, must be interpreted in an atmosphere, a light, of its own. This is the case with mere heathen remains, and not less so with Christian. In fact I did not know how easier and better to interpret the long roll of symbol-figures here carved on the graystone, than to place the whole by itself first of all, as a continuous little address by the simple Priest standing before the Dip-stone.

Something like the words to the engravings may then well have been the language often used by the English missionary-priest or his Scandinavia-born disciple, now himself a teacher of his countrymen, when evangelizing the Gothic clans in this part of Sweden, the cradle of Christianity in that land. Effort after effort would be made, every fitting opportunity used, to teach the people; not least by expounding the things used in the little church. All early

¹⁾ This expression is here taken in its *primitive* meaning of ORAL instruction in the elements of the Christian faith. It gradually obtained other significations. Its present use, in the sense of a short written or PRINTED outline or explanation, is quite MODERN, in a happy moment introduced by the great Reformer Martin Luther.

²⁾ A couple of small Bronze statues of TARANIS, the Gallic Hammer-bearing Thunder-god, answering to the Scando-Gothic THUNOR, have been found in France.

Christian art was a hornbook and more or less symbolical, helping to gather folk into the fold. Especially at Baptism would kinsfolk and strangers, some of them maybe not yet converted, be present, as well as the small households of believers.

Hence in old Christian lands, especially in our North, is the Dipstone often so exceptionally decorated. In spite of the vandalisms of centuries, no part of Europe has even yet so many costly Fonts — usually of simple granite or wood and of rough or even «barbarous» execution — as Scandinavia. England's very early «civilisation» and «high farming» has destroyed almost all our *very* oldest Fonts. The time will come when these precious Scandinavian relics will be collected and publisht¹). Many of them bear Runic Inscriptions, while as yet we have only found *two* bearing runes in England. Some have words or sentences in Roman characters. Most of those in Scandinavia down to about the 14th century and in England down to about the 11th, are in various ways remarkable. I myself have seen great numbers, in the original or in drawings; but never, in any part of Europe, one so remarkable as this from Ottrava.

For the Holy Stone here before us belonged to the old Church at OTTRAVA in the diocese of Skara, West Gotland, Sweden. But the old unbarbarized name, down to 1397, was OTERVAD, *OTTER WADE, the Ford of the Otter*. This Church was taken down in 1813, and its sandstone materials were used in building the large new Church at Dimbo, which is now the temple for the whole rectory. The Rev. M. Florell took care of the old Font, which lay neglected in Ottrava church-yard, and had it removed to Dimbo. Here it was examined by the Rev. Claes Johan Ljungström in 1875, and that active archæologist sent me in Dec. 1875 a full-size tracing of the figures. I explained them to him, and in October 1877 he publisht a short account of the Doop-stone, with a very small engraving of the compartments. See his valuable work: «Wartofta Härad och Staden Falköping», Lund 1877, 4to p. 159—161.

This precious Baptismal Basin is of granite, about 2 feet high, 2 feet 8 inches in diameter, and 5 inches thick. The base has not been found.

¹) Of course a good many have appeared from time to time in Scandinavia, scattered thro all sorts of publications and often far from correctly engraved, or only a part of the sculpturing given. What we want is a carefully drawn systematic series of all having any interest, and enumerations — with specimens — of the rest. A good instalment has this moment reacht me, 13 of the oldest Fonts in Bohuslän, Sweden, («Bohuslänska Dopfuntar», from drawings by G. Brusewitz, with text by Dr. O. Montelius, pp. 425—446 of «Göteborgs och Bohusläns Fornminnen och Historia». 1876, 1877 — 8vo, Stockholm 1877).

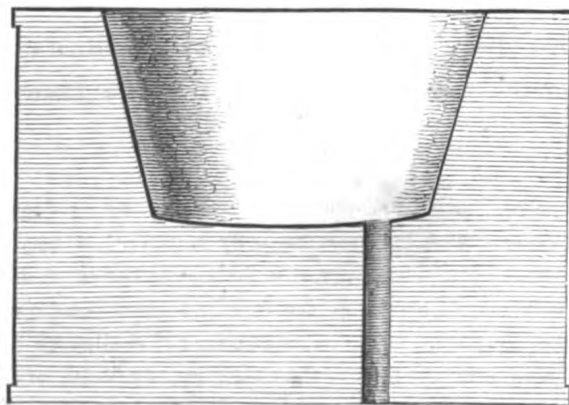
By analogy with other such, it probably bore a Runic Inscription — at least the name of the stone-smith. The date is about the year 1000, or very early in the 11th century. It is now preserved in the National Museum, Stockholm, to which it came by purchase.

Anxious to obtain materials entirely trustworthy, I was fortunate enough to gain the assistance of a distinguished Swedish antiquarian artist, with many years' experience in this kind of work, Herr Olof Erlandsson of Skara in West Gotland. In the summer of 1876 he spent some time for me at Dimbo, and made the careful and beautiful drawings which are here given, engraved on wood by Herr I. F. Rosenstand of Cheapinghaven.

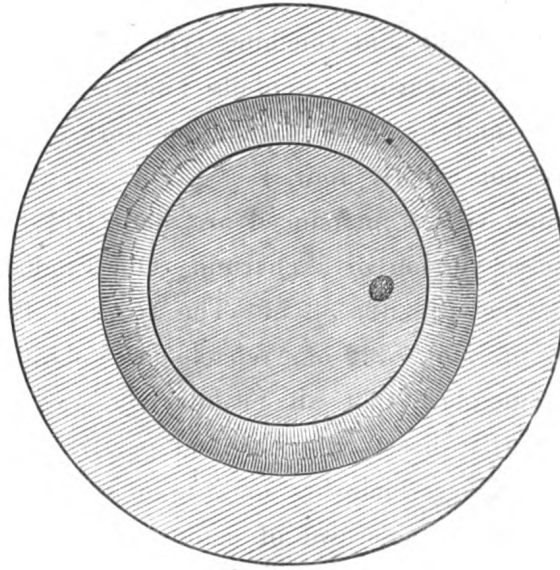
That we may form a good idea of its general appearance, I here add a view of the piece as it stands, with its figures cut in relief:



I also give a profile of the Basin:



And of the bottom of the Dipping-stone, seen from above:



1 Cartouche. *The Fall.* As the Worm, Dragon, Snake, &c. plays so great a part in Northern Art and Mythology, the artist has taken the shortest and simplest symbol, *only the Serpent.* Observe the Apple in its mouth.

2 Cartouche. *The Restoration. Holy Baptism.* A Priest with Cross uplift. His left hand holds the Gospels. The carved verse is from S. Mark's Gospel, ch. 16, v. 16:

QVI CREDIDERIT ET BATIZATVS FVERIT SALVVS ERIT.

Remark the slurring of the P, the rare old type for Z and the small s, — in BA(P)TIZATVS.

3 Cartouche. *Confirmation.* Bishop seated on his chair, right hand uplift to bless, left grasping the Holy Book.

4 Cartouche. *Heavenly Mysteries.* Saint John the Celestial, above the Rainbow. Stands as a bust in profile, Cross in hand¹⁾.

¹⁾ The learned Danish Priest Karl J. Brandt kindly suggests that this field represents «the great prayer of the Church, «Our Father», in the name of Christ the Crucified». This idea is worthy of attention. But I cannot accept it. «Our Father» must surely be comprehended in the Church's teaching under the first compartment, Baptism. And the sculpture itself forbids it. We there do *not* see the Crucified; there is no glory or any other emblem tokening Our Lord, still less Christ on the Cross. The figure is either that of a simple Priest -

5 Cartouche. *Paradise restored.* We see the (wattle-built) wall or gate of the Garden, the Tree of Life within, and the outflowing 4 Rivers emblemizing the 4 Evangelists. This last bold and touching type is the oldest of all for the Gospellers, and one of the earliest symbols known to the Christian Church. From the narrow space and to spare hard stone-work, the Rivers are treated conventionally and are not exactly four.¹⁾

The stave-rime verses introduced are lines 811—844 of my line-for-line and metre-for-metre version of a charming Old-English poem of the 10th or 11th yearhundred. See pp. 32, 33 of «The King of Birds; or the Lay of the Phoenix», printed pp. 256—322 of *Archæologia*, Vol. 30, London 1844, 4to.

We must remember that all Scandinavia was chiefly converted by English missionaries, partly direct from England, partly indirect from their stations in Germany, Frisland &c., which they lookt upon as stepping-stones to further progress northward. Hence the crowd of manuscripts in Germany, written by Englishmen or copied by their disciples, containing Runic Alphabets for their use in Scandinavia, where alone — and in its colony England — Runes were ever heard of. The first considerable and successful Christian mission in Sweden was in West Gotland, whither also came among other Angles the indefatigable and loving Saint *Sigfrid*, consecrated Bishop for that mission in York. After the selfsacrificing labors of half a century he died somewhere about 1030.

6 Cartouche. *Thu(no)r.* In Scandinavia and part of England the older THUNOR and WODEN early gave way to the easier slurred forms THUR (THOR) and ODEN (ODIN). The former we still keep in our THURSDAY, while the latter has kept its w in our WEDNESDAY, the days especially allotted to their worship. All the details here are quite plain. The well-known legends about Thu(no)r will be found in the Eddas and elsewhere. Striking is Thu(no)r's *Beard*. All

which cannot be, for we plainly have the Priest in the 2nd stall — or else it is an Evangelist. But the Rainbow belongs to St. John as the Heavenly Teacher, «the Eagle John who scanned the divine nature».

²⁾ There is no doubt that the *oldest* emblem of the 4 Evangelists was the 4 Rivers of Paradise. This is earlier than the Tetramorph, the 4 Living Creatures in Ezekiel's visions, or than these united in one figure, but afterwards simplified as the Apocalyptic Lion, Calf, Man and Eagle, which first *commenced* in the 5th century and were not *separately* attributed to *separate* Evangelists till long after. We find these 4 Rivers on some of the most antique works of Christian art, among others the famous Lateran Cross, a mosaic whose original dates from the time of Constantine. The 4 Books or Rolls also occur, as symbolizing the 4 Evangelists, on very early art-works. The 4 Rivers are often found united as one Jordan, in union with other signs connected with Baptism.

Nor can I think that the figure *only* or *chiefly* refers to the New Jerusalem in the Revelations of St. John.

the other heads are beardless. But the DIP-STONE is more than 200 years OLDER than the oldest Codex of the oldest or Poetical Edda.¹⁾

7 Cartouche. *The Vine*, the very oldest Christian symbol of Our Lord and His Church.

8 Cartouche. *The Crucifixion*. The youthfulness of the figure and the feet separated, are proofs of great antiquity in the treatment, which is highly conventional, not even the nails being given.

The stave-rime verses, line-for-line and metre-for-metre, are lines 195—244 of the magnificent «The Holy Rood, a Dream», written in Old-North-English by the sublime Poet Cædmon, perhaps about the middle of the 7th century. He died about A. D. 680. The commencing lines of this lay, in Old-North-English, are inscribed IN RUNES on the Ruthwell Cross in the extreme north of old Northumbria (now in south Scotland), whose date is about 680. But the whole poem is only extant in a South-English transcript of the 10th century. See engravings of the Cross, all 4 sides, the lay itself and my notes and version, in my «Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England», Vol. 1, folio, London 1867, pp. 405—448, — this section also published separately as a pamphlet. — The biblical and traditionary subjects sculptured on this Ruthwell Cross are many and remarkable. Among them is *The Vine*²⁾.

¹⁾ Pastor Brandt will also give to this compartment a reference to *Penitence*, bót and bettering. At all events he is right in thinking that the monsters may additionally symbolize in the olden Church the 7 Deadly Sins.

²⁾ Pastor Brandt is inclined to look upon the 7th and 8th fields as symbolizing the Lord's Supper, the True Vine as introductory thereto and the Body of Our Lord as a fruit on the Tree of Life. He thinks the *Catechism* will be then clearer. But this seems to me far too narrow. We expect the Sacrament of the Altar under *Confirmation*.

The Vine was always chiefly the mystical union with Christ. The Cross became very early more than a simple Rood. Where it was not a short and rich sign of Christ Himself, it was a token for Eternal Life, Paradise Regained. This idea, which is perhaps much older, meets us as well known in the 5th century in the popular apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus (or the Acts of Pilate), Part 2. Here the author speaks of Seth's visit to Paradise, to seek the Oil of Mercy wherewith to cure his dying father Adam. *But the Angel answered, that this Oil — in the shape of the Tree of Mercy, the Tree of Lite — should one day be given thro the God-man, and that Paradise should in this way be opened to Adam and his children. This conception soon rapidly spread, in many and various shapes, thro all the Christian world. It was well known to the great Englishman the Venerable Bede (672—735), whose writings were devoured by the Western Churches. It is found in Scandinavia in the old Swedish Legendarium (last half of 13th century); but older Scandinavian works of a similar character *have disappeared*. Specially as regards the treatment of the Cross itself in Christian art, we have this emblem as far back as the 6th and 7th century on the Monza Oil-flasks, on the Cross in the Baptistery in St. Pontianus, and elsewhere, where it appears as a flowering tree, from whose stem spring forth leaves and fruit.

In order to understand the introduction of Thu(no)r on a Christian Font, we must realize that in this very early period in Scandinavia *Heathendom was all around*, living and strong and warlike. The congregations of the faithful were few and far between, islands as it were in a sea of pagandom. The Church was only slowly making its way. The whole air was pagan, the language itself of a necessity largely pagan — full of words and phrases rooted in the olden national belief — like Greek in the time of Saint Paul. Many of these pagan technical expressions were naturally taken up bodily in the service of the Church, some have subsisted in England itself down to our own day. Then heathen names of things and festivals &c. were slightly altered or imitated or translated (the name of a Saint substituted for that of a God or Goddess and so on). This was the case in all the Scando-Gothic lands. It has been the case to some extent everywhere. Even Finland calls God, rightly and beautifully, JUMALA. I have already pointed out that Cædmon, in his lines on the Ruthwell Cross, while singing — as only he could sing — the death of Christ on the Cross, *actually describes* the death of the Christ of his heathen forefathers, BALDOR, slain and pierced by the Mistleto!

We must also remember, (to appreciate the simple broad Bible-truths uttered by the good Priest and understood by his flock), that the early Anglo-Scandic Church had all the great pillars of the faith, as the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Doxologies and such, recited in the service, IN THE VULGAR TUNG¹). We have still such things — in spite of destruction endless — in England from the 9th century downwards, in Scandinavia from the 12th century downwards. Nay, many Old and Early English Homilies were in stave-rime verse, the grand national metre, the better to catch the ear of the common people.

¹) This is independent of Hymns, &c., and of Biblical books or Lections therefrom. Of the latter the oldest bits *left* in Norway-Iceland are from the close of the 12th century, in Sweden from the 14th, in Denmark from the 15th. In England the oldest *left* are from the 9th and 10th, in Old-North-English and Old-South-English, besides the Psalms in O. S. E. in both Prose and Verse. But *all* our Northern lands have *lost* much older. What (how many «milliards») would we not give for a copy of the Venerable Bede's translation (in O. N. E.) of St. John's Gospel, whose last verse he penned just before he died? This great and good man fell asleep in 735. And as St. John is the 4th Gospel, Bede had probably already translated the other 3. But nowhere is it said that this was the first version in England. The rubrics in the O. E. Gospels distinctly point out what portions were to be redd in the Churches on particular days. The oldest existing Scando-Gothic Bible books are the Mæso-Gothic, translated by Bishop Wulfila about A. D. 360. And these, tho considerable, are only fragments.

There is therefore, as far as I can see, nothing strange or unlikely in the words here hypothetically address by the West-Gotland Priest to his Christian flock.

THU(NO)R AND HIS EMBLEMS.

As we see, the great feature of this Font is the figure of Thu(no)r. This popular God has hitherto only been found, in the art-efforts of our forefathers, as it were *in short-hand*, in a general way or by some symbol. Far be it from me to enter upon the whole question of Thu(no)r and his worship, and the references to him in tradition and in the written prose and verse still left to us. But it cannot be amiss here to gather up some notices of *the Art-works* relating to him up to this time. They have of course been observed chiefly in the Scandinavian home-land, which was Christianized hundreds of years *after* its colony England.

Taking these things as shortly and simply as we can, we will group them as follows:

A. THE HEAD OF THU(NO)R.

The first example¹⁾ will be the heathen stone at

SKJERN, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

This I have already made public in my «Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England», folio, Vol. 2, p. 788—791, to which I refer for details. It is probably from the 9th century, and is 5 feet high by 3 feet broad, and from 2 to 16 inches thick. The drawing was made by Kruse in 1856, but 3 letters are here corrected, from a fresh drawing by Prof. J. M. Petersen in 1869. First we have the body of the granite block:

¹⁾ At p. 741 of my Old-Northern Runic Monuments, Vol. 2, I have given an engraving of a large rock in Sweden (Lagnö, Aspö, Södermanland), of which, by the kindness of Baron O. Hermelin, I have since obtained a very large and still more careful drawing. The central figure, carved on the rock with the runic risting, is a naked man with immense mustachioes. But as this shape has no beard, and no single attribute of any kind, and may be the bild of the deceast or a mere fantastic sketch, I omit it here. It was however doubtless cut in heathen times.

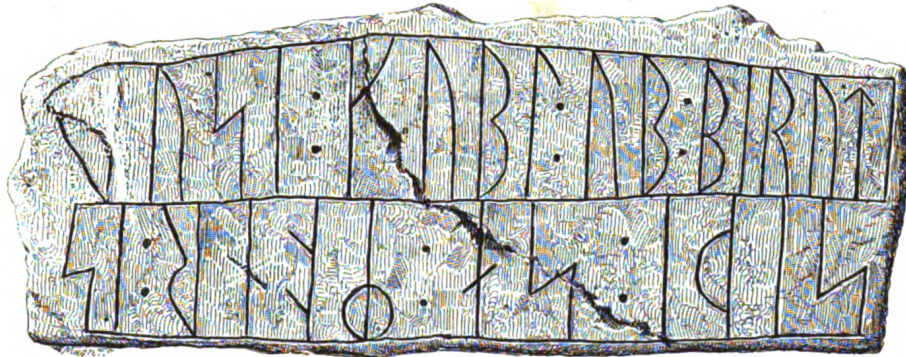


In the center is the Head of Thu(nor), wild and *bearded*. There is no manner of doubt that he is here introduced and invoked *to bless and protect* the deceast, and his tumulus, grave-stone and other funeral marks.

The Skjern runes are large and plain:

SO SKIRADR RISDI STIN, FINULFS TUTIR, AT UPINKAUR, USBIARNAR SUN, DOE TURA,
UK ÆIN TURUTIN FASTA.

Whether we divide SO SKIRADR, or SOSKIRADR as one word, the meaning of the whole sentence will be the same. Then comes, here given separately, the top of the block:



SIDI SA MONR IS DUSI KUBL UB BIRUTI!

The meaning of the whole runic risting will be:

*SHE SKIRATH RAISED this-STONE, FINULF'S DAUGHTER, AT (to, in memory of) UTHIN-
KAUR USBIARN'S SON, THE DEAR, EKE (and) ONE (a) DREETEN (Lord, Husband) FAST (true,
faithful).*

*SITH (wander, be-outlawed, banned and rightless be) SA (that) MAN AS (who)
THESE CUMBELS (these grave-marks, how and stones) UP may-BRETE (may dare to, break
or desecrate)!*

We have a similar formula of curse against the despoiler of the tomb on the stones at Glimminge, Skåne, Sweden; Glavendrup, Fyn, Denmark; and Tryggvælde, Sealand, Denmark; and it is explained by me in my *Old-N. R. Mon.* Vol. 2, p. 697—701.

The second is the heathen runic monolith at

LUND, SKÅNE, SWEDEN,

engraved and described by me in my *O. N. R. Mon.* 2, p. 749. I here repeat the woodcuts, but remark that Bruzelius (*Saml. til Skånes Hist.* Lund 1871, p. 148) has shown that the drawing I engraved (Sjöborg's) is not quite correct

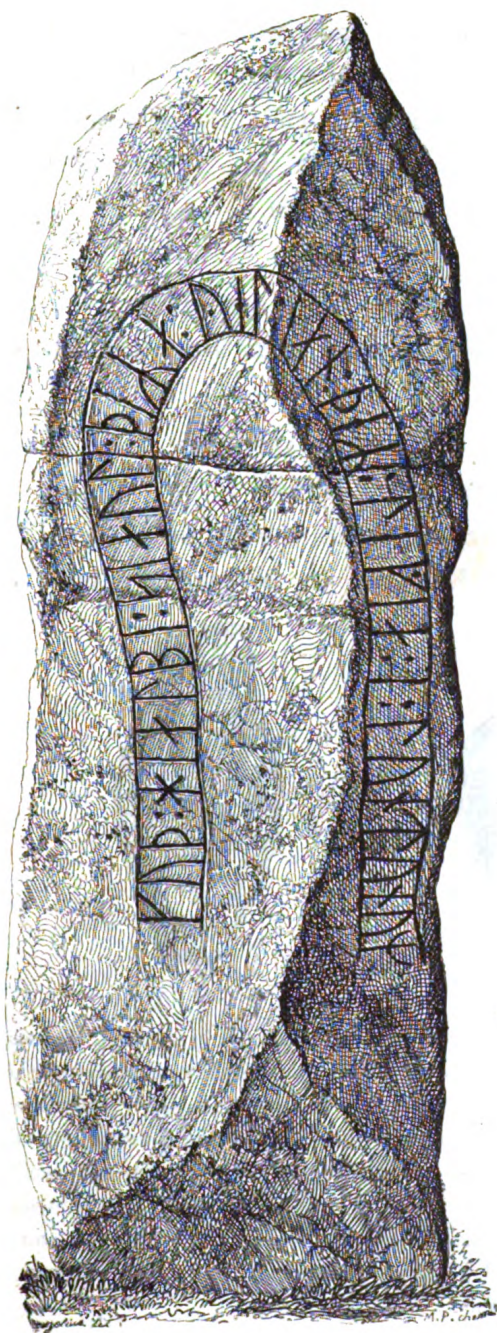
in the ornamental parts. However, we have here the same *Wild Bearded Face* of Thu(no)r the Protector of the Dead:



The inscription plainly reads:

DURKISL, SUN ISKIS BIARNAR SUNAR, RISTI ST(INO) D(ISI) UFTIR BRUÐR SINO BADA
 ULAF UK UTAR, LANMITR KUDA.

THURKISL (= THURGISL), SON of-ISKIR (= ANSGAIR) BIARN'S SON, RAISED STONE THIS
 AFTER (in memory of) BROTHERS SINE (his) BOTH (his two brothers) ULAF EKE (and) UTAR,
 LANDMEN (Land-guards, Officers, or landholders, freeholders, yeomen) GOOD.



I add, as contrast, the remarkable stone raised in the first half of the 11th century at

VALLEBERGA, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

It was given by me in my O. N. R. Mon. Vol. 2, p. 820, and afterwards by N. G. Bruzelius (Saml. till Skånes Hist. 8vo. Lund 1873, p. 3). It stood on a cenotaph, not a grave, for it expressly says that the deceased were lying entombed IN LONDON.

We see that it bears a very common Cross-type, the Cross Patté, but on its upper limb rests a *Beardless Head* with mild features. This I look upon as overgang, a transitional treatment on so early a block. The Head of Christ has taken the place of the Head of Thu(no)r, while the Hammer-mark of the Thunderer has given way to the Cross-mark of the Prince of Peace. It is a charming conventional treatment, *Christ on the Cross in small*¹⁾.

The runes on the chief side say:

SUIN AUK TURGUTR KIAURÐU KUML ÐISI IFTIR MANA AUK SUINI.

SUIN EKE (and) TURGUT GARED (made) CUMBELS (grave-marks) THESE AFTER MANI EKE SUIN.

The continuation on the back is:

KUD HIALBI SIAUL ÐIRA ÆEL. IAN ÐER LIGIA I LUNTUNUM.

GOD HELP SOUL(S) THEIR WELL. IN (but) THEY LIE IN LONDON.

But I also class here an amulet-type which meets us in the Later Iron Age. Dr. H. Hildebrand²⁾ and after him Dr. O. Montelius³⁾ have en-



¹⁾ As we all know, on the famous and colossal runestone at Jellinge in Jutland, Denmark, raised by Harald Blue-tooth to his father king Gorm the Old in the 10th century, one side bears on a very large scale CHRIST ON THE CROSS. But the treatment is highly conventional. There is in fact *no Cross*, only ornamental winds and knots. But the meaning doubtless was, that the whole should represent the Crucifixion; only in the antique, rich and symbolical form, that the Cross is visibly blooming and changing into the Tree of Life, *exactly as on the Ottrava Font*. Now the Jellinge monument is *much older* than the Ottrava, and the treatment is proportionally more «barbaric» and Northern-national.

²⁾ Förlhagen-fyndet (Ant. Tidskr. f. Sverige, 3, 101).

³⁾ Sveriges Forntid (Atlas, 2, Nos. 595, 605, 606).

graved 3 of these pieces. All are of silver, found in Gotland, given full size, and are here Heliotyped by Pacht. Twelve such were found at Föhlagen.

These pendants, probably for the neck, show the *Head of a Man*, conventionally treated with bead-work &c., but all with what is meant for a *Beard*,

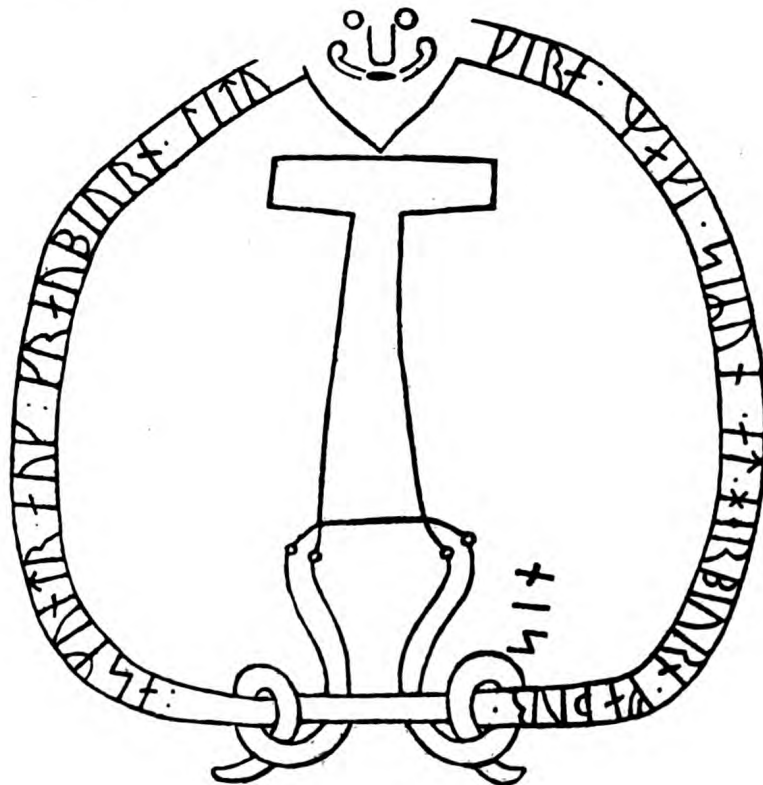
The next class of these pieces is:

A. THU(NO)R'S HEAD AND HAMMER.

Of this I have only one example, the heathen engraved rock at

ÅBY, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN,

given by me in my O. N. R. Mon. 2, p. 670, 671, but without any drawing. It is only known to me by the woodcut in Göransson's Bautil, No. 766, of which I here copy the central part, Heliotyped by Pacht. By his scale it was about 16 feet high and the runic band about 8 inches high. Accordingly the letters must have been very plain, and his drawing seems absolutely correct, save a mere woodcutter's error in the word FRAUBIURN, where by a false stroke the F has become κ. It seems from the 10th century. Liljegren (No. 993) had no other authority than Bautil. Here we have, boldly cut, the *Head of Thu(no)r* the Protector, with *mustachioes and peakt Beard*, and below his *Hammer*. — For another example of the SIUN for SEVEN, with the N still left, see the Stenquista stone, farther on.



Correcting the K, as above said, the runes are:

ASMUNTR AUK FRAUBIURN LITU KIRA MAKI SIOUN AT HERBIURN, FADUR SIN.

ASMUNT (ANSMUND) EKE FRAUBIURN LET GARE (*make, raise*) *these-grave-MARKS SEVEN AT (to) HERBIURN, FATHER SIN (their).*

Often several standing stones, besides the rune-bearer, were raised to the dead, and sometimes the number is spoken of in the epigraph. Thus we have endlessly ONE, sometimes TWO or BOTH, then SEVEN and MANY and ALL. On one, the Ek stone, West-Gotland, Sweden, we have a STONE-BRIDGE and THIRTY MARKS!

Pass we now to the Amulets or breast-ornaments already spoken of. Some of these, like the Stone, have the Hammer as well as the Head. I first engrave one, of silver strongly gilt, found in 1877 in

SKÅNE, SWEDEN.



It is here given full size, Chemityped by Prof. Magnus Petersen from an Electrotpe in the possession of Herr Steffensen, Conservator to the Danish Museum. The original is in the collection of Viscount Arvid Kurck, SKÅNE. It is doubly interesting as being a copy's copy of a piece which was founded on the Classical Thunor, JUPITER AMMON, so well known to the «barbarians» from the Alexander Coins, as well as in other ways¹). As we now see it, the type is being degraded into the shape of a Bird.

The second offers no such capricious variation. Head and Hammer are perfect. It comes from a rich find in 1875 at

ERIKSTORP, EAST GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

¹) Just as TARANIS (the Gallic THUNOR) has also been found bearing attributes of the Classical HERCULES. The influence of Classic Art and Mythology was very great, far and wide.



It is here copied, full size, from an engraving (p. 504) illustrating an interesting paper by Dr. H. Hildebrand, in the Swedish «Månadsblad» for July—August 1877. The Heliotype is by Pacht. It is of silver, parcel-gilt. The treasure to which it belonged was buried about the year 1000.

For the loan of the next 2 blocks I have to thank Dr. H. Petersen. (See his work, p. 76, 78). The one represents a similar piece found at

BREDSÄTTRA, ÖLAND, SWEDEN.



It is of silver, and is engraved in the Atlas 2 of Dr. Montelius, No. 628, a. The Head is still quite distinguishable, in spite of the conventional treatment. Lastly I add one found in 1874 at

MANDEMARK, MÖN, DENMARK.



This piece, of silver, is decorated with golden plates prest in and hangs in a golden ring. The eyes are of gold, inlaid, and on the forehead are inlaid 3 golden stripes, exactly as on the head of Thu(no)r on the Font. I take them, here also, to represent the fragments of the Giant's Flint-mace. At all events there can be no doubt that the figure was intended to represent a Human Head close on to Thu(no)r's Hammer.

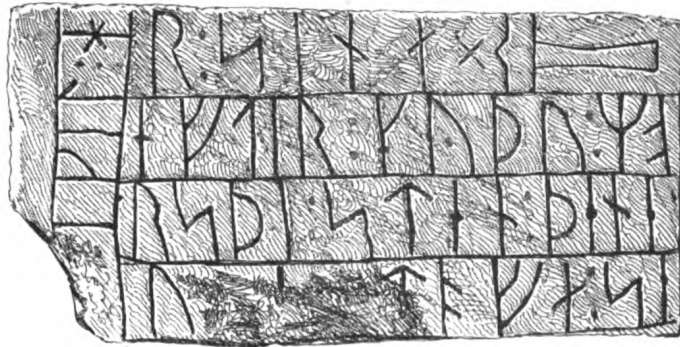
Then we have the simple symbol

C. THU(NO)RS HAMMER ALONE.

Beginning with Runic Stones, we come to that at

HANNING, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.

For the loan of this Chemitype I am again indebted to Dr. H. Petersen, who has published it in his valuable and original essay «Om Nordboernes Gudetro i Hedenold», 8vo. Kjøbenhavn 1876, p. 52. The block is comparatively modern, seemingly from the 11th century, for heathendom lingered long locally in Scandinavia. And it has many contractions, as is not uncommon, to spare cutting. When the church at Hanning was raised, it was used as building material, and squared off as a slab in the southern chancel wall. But the whole inscription was spared, and by a happy accident we perhaps can restore the first word by its being repeated at the close. Thus SE is either short for SEN or it is SEN sounded and written SE, while RSDI is RISDI as often, and MOR shortened from MODOR. The H stands in the same way for HIAU or HIO &c. — The *Hammer of Thu(no)r*, invoking him to guard and bless, is undeniable. I read the staves:



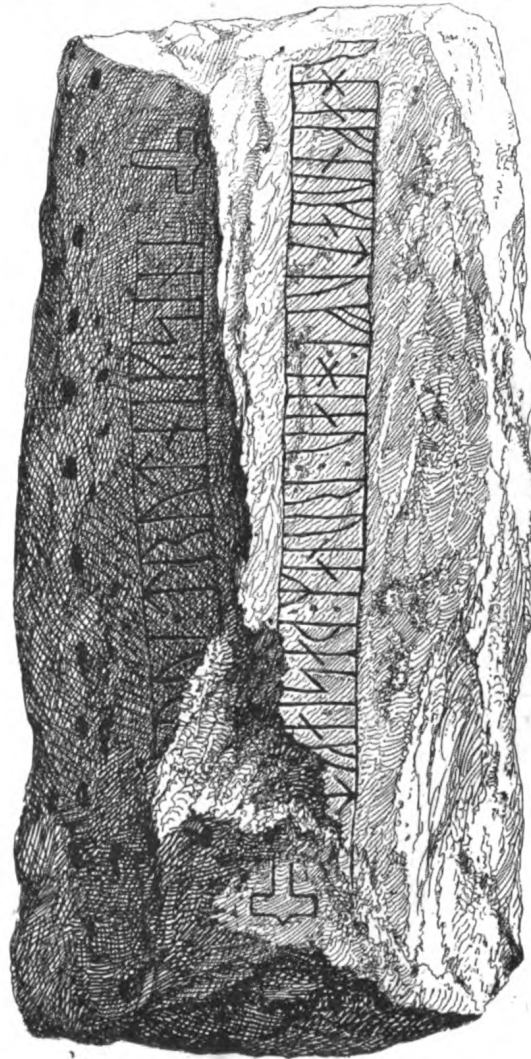
U(ikl) TOFA SE RSDI STEN DENE EFTIR GÜDU, MOR SINA. (u)IKIL H.

UIKIL TOFE-SON RAISED STONE THIS AFTER (*in minne of*) GÜTHA, MOTHER SIN (*his*).

UIKIL HEWED (*carved the runes*).

The second is the heathen block at

LÆBORG, NORTH JUTLAND, DENMARK.



For this Chemitype also I have to thank the same active archæologist, who gave it in his work, p. 53. A couple of the letters are now fallen away. Whether we translate TRUTNIK by *Queen*, or by *Mistress* (Lady in whose employ he was), does not concern us here. *Thu(no)r's Hammer* of benison is twice repeated on the stone.

RHAFNUKA TUFU HIAU RUNAR PASI AFT (þur)UI, TRUTNIK SINA.

RHAFNUNG-TUFI HEWED (*cut*) RUNES THESE AFTER THYRE, QUEEN SIN (*his*).



The third is the large heathen monolith at

STENQVISTA. SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN,

about 10 feet high. Heliotyped by Pacht from R. Dybeck's Run-urkunder, 8vo. No. 34. But a splendid paper cast, for which I have to thank Hr. Westerberg of Eskilstuna, reached me in 1868. This showed that Dybeck was not exactly correct in 2 letters, and these are here put right. *Thu(no)r's Protecting Hammer* guards the tomb. The SIOUN, SEVEN, has already appeared above.

HELKI AUK FRAUKAIR AUK ÞORKAUTR RAISTU MERKI SIOUN AT ÞIUDMUNT, FADUR SIN.

HELKI (HELGE) EKE (and) FRAUKAIR EKE THORKAUT RAISED MARKS *these-SEVEN* AT (to) THIUTHMUNT, FATHER SIN (*their*).

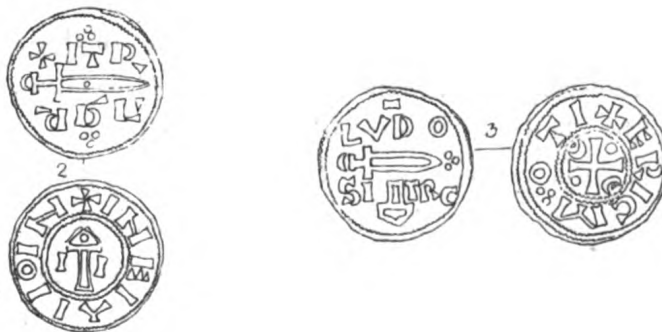
This fine monument would seem to be from the 10th year-hundred.

The fourth is the runic block at

GRÄSTORP, WEST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

But Dr. O. Montelius has kindly informed me that he has not yet been able to procure a good drawing of this monument. He says that it is now lying in a ditch, and that its position prevents even a paper cast being taken. But he will endeavor, as soon as possible, to pay a second visit to Grästorp and have the stone dug out and drawn.

Passing on to the *Coins*, we have 2 pieces struck by the Danish kings of Northumbria. They have been pointed out by my learned friend and countryman the Rev. D. H. Haigh, in *Archæologia Æliana*, 8vo. Vol. 7, 1866, p. 43, 47, and are Nos. 2 and 3 in his Plate 6. I copy them here, adding Mr. Haigh's description:



«2. Similar type; legend, intended for SITRIC RE, blundered.

«Thor's hammer, between the billets; legend intended for INGELGAR MON.

«3. LVDO SITRC; similar type, Thor's hammer introduced as an accessory ornament.

«+ ERIC MOTI; a cross with crescents and pellets in alternate quarters».

«There can be no doubt that this is the object intended by the device on two of the coins of Sihtric, and on the later types of the S. Peter money. Little hammers of this form seem to have been worn as amulets; there are three or four in the Old Northern Museum at Copenhagen, one attached to a ring, all intended to be so; and one was found [in England] with the Cuedale coins. . . . The story which Simeon tells, of Onlaf «the hold», swearing enmity to the clergy of the church of S. Cuthbert, by his gods «Thor and Othan», shows that he stood first in the estimation of the Danish rulers of Northumberland. So this dynasty, the race of Ivar, whose seat of empire was alternately Dublin and York; who quitted Dublin when the Northumbrians invited them, and resumed their authority in Dublin when they were compelled to abandon Northumberland, are called, in verses quoted by the Four Masters, A. D. 942 (944), *muintir Thomair*, i. e. the «people» or «race» or «descendants of Thomair», and they cherished as their greatest treasure the «ring of Tomair» or Thor. This was doubtless the very same «holy ring» on which they swore to keep their treaty with Ælfred, when they were in England in 876. . . . This holy ring of Thor, therefore, was one of the instruments of his worship, and would be kept in the same way in all his temples, and so also in their own temple by the sons of Ivar». — — — «Thomair is the Irish form of Thor». — — — Thunaer, Thor, Thomair, is exactly parallel to Anlaf, Olaf, Amlaib, and Inwær, Ivar, Iomair»¹).

I quite agree with Mr. Haigh that the above coins have Thu(no)r's Hammer, but I think it is *also* something else. We must remember that several of these kings, tho originally heathens, ruled over both Christian and pagan subjects. Hence, in my opinion, they frequently used the old symbol which had spread from the far East and Egypt hundreds of years before Christ, the T, the Tau Cross, Saint Anthony's Cross, common to both Christians and Heathens, one of the very oldest and best-known Cross-types, whilst it was also so very near in shape to Thu(no)r's Hammer-mark. Hence it rapidly became merely decorative, when not a Cross exclusively Christian or merely neutral. On most of these early Northumbrian coins, and always on those of king Alfred. I look upon this Tau-Cross as a Christian symbol, otherwise as neutral.

With regard to the Thu(no)r Hammer-Amulets, of which Mr. Haigh has spoken, about 50 specimens are in the great Scandinavian Museums alone,

¹) Further remarks on these Oath-Rings and on Thu(no)r's Hammer will be found in C. A. Holmboe, *Mjølner og Vadjira*, Christiania 1862, 8vo., and his *Om Eeds-Ringe*, Christiania 1863, 8vo; in H. Petersen, *Om Nordb. Guded.*; and in my *Old-N. R. Mon.* 2, p. 976, and Vol. 3, *Bracteates*, No. 75.

besides those in Iceland and in private collections. See hereon the treatises by Dr. H. Hildebrand, with illustrations, in *Månadsbladet*, Stockholm, 8vo. 1872, p. 49—55; 1875, p. 33; and 1877, p. 501. Most of these pieces are only the Hammer. Dr. H. Petersen has kindly lent me a block of such a Pendant, *Hammer alone*. See his work p. 75; Dr. O. Montelius, *Atlas* 2, No. 624. It is of silver, from

LÄBY, UPLAND, SWEDEN.



Many others (Hammer alone) are given by Montelius, Hildebrand &c. But I need not repeat them. They are all of the same type, but endlessly vary in size and details. Most of them are of silver; some of simple metal. Here and there, especially in Skåne, this heathen Hammer-type has only slowly past over to the usual shape of a Christian Cross, with IHS or AGNUS DEI, (&c.) or the figure of Christ cut or mounted upon it. But they disappear more and more. They are no longer in the taste of the peasantry, who are every where selling their old silver ornaments for modern gewgaws.

A fourth distinct attribute is

D. THU(NO)R'S GRIPE OR GLOVE.

Of this Mr. Haigh thus speaks (l. c. p. 48): "These facts sufficiently explain the presence of Thor's chief symbol, the hammer, on the coins of Sihtric, and on those which, although they bear the name of S. Peter, were doubtless coined under Danish influence after his death [in 927]; and they suggest the explanation of another type, that of the coins of Ragnolt [the brother of Sihtric, died probably in 925];

"2. *The glove, also a symbol of Thor.* His iron gloves, also the gift of the Dwarfs, are often mentioned in the mythology of the North. He handled them whenever he grasped his lightning-flashing hammer."

On his plate 5 Haigh gives many variations of this emblem; obverse, RACNOLT, &c. and a Hand or Glove; reverse, a barbarization of EBORACE (York) and the monogram for CAROLUS (the Sword of Carl) &c. But as of the Tau-Cross, still more of the Glove. This has never yet been met with, as far as I know, as the sculptured attribute of Thu(no)r. I look upon it merely as a type convenient for both religions. The one would see therein the Mitten of their Thunderer¹); the other would recognize at once the common European Christian symbol of the Divine Hand, the Heavenly Majesty, the Holy Father.

Nor is Mr. Haigh's No. 4, *the Bow and Arrow*, in my opinion, «the symbol of the hunting god; the archer, Uller; the son of Thor's wife Sif, by a former husband», — but a Rebus (of which we have other examples on our Old-English coins) for the name of the Moneyer, here BOGA, which means a Bowman, an Archer.

Lastly we come to a class which in a sense should not be used here, as not being «sculptured or art-workt», but which in fact is the most important of all, namely

E. THU(NO)R DIRECTLY INVOKED, BUT NO SYMBOL ADDED.

These pieces bearing no attribute, I refer to them, as rare, costly and interesting, but very shortly and without engravings:

No. 1. A heathen stone, about 10th century, given in my O. N. R. Mon. Vol. 2, p. 766. It is from Östberga, Södermanland, Sweden. It ends with the formula in sam-staves (tied or monogram runes):

DONAR ROA UIT!

THONAR ROO (peace, repose) WEET (show, give)!

No. 2. A heathen stone, about 10th century, given by Prof. Thorsen in Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 8vo. Kjøbenhavn 1870, p. 420, pl. 24. Is from Virring, North Jutland, Denmark. Ends with the formula:

DUR UIKI DISI KUML!

THU(NO)R BLESS (consecrate, guard) THESE CUMBELS (grave-marks; the how, funeral block and standing stones)!

No. 3. A damaged heathen stone, about 10th century, published by R. Dybeck, Sverikes Runurkunder, folio, No. 151. Is from Vesterby, Upland. Ends with the formula:

¹) In the Old-English epic of Beowulf, the monster Grendel also has his HOND-SCIO or GLOF.

AN ÞUR SU KI(n)R(u)NOAR!

AN (*but*) THU(NO)R SEE (*bless, guard*) these-KEN-(*marking*) RUNES!

This SEE, as a formula of blessing, is kept on in the Christian period, and is found on Christian runic stones with invocations to God, Christ and the Saints. In Middle and even Modern English it is well known in the same meaning. See my remarks hereon in my O. N. R. M. Vol. 2, p. 738 &c. It has continuously been used in this sense in Scandinavia.

No. 4. A colossal heathen stone from the 9th century from Glavendrup, Fyn, Denmark. See my O. N. R. Mon. Vol. 2, p. 692. Ends with the formula:

ÞUR UIKI ÐASI RUNAR!

THU(NO)R BLESS (*consecrate, guard*) THESE RUNES!

No. 5. A golden Runic Bracteate from the 6th century. See my O. N. R. Mon. 2, 538, and Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift, 8vo. Stockholm 1875, p. 47 fol. Begins with the formula:

ÞUR TE RUNOA!

THU(NO)R TEE (*help, bless*) these-RUNES.

The only other God I have hitherto found invoked on runic monuments is (w)ODEN. We have examples on one stone with the Old-Northern runes, one with the later or Scandinavian staves, and, perhaps, on one Golden Bracteate.

THE DANISH RUNE-CAVEL IN ENGLAND.

But, as I think, I have lately found an example of this THU(NO)R BLESS of a very singular character and in a very unexpected quarter. It is not indeed stamp or carved, it is only written on parchment, but it is so exceptional that it may well challenge a place here.

At p. 162, Vol. 1, of my O. N. R. Mon. I mentioned a few runic transliterations (Latin words but Runic letters) and oddments and scribbles in *manuscripts*, on which I did not dwell. But I referred for particulars to John M. Kemble's excellent paper on «The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons»¹⁾, where they are engraved.

¹⁾ Archaeologia. London 1840. Vol. 28, 4to. pp. 327—372.

Several of these have since been handled by Prof. Dietrich of Marburg, but as I suppose without any result¹⁾.

The longest and most tantalizing of these manuscript-runes is the row in the Codex Caligula A, XV in the British Museum, Cottonian Library. This 4to skinbook is described by Wanley in his Catalogue p. 233. It contains a number of Latin treatises, together with many pieces in Old-English, Religious, Computistic, Calendaric, Medical and Mixt. At the bottom of leaf 119 b and 120 a (123 b and 124 a, new pagination) are 76 large and plain later or Scandinavian runes. This curious stave-line was communicated to Hickes by Wanley, and he engraved it in his Thesaurus²⁾. Thence it was copied by Tham³⁾, and by Kemble in his fig. IV. But neither of them has attempted an exact facsimile from Hickes, and both have made one mistake. In the word UIGI they give the third stave as ʃ (thus UIKI), instead of ʃ (g), which Hickes plainly has.

Wishing perfect exactness, I begged Edw. A. Bond, Esq., Keeper of the Mss. in the British Museum, our gifted English palæographer, to assist me, and he kindly came to my help in Nov. 1876. He explained that the codex is still in the Museum, and that the transcript published by Hickes was quite correct. The section containing the runes was written, he says, before the year 1075, the year 1074 being the latest date entered. The length of the rune-lines was dictated by the breadth of the page. As many runes were written continuously in one line as one page could hold. Thus at the bottom of leaf 119 b we have 40 staves, ending with ʃIK. This line is continued and concluded with 36 letters at the bottom of the next leaf, 120 a, beginning with ʃORSA. «The reading of the runes is quite correct throughout», Mr. Bond added. Thus our glorious Hickes is again found to be trustworthy.

In both Hickes and Kemble and the original skinbook we have IURIL, altered by Tham into KURIL. I agree with Dietrich that this is probably a mistake for KURIL, the name with which the inscription begins. It may indeed have been a colloquial or slurred softened form. Of such things we have many examples. But this «pet» pronunciation would scarcely have been adopted in

¹⁾ See his «Drei Altheidnische Segensformeln» in M. Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, 13 band, Berlin 1866, pp. 193—197; and his «Fünf Northumbrische Runen-sprüche» in the same magazine, pp. 104—123. I have a few words on these his efforts in my O. N. R. Mon. Vol. 2, pp. 890—2.

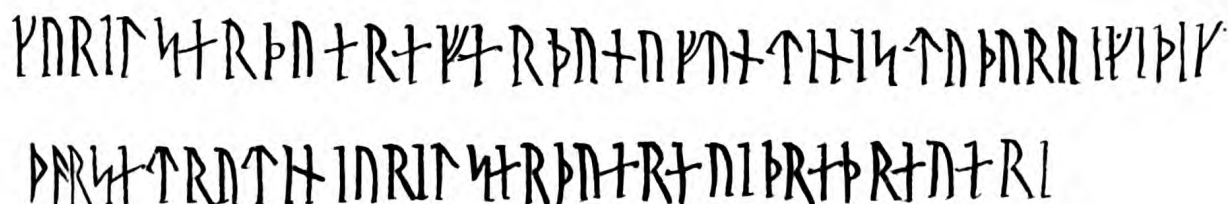
²⁾ Linguarum Vett. Sept. Thesaurus. Auct. G. Hickesio. Oxoniæ 1705. Pars 3. Gram. Isl. Pl. 6. Folio.

³⁾ Anmärkningar i anledning af Herr Prof. Müllers Afhandling om Guldhornen. Af P. Tham. Stockholm 1817, 4to.

the one line, and not in the other. It is therefore apparently a clerical slip of the copyist. For these mss. are often copied the one from the other, and Runic Alphabets and other scribbles *we know* were in the same way transcribed again and again, usually with ever-added barbarizings. Nothing would be easier for a later scribe than to pass over one short side-stroke, in a piece which he perhaps imperfectly understood¹).

I cannot refer to any facsimile of this bookfell. It is one of those used by our lamented Mr. Cockayne in his «Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England», in which volumes so much quaint lore has been brought together. But he gives no plate of this codex.

Hickes engraves the staves in 2 lines, as they stand. Kemble copied them in 3 lines, for convenience in his narrower page. To ensure perfect accuracy, Mr. Bond obligingly procured me a full-size Autotype facsimile of both lines direct from the Ms. This has been photoxylograph by Hr. Rosenstand, and is as follows:



If we wish to translate this remarkable and sudden entry, in runes, in a codex containing Latin and Old-English texts, we must first carefully fix the value of the letters, their transliteration. Dietrich makes \mathfrak{N} sometimes U and sometimes Y; \mathfrak{A} sometimes A and sometimes E. This system, in one and the same line, is scientifically inadmissible. The Futhork (or runic alphabet) is plainly the later or Scandinavian, and must be treated as such. The writer had no stung T for D, and \mathfrak{T} therefore stands for both D and T. He has a stung K for G (\mathfrak{K}), and therefore \mathfrak{K} is K and \mathfrak{G} is G. Otherwise the charac-

¹) As of *Runes* so of *Drawings* copied and recopied in our ancient English Mss. In his excellent treatise on the famous Cotton Ms. Claudius C. VII, now in Utrecht and called the Utrecht Psalter, Mr. Walter de Gray Birch says (The History, Art and Palæography of the Manuscript styled the Utrecht Psalter, 8vo. London 1876, p. 121), with regard to the Utrecht codex (of about the year A. D. 800):

«From this interesting passage we are now cognizant of the fact that the Utrecht Psalter gave rise to at least four copies executed with more or less faithful adherence to its archetypal teaching, in the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.»

In illustration, Mr. Birch gives one drawing from the original skinbook, with the corresponding plates from 2 of the later manuscripts, all in autotype.

ters are as usual at this period; † i A, ᚱ is U, ᚦ is O. Taking things to be so, the runes give us:

KURILSARDUARAFARDUNUFUNTINISTUDURUIGIDIK
DORSATRUTINIURILSARDUARAUIÐRADRAUARI

As far as I am aware, only 5 attempts have been made to read this difficult inscription. Two of these were by Tham, in his pamphlet on the Golden Horns (at p. 7 and again at p. 39); the 3rd was by M. F. Arendt (published by Tham as above, p. 38); the 4th by F. Magnusen in his *Runamo*, p. 604, 605; the 5th by Prof. Dietrich as afore said.

Of late I have again and again directed my attention to these lines, and now believe that I have redd them. As is my wunt, I alter nothing, take the staves as they stand. I make them to be in an *Old Danish dialect*, and to give us a missive or message or note or report, transmitted by a heathen Dane in England to a friend, perhaps a kinsman, probably also in England. Pagan Danes and other Northmen swarmed in England in the 10th and 11th centuries. This runic message was doubtless at first cut on a little Cavel or tiny stick or tablet, and from this wooden flake it may have been copied on to parchment for *family reasons*. Of the Northmen many in the same family were pagans, others already Christians. They rapidly embraced Christianity, and a converted Scandinavian may have preserved this notice as being a document which in earlier days had announced the safety of a lady very nearly allied in blood or friendship.

Runic alphabets &c. were often recopied for hundreds of years. This heathen telegram may be much earlier than the leaves on which it now stands. At all events, as Mr. Bond has shown, it cannot be later — but may be much older — than the year 1075. At this time, say in the last half of the 11th century, commotion was universal both in Scandinavia and England. All the British Isles thro, pitch battles and dreadful bickerings and accidents and inroads and murderous attacks were taking place. Many inquiries would be made as to the fate of individuals and families, and *thousands* of these carved¹⁾ «bits of

¹⁾ Or written, but usually cut. Parchment and inkhorns were as yet a rarity everywhere, especially among the Northern freebooters.

In Shakespear's *Hamlet* the young prince is sent to Britain with a letter, carried by his two comrades. But he re-writes the letter and saves his life. In the original Amleth legend of Saxo Grammaticus the two companions of Amleth carry A WOODEN RUNE-CAVEL [«litteras ligno insculptas (nam id celebre quondam genus chartarum est)»]. But he cuts away some staves and adds others, so that the letter now tells the British king to slay the messengers and to give his daughter in marriage to Amleth. *Saxonis Grammatici Hist. Danica*, ed. Velschow, Vol. 1, Lib. 3, p. 145.

news» would be sent by trusty hands. Often this would be by «underground railway», which has flourisht in every age. We have many notices in the Sagas and elsewhere, from the earliest times down to the middle-age, of these letter-slips and other runic wooden notifications and annals and poems. In the shape of parchment and paper they continued, here and there in Scandinavia, down to the 16th century. But nearly all these wooden rune-cavels, which *have* existed by tens of thousands, have naturally disappeared.

We know the extreme difficulty, at times, of translating inscriptions which are not divided into words. This especially in a period which had little of a conventional book-language, but naturally used many and mixt dialects of which we know so little, and as to which we *must* allow ourselves a certain latitude both as to spelling and form, sometimes even as to words. For certain words *may* have existed in localities and talks from which, from mere paucity of material, we have pronounced them absent.

And in a writing of this kind, very many combinations of letters may be made, giving a meaning more or less possible or probable.

In the face of all this, the following attempt may not have succeeded. All I can claim for it is, that it is simple and natural and reasonable and «grammatical», and fits in with the movements of «the Wiking period», which lasted longer than is generally supposed. If the runes are not an idle scribble, they must have been meant to say *something intelligible*, and we know so much of the comparatively late dialects of the 10th and 11th centuries, that we ought not to be quite helpless. Should my reading be rejected, some other student may be more fortunate.

The tiny rune-tane, which may have been hidden in the hair of the carrier, in my opinion said:

KURIL SARD UAR A FARDU.

NU FUNTIN (= FUNDIN) I STU.

DUR UIGI DIK, DORSA TRUTIN (= DRUTIN)!

(K)URIL SARD UAR A UIDRADR A UARI.

KURIL SORED (wounded) WAS ON her-FERD (journey, passage, expedition).

NOW she-is-FOUND IN STOW.

May-THUR WIH (bless) THEE, he-the-THURSES' (giants') DREETEN (lord, ruler, smiter)!

(K)URIL SORED (hurt) WAS ON (at) the-WITHER-REDES (debates, consultations, parleyings) ON (at) WARE

Thus the Lady KURIL was long expected in vain, never arrived. Enquiries were set on foot by her friends, and she was found at Stow, whither

she had escaped. She explained that she had been in danger of her life, having been attackt and wounded at Ware.

Then the affectionate greeting to the sorrowing father or husband or friend: — *May Thur, the giant-tamer, bless and comfort thee!*

Further thoughts suggest a «postscript», of additional detail. The debates between the Wikings and the English, or between two Wiking-bands, at Ware, where a formal parley was held, ended in violence, and even the Lady KURIL was not spared.

I make KURIL a female name because it must be so. It is clearly in apposition with SARD and FUNDIN, and both these words are in the nom. sing. fem. But I have never seen this name before. It may be a diminutive of KUR, a worn KURILA, or a slurred popular or pet form for KURHILDR, both of them unknown to me. There was a Gothic king CORILLUS.

SARD is a «correct» Old-Danish and Old-Swedish participle, nom. sing. fem., (masc. SARDER, fem. SARD, neut. SART).

UAR is common, for the earlier UAS.

A common, for the earlier AN or ON.

FARDU, dat. sing. fem. Doubtless Old-Danish. The nom. sing. is in O. Swedish FÆRD, N. Icel. FERD, O. Engl. FERD, FYRD, O. Fris FERD. But the M. Goth. FARDO, Ohg. FART and O. Sax. FARD have preserved the older unweakened vowel. All are feminine.

NU, common in all our dialects, NOW.

FUNDIN, p. part. n. s. fem. FOUND.

I, common, for the older IN.

STU. I cannot *prove* that this is a place-name. But if we really have STU between I, the end of one section, and DUR, the beginning of another, I cannot see what else it can possibly be. In England and up thro the old Northumbria we have several places called stow, spelt in O. E. STOU and stow, and Latinized STOUA and STOWA. The most famous is STOW or STOW-MARKET in the Hundred of Stow in Suffolk. It is on the river Gipping, a tributary of the Orwell, between Ipswich and Bury. It is quite near the sea at Ipswich and Harwich, and is not very far from London.

DUR, the heathen god DUNOR, DUR, DOR, followed by the verb UIGA. This verb, so common in Scandinavia, has not yet been found in O. Engl., tho we had the noun and endless compounds. Here it is in the 3 s. pr. subj. The whole phrase, DUR UIGI, *may Thur bless*, we have already seen on two Danish heathen runic stones. But we have here — for the first time in all

the North, on stone or parchment, in runes or Roman letters — the doubtless once common phrase, *DUR UIGI DIK*, *may Thur bless thee!*

DORSA, gen. pl. masc. Of the THURSES, ettins, giants, goblins, monsters, helpless and fools tho so burly and big. This is the N. Icel: *DURS*, *DORS*, *DUSS*, the provincial Norse *TUSSE*, *TUSS*, the provincial Danish *TOSSE*, the provincial Swedish *TUSSE*, *TUSS*, *TASSE*, *TASS*. In O. Engl. we have *DYRS*, in Early E. *DURS*, in Mid. E. *THURS*, *DIRS*, *DRISSE*, in provincial Engl. *THURS*, *THRUSE*, *THYRSE*, *THRUST*, and a rock-den or stone-shelter is called a *THURSE-HOUSE*. In Ohg. there was *DURS* and *TURS*. — I have never before seen this fine epithet, doubtless once widely used, *DORSA DRUTIN*.

DRUTIN, obsolete in Denmark, the O. Swedish *DROTIN*, *DROTEN*, N. Icel. *DROTTENN*, O. E. *DRYHTEN*, *DRIHTEN*, Mid. Engl. *DRYHTEN*, *DRICHTIN*, *DREETEN*, Ohg. *TRUTIN*, O. Sax. *DROHTIN*, *DRUHTIN*, O. Fris. *DROCHTEN*.

UID-RADR. ac. pl. fem., a compound hitherto found only in the Norse-Icelandic *VID-RÆDA*, fem., talk, conversation, parley.

A *UARI*, *ON*, *at*, *WARE*. Analogy would seem to show that this also is a place-name. But again I cannot *prove* it. Should it be so, again there were several spots called *WARE* in olden days. We should expect that the one here referred to would be in the same county as *STOW*. And accordingly in *Domesday Book*¹⁾ we have in Suffolk, in the neighborhood of Bungay and Flixton. Hundred of Waneforda, a place *IN WARI*. With his usual kindness Mr. Bond, Keeper of the Mss. in the British Museum, has referred to the Ordnance Survey for me. But there is no *WARE* there, and he suspects it may have gotten a later appellation, and be the spot now known as Eartham near Bungay. — Should this be *not* a stead-name, it can only be a word answering to the N. I. *VÖRR* (older form *VAR*, gen. *VARAR*) fem. and masc., and *VER*, neut., O. E. *WÆR*, Engl. *WARE*, *WEIR*, a haven, station, fishing-place. The general meaning will be the same, but it will not be so sharp and clear as in the former case, which I therefore prefer.

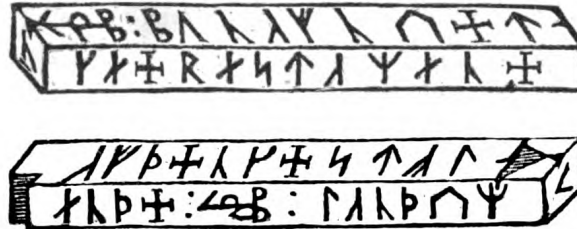
Till a better can be found, I therefore hold fast the interpretation here offered. Should it be substantially correct, it puts into our hands the earliest bit — by about 225 years — of *parchment Danish* yet known to us. And not only so, it is about 125 years older than any such fragment in Norse-Icelandic, a couple of whose vellums are the most antique left to us in any Scandinavian tung.

This is also the first *THU(NO)R* invocation yet found on vellum.

¹⁾ Vol. 2, fol. London 1783 p. 380, col. 2.

THE NORSE RUNE-CAVEL IN DENMARK.

The only specimen of the inscribed Runic cavel or wooden letter-slip hitherto made public, is that figured in Ol. Worm's *Monumenta Danica*. Hafniæ 1643, folio, p. 299. He styles it a «*Virgula Erotica*» or Twig-loveletter. It was sent him in 1632 by the Rev. Christian Hansen Riber, the Bishop of Ålborg in Jutland, to whom it had been given by Hr. Otto Scheel, Governor of Ålborghus. The Bishop's letter is in Worm's *Epistola*, 1, 43, and he there states that «*singulare hoc monumentum*» was found about the year 1600 by a schoolboy or student («*scholasticus*») in a field near Viborg («*in agro Viburgensi*») in Jutland, as was testified by the Rector of the School, Herr Vilhad. The runes, he says, were small but very neatly cut («*accurate incisæ*»). Worm adds that this 4-sided cavel was apparently made of the wood of the Sloe-tree or Black-thorn, and was about 3 inches long and 1-third of an inch broad each way. He fortunately appended an exact facsimile, full size, which I here repeat:



Worm's translation, the only one I have ever seen, is:

«BYNAFFN WET KIERESTA MINA AFF THENKESTOL INDE LANDUM.

«*Nomen meum novit amicissima mea. Ex amoris hac tessera landum.*»

This will be in English: MY SWEETHEART HAS FOUND MY NAME. FROM THIS LOVE-TOKEN LANDS.

What became of this curiosity at Worm's death, has never been discovered. Probably it has long since perisht, like some other things he is known to have had.

This piece seems to me not very old, perhaps from the 14th century, and to be in Old-Norse.

The first bind or rune-group I would read as BIDAT, beginning with the B, taking I from the stem as usual, then D on the right followed by A on the left, and ending with T at the top. This word, if rightly redd, will be very

appropriate here. It is Old-Norse in form. BID, *bide, wait*, and the negative affix AT, *not*. Thus BIDE NOT, *come away, join me at once as we had agreed, keep your appointment, meet me at the trysting-place*.

The second monogram or rune-cluster, before LANDUM, is, I think, BUDIL; B first, then U on the left, D on the right, I on the stem, and L on the top left¹).

Worm made no effort to unravel either of these runic binds. Changing nothing, taking the letters as they stand, they seem to be:

BI¹AT. BUNAFN UET KÆERÆSTA MÆNE AF DENKESTOL ÆNDE BU¹IL-LANDUM.

D at this time was continually used for simple D.

BU-NAFN, ac. s. n. BY-NAME, village-name.

UET, 3 s. pr. WOTS, knows.

KÆERÆSTA, n. s. f. def. the most beloved.

MÆNE, g pl. of MAN, neut.; person, *woman*.

AF, prep. OF, from.

DENKESTOL, d. s. m. a think-stool, thought-base. As in English STOL is *Chair* and also *heap, cluster*, so in N. I. SKIPA-STOLL is a *ship-stool*, boat-crowd, fleet. In some Danish plant-names, STOL is used in the same way. So MALURT-STOL means a bushy Wormwood plant. In either sense DENKE-STOL means *thought-bearer*.

ÆNDE, orthodox N. I. form ENDA.

BUDIL-LANDUM, d. pl. n. There is a BODIL in Hörning Parish, Skanderborg Amt, Jutland, and in other places in Denmark. There may have been others.

On the whole the meaning of this message, apparently written by a Norwegian settler or traveler in Jutland, was:

BIDE-NOT (*delay not, come at once*). The-BY-NAME (*homestead, moot-place*) WOTS (*knows*) the-DEAREST of-WOMEN OF (*from, by*) this-THOUGHT-STOOL (*word-bearer, wooden rune-slip*) AND (*as also*) the-BODIL-LANDS.

= *Come quickly. You will know, dearest! our meeting-place from this message and the district whence it comes.*

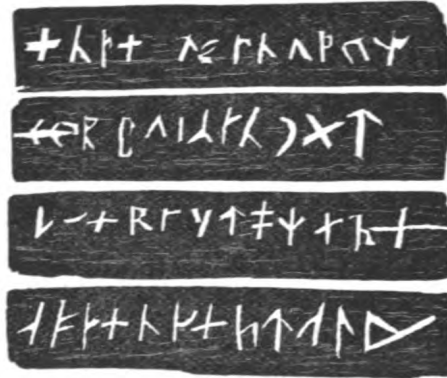
A message of this kind, which might fall into strange or unfriendly hands, *was not to be* too plain and straightforward.

At all events, however we translate it, we have here a rune-cavel bearing 53 staves.

¹) The choice of those words (for instance as beginning with B and B, which may have been some little mystery) may have been intentional, to convince the receiver that all was right, tho no other could understand the reference.

AN ENGLISH RUNE-CAVEL IN ENGLAND.

All this brought to my mind that in a quick run thro the British Museum, many years ago, my learned friend Aug. W. Franks, Esq. obligingly pointed out to me a piece of this kind. I now thought it might possibly be the missing *Worm Cavel*. Thanks to the kind assistance of Mr. Bond and Mr. Franks, I am now able to say that *it is not Worm's*, and that *it is an English Cavel*. I here give the exact rubbing of the original, full size, furnisht me by those gentlemen, photoxylographt by Herr Rosenstand: 1)



It is of a dark-brown hard wood, and was once in the Museum of Sir Hans Sloane. In the old Catalogue it is entered as «Sloane 90. A Runic almanac small?» This is all that is known of its history. Probably it was given to Sir Hans Sloane by some friend about 1740—50. Mr. Franks is not aware that it has ever been copied or described or redd.

Before we proceed to handle it, we must make a remark or two.

1. We see at once, from its general character, that it is not very old, and must transliterate the marks accordingly. For in the last runic period, both on hard substances and on parchment or paper, there was a great freedom and variation of type, and an evident hankering for and feeling after a kind of *cursive and running and easier* hand. Thus here we have 2 variants of the c, 2 of the e, 2 or 3 of the l, 2 of the n, 2 of the r, 2 or 3 of the t

1) I sent Mr. Bond a copy of the woodcut for final correction, if needed. His answer was:
«The engraved copy is quite correct.»

and u, and a couple of the y. — Among other peculiarities is the "short" type for g, (D), which is in fact only half of the figure.

2. There is a bind or rune-cluster here also, and for the same reason, greater secrecy. It is in the name, OLDR, o on the left, L on the top right, D on the right lower down, all followed close by R.

3. THOMAS was often spelt with a TH (D) in older days. And here also it is DUM for TUM, TUMMAS, TOM, &c.

4. The alphabet is prevailingly the later or Scandinavian, but it is freely mixt with the older or Old-Northern, so that it may be called transitional.

5. The last figure in the last line is a kind of flourish, and is equivalent to an end-mark or full stop.

Let us now take the letters quite simply as they stand, line for line:

EC DE TEL NU, DUM
 OLDR, QUIC NU, GÆT
 YE ERLY TÖ MÆRE
 AF NEUKÆSTAL.

I THEE TELL NOW, TOM OLDR, QUICK NOW, GET YE EARLY TO MARY OF NEWCASTLE.

This is all very amusing. It is a little love-scroll, a rendezvous demanded by pretty MARY OF NEWCASTLE of her betrothed TOM OLDER¹⁾. It is in English of the 13th century, but North-English, and with distinct Wiking-Scandinavian peculiarities. The EC and AF are Danish or Norse still left in the local talk. But all this agrees admirably with the place named — the then strongly Danish district round about Newcastle and the Principality of Durham.

In *modern* times, after the lapse of a few hundred years, out of *millions* of Paper letters only a few hundreds have survived. There were *tens of thousands* of these little *wooden* or Runic missives in *olden* days. We have here, if I am not mistaken, a *copy* of one of these in the 11th century, a *woodcut* of a second in the 17th century, and ONE UNIQUE ORIGINAL at this moment in the British Museum.

¹⁾ As we know, there is nothing new under the sun, and we have Love-rings, Love seals and Love-gems by thousands, from all lands and times. One of these is an exact counterpart to the above. It is a six-angled Classical Gem, a Dove in the center, and round it:

SI AMAS VENI.
 IF YOU LOVE ME, COME!

Doubtless such a message would not be refused. See it engraved and explained in Fr. Ficoronii Gemmæ Antiquæ Litteratæ, a P. N. Galeotti. 4to, Romæ 1757, p 5, Tab. 1, No. 14.

THU(NO)R IN BEOWULF.

Now all the above representations or invocations of Thu(no)r or his Attributes are stamp'd or carved on stone, or some metal. The usual *written* sources which speak of him or other gods do not concern us here. But I desire to make one exception. I think I have found an unsuspected mention of this Warrior against Evil in our own land, in England, so far back as shortly after the year 700.

This is in our magnificent Dano-Anglic epic Beowulf, a heathen Saga told by a Christian English scald early in the 8th century, but in its present shape found only in one Ms. of the 10th year-hundred.

The reason *why* this instance has been overlookt is, because it is exprest indirectly, in a «kenning» or poetical epithet or substitute. And the reason *how* so noble and picturesque a passage could be so misunderstood is, because we live in a wooden one-sided narrow-minded school of «phonology» and mechanical philology, which has done more harm than good, and has mercilessly tampered with precious olden texts. Everything had to be reduced to system and theory, and the manuscripts have been corrupted and «corrected» accordingly, obliterating endless valuable fragments and traces of older words or word-forms and floating dialects. New letter-types (unknown to the Mss.) are invented and thrust down our throats, and accents are introduced wholesale, with a pragmatistical infallible contempt of *what stands*, and of everything and everybody save the editor's last hobby or the shibboleth of the last «phonological» Pope or Anti-Pope.

Words, whether or not originally one, have sometimes obtained double meanings, *now* distinguisht by the accent. Therefore, the moment we — the editor, publisher — *add the accent* in the printed book, we *fix for ever* the meaning of the word!

So here in Beowulf. The term in question is

gast

as it is written in the skinbook; and so it was honestly printed by its first editor, Thorkelin, and its second, Kemble. But Kemble unhappily translated «gast-bona» «spirit-slayer», and in his Glossary «Diabolus». So Thorpe, following suit, printed the word *in his text* «gást-bona» and translated «spirit-

slayer». Then came the rush. Grein, 'gäst-bona'; Grundtvig, 'gäst-bona'; Heyne, 'gästbona'; Arnold, 'gäst-bona', and so forth.

But let us now examine the passage itself. Early in Beowulf, when the scóp describes the murderous visit of the water-monster Grendel to Heort (Heorot), the splendid throne-hall built by Hrothgar, we see that Grendel first seizes and carries off 30 of the king's thanes, and then makes fresh ravages till the palace is empty and abandoned during a space of 12 years. The royal Chief and his Elders consulted long and well what to do:

Sometimes sought they
idol sanctuaries,
worship-gifts vowing.
Wail-prayers they utter'd
where gloom'd the Gast-smiter,
for his God-help quickly
gainst sorrows sorest.
Such their wunt was,
heathens so hopéd.

What is the *original* text of this passage? We shall find it *only* in the *first* edition: «De Danorum Gestis. Ed. Gr. J. Thorkelin. Havniæ 1815», 4to p. 15,16; (Line 348—356 in Kemble, Vol. 1; l. 352—360 in Thorpe; 348—356 in Grundtvig; 175—179 in Grein, Heyne and Arnold):

Hwylum hie ge-heton,
æt hrærg-trafum,
wig-weorþunga.
Wordum bædon
þæt him gast-bona
geoce gefremede
wiþ þeopþreaum.
Swylc wæs þeaw hyra,
hedenra hyht.

*At-times they vowed
at altar-enclosures
worshipful gifts.
With-many-words they-bade
that to-them the-Gast-smiter
help would-give
against such-folk-anguish.
Such was manner their,
of-those-heathens the-hope.*

It is not necessary to enter here into the vexed question of the etymology of GAST, GHOST and GUEST, the curious way in which they have often past into each other both in form and meaning in different dialects, and the attempts to discriminate them by a long or a short vowel and other resources, but all of which have failed — from the endless caprice of the folk-talks. Generally, we are told that GAST (man) has a short vowel, GĀST (ghost) a long

vowel, GÆST (guest) a short vowel. Accordingly, the editors having fancied that GAST meant a *ghost* altered it to GĀST, and A GHOST it remains.

But nothing is more certain than that the word GAST or GÆST is continually found in our older Scando-Gothic dialects, particularly the Northern, for *man, hero, enemy, wild fellow, monster, ettin, giant, vagabond, dare-devil* and the like. This meaning still remains in our dialects, and in Scandinavia a sea-dog, sailor, is still a (sö-)GAST.

Accordingly this GAST, GÆST is very frequently used in Old-English not only for *man*, but also for *foul and fierce man, giant, monster*, as it is in Early and Middle English, tho so often mistranslated *spirit*, and this is the meaning here in Beowulf¹).

It is therefore simply absurd to translate GAST-BONA by *spirit-slayer* or anything such. There is no question of any *spirit*, still less of any *devil*. The heathen Danes, says the poet, in their despair, crowded to the idol-temples and promised gifts and prayed to their God

THE GIANT-SLAYER

to help them in their terrible need *against* a giant, a monster, a savage ettin. Who was that deity of our forefathers who was *the BANE OF THE GASTS*? All the Northlands, from the Eddas to Jack-the-Giantkiller, answer with one voice: THU(NO)R! This 'vinr verliða' (friend of men), this 'sonr Óðins' (son of (W)oden), this 'barmi Baldrs' (Baldor's brother), 'raðbani þurs' (by-rede bane of the thurse, death-plotter against the giants), 'dólgr jötna' (death-giver to ettins, giants' death-wound giver, giant-slayer) and so on in dozens of such kennings²), is verily known unto all men.

¹) Years after I had convinced myself what this kenning really signified, I came across L. Ettmüller's first German version (Zurich 1840). At p. 73 he gives the line in question

«dass der Geisttilger ihnen helfe wider den Weltschreck».

He adds in a note: «Welcher der obern Götter ist gemeint? doch warscheinlich Thunar (Thórr), der Urfeind des Riesengeschlechtes.» As far as I know, he stands alone in this. All have: «Kemble, «the spirit-slayer»; Thorpe, «the devil, the soul-slayer»; Grein, «der Geistestodter» (and in his Dictionary—altering the plain *bona* to *bana* — why not? He has *not* altered every word in every line, as some Germans in their Ms. editions — *animi destructor, diabolus*); Heyne, «den Vernichter aller Geister»; Arnold, «the destroying spirit»; and so on. Only Wackerbarth, in his English poetical version (London 1849) has «the Spirit-Slayer», and in a note p. 128, i. e. Óðin.»

²) B. Gröndal, in his excellent «Clavis Poetica Antiquæ Linguae Septentrionalis», 8vo. Hafniæ 1864, has nearly 40 of these kennings for Thu(no)r. See his p. 269.

THE MORAL OF THE WHOLE.

In a time like this, of — isms endless, the one more damnable, ignoble, driveling or doltish than the other; — of foulness, fetishism or frantic blasphemy, flaunting paper crowns overscrawled «infallible» and «high science»; — of «rings» and riots, blacklegs and bribers, falseness and fraud, adulteration and adultery, capitalism and club-law; — of softness, sentiment, sophism, weakness and wilfulness, pendriving and paradox; — of morbid materialism, luxury run mad, license unbounded, a literature most leprous; — LAW the while become LAWLESSNESS, a slow and costly sham and swindle, a cobweb wide open for wasps and dragon flies and catching only silly gnats, a comedy contemptible as it is costly, — «Punishment» now smothered in maundering «Philanthropy», CRIME (even Rape, Murder, Burnings) REWARDED with pensions in palaces built with the sweat and tearful savings of the toiling non-criminal million; — of Blood-and-Iron» and Bankruptcy; — «Examinations» and hot-house «Education», in other words Cant and Cram and an unbearably arrogant but in real life worthless «Little-of-everything» (palsying the limbs and blearing the eyes of our daily feebler youth), these now the only Ten Commandments, the only «Religion of the Future» of States *called* Christian; — at such a moment THUNOR, our great ancestral Symbol-god, should never leave us. Not only is he THE MIGHTY in head, hand, heart; his whole being, his life and death, is Self-sacrifice FOR THE GOOD, THE RIGHT, and AGAINST THE BAD, THE WRONG.

We have found him here in Beowulf, invoked to help the suffering people against the monster UN-LAW. We have seen him or his emblems or name on the funeral stones of the dead, that they might SLEEP IN PEACE under his watchful eye. We have him or his Mace on Jewels many, Amulets of Beauty and Benison, a charm AGAINST EVERY TERROR. Nay, he stands on the Holy Font itself, perpetually preaching that the Christian Soldier should FIGHT AT LEAST AS BRAVELY against Baseness as ever did the Hammer-wielder.

THUNOR, speaking alway of STRENGTH, WORK, DUTY, TRUTH, HONOR BRIGHT, *He* is truly the «Land-áss», the Land-Ans, the Guardian Genie of the Fatherland; the «Ótti Jötna», the dread of every Bug and Ogre; the «Bani tröll-

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quenna», the relentless slayer of Troll and Hag and Witch-quean, whether tripping winsome in guise of Light-angel fair, or stiffly striding with scowling fire-red balls and matted snake-hair, her crooked fingers grasping the torch and dagger of destruction and despair.

God help that Heart, that Home, that Land, that Age where

NO THUNOR IS!

[*Accidentally omitted Note to Cartouche 8, p. 25.* — So conventional is the carving, that in fact there is no Cross at all, only the Board (suppedaneum) on which the feet rested.

[*Accidentally omitted Note to the Valleberga stone, p. 31, 32.* — On the great mosaic of St. Apollinaris in Classe, near Ravenna (A. D. 545) — subject, the Transfiguration — is a Cross nearly Maltese in form, at whose intersection we see a Face of Our Lord. This is the earliest known approach to a Crucifix. On the Oil-vessels of Monza (6th century) is the Head (nearly a bust) of Christ, above a small Cross.]





