

THE WOODPECKER IN HUMAN FORM.¹

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IT is now well known that some of the stateliest forms of classical religion are reducible to vegetable origins, and that midway between the human form divine and the vegetable form divine, there is often to be traced an intermediate animal form, through which the emergent spirit passed on its way from its vegetable prison to its Olympian abode. We might have, perhaps, guessed that Zeus was connected with the thunder, and have placed his home in an original oak sanctuary, but who would ever have suspected that after escaping from the thunder-tree he entered into the frame of the thunder-bird, and in particular into the body of a red-headed woodpecker? As a matter of fact we had hardly realised that there was such a thing as a European thunder-bird, or any thunder-bird at all, except in the poetic imagination of the North-American Indians. And now the creature has taken front rank in religious ornithology! We see him, or one of his surrogates, on every church tower. In a new sense, all things are full of Zeus.

As soon as we have recognised the woodpecker, or thunder-bird, as the prototype of the Greek Zeus, it becomes natural and proper to inquire what was the human form into which it developed among Western and Northern nations: for we also have the woodpecker with us as an object of reverence, not indeed the great black woodpecker, or *Picus martius*, which has seldom, if ever, been seen in these islands, but the green woodpecker (*Gecinus viridis*), and one or two smaller varieties. It will be remembered that the green woodpecker was the variety that was personified in Attica under the name of King Keleos (Keleos being the Greek name of the bird).

Even in the British Isles there must have been some tendency to

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on the 1st April, 1919.

anthropomorphism in the case of a cult so widely diffused as that of the green woodpecker. Let us see, then, if we can find out what became of him.¹ Our first thought is that we should look in the direction of the red-bearded (and presumably red-haired) god Thor for the human thunder. The problem does not, however, admit of so simple a solution. For we remember that there are competing thunder-birds in the classical world (woodpeckers, cocks, etc.), and competing thunder-men (Picus, Keleos, etc.) as well as competing thunder-gods (Zeus, Hephæstus, Mars, etc.) In the West, too, we have competing thunder-birds (woodpecker, robin, etc.), and it would be wrong to assume that Thor is the only divine-human form that has sprung from them. It is even suspected that he has links with the robin redbreast rather than with the woodpecker. We must examine, without altogether excluding Thor as a solution, the problem of woodpecker-promotion over a wider area than the great northern gods can furnish. Let us see in what direction we are to look for our identified god or hero. What do we know about the woodpecker mythologically?

In the first place, we know he is linked to the thunder and has charge of the weather; is, in fact, the original Weather. Then we know that, as Thunder, he is the patron of one, at least, of a pair of twin children. In the arts he is the inventor of the plough and of the ship; the original digging-stick (pick, hack) and the primitive dugout being imitated from his action in hollowing out trees. From the same action he became the smith of antiquity, so that a whole clan of mysterious workers may borrow his name. He must have, of course, a red head, and he must live in a hollow tree. He has close connection with bees and with the culture of bees. He is also the guide of travellers and hunters and presides over fords.

That will suffice as a preliminary series of marks by which his divinised form is to be recognised. For further study we may refer to

¹ We have shown elsewhere (see *Picus who is also Zeus*) that there are many personal names derived from the woodpecker, but this does not necessarily prove personification of the woodpecker. Quite a number are place-names which have become personal names. Then there is a group of names like Pike, Pickett, Hack, Hackett, Eccle, Eccles, and the like, which really are woodpecker names. They correspond to Picus, Keleos, and the like. An even better instance would be such a name as Speakman, well known in the Manchester area, which is definitely woodpecker-man, Speak being here the equivalent to the German Specht, or the Norfolk Spack.

the histories of Zeus, of Hephæstus, of Keleos, Picus and Mars, of Hadad the thunder-god of Northern Syria (whose name under the form Hedad is current to-day as a personal name in Palestine and Egypt, and in North Africa, as the name of either bird or smith) as well as to the histories of twins derived from them. We are now going to suggest that in the British Isles, the woodpecker was personified, for some of our ancestors, under the name and title of *Wayland Smith*.

Wayland Smith is known to most people from the use which Walter Scott makes of him in his novel of *Kenilworth*. You will remember how Flibbertigibbet undertakes to get Tressilian's horse shod for him, by a smith who lives in an underground cave, and who may not be looked upon at his work. You put your money on a stone; retire to a convenient distance, turn your back, shut your eyes, and when the hammering is over, lo! there is your horse with a new shoe. Wayland was a wild figure enough, even in *Kenilworth*, but a much wilder one in popular imagination. To the people he was hardly human. He had a well-known sanctuary in the Vale of White Horse in Berkshire, and the place is still shown with its rude stone monuments of the cult with which he was regarded. This is his principal cult-centre. He comes before us as Wayland Smith, the first is his real name, the second is his calling. The name occurs in various forms, Wayland, being, perhaps, the latest; it is written Wieland and Wielant, and in other forms which we shall presently meet with. We come across him as a smith, and in particular as a shoe-smith. I do not know when the art of shoeing a horse first arose. It is rather a late development of human history. The smith, at any rate, precedes the shoe-smith: and it is hardly likely that Wayland is limited to the shoeing of horses. Indeed, we may be sure that it was not so; for the very same custom of smith-work carried on in secret, was known over a wider area than horse-shoeing to the ancients, and gave rise to curious legends. The dwarf elves of the North, as we shall see, were Wayland's instructors, and they wrought in secret. One of the oldest books of travel in the world is the story of the *Wanderings or Circuit of Pytheas*, who came round the Mediterranean, went outside the Pillars of Hercules and as far north as the British Isles: and Pytheas tells us, that in the Lipari Isles there were iron-workers, to whom you took the raw iron for making a sword or other gear, deposit-

ing the money and coming back on the morrow for your weapon. It seems to be implied in the report that the workmen themselves were not seen.¹

This is evidently a case of a Wayland Smith establishment on a large scale. We shall find out presently that Wayland could make swords as well as horse-shoes. Let us see if we can get any further in the search for Wayland's centres of operation, whether smithies or other invisible workshops. First of all, a few words more with regard to the Berkshire sanctuary.

In Brand-Hazlitt's collections on *Faiths and Folk-lore*, we find as follows :—

P. 621. "A very ancient and famous Scandinavian legend, existing in a variety of forms, and apparently transmitted to England by the Saxons, who had a version of it very similar to that associated with the sepulchral monument at the foot of the White Horse Hill, Uffington, Berkshire, where, as at Osnabrück, an invisible smith shoed horses left on the spot with a piece of money for his fee. This Saxon myth has very little in common beyond the name with the Swedish original myth. Scott has, in his *Kenilworth*, utilised the Berkshire tradition."

The notice is somewhat inconsistent in proclaiming first the agreement of the Scandinavian legend and the Berkshire story, and then declaring that the "very similar" accounts have very little in common. We are directed to further sources of investigation, viz. Teutonic and Scandinavian myths of heroes. It is not necessary to assume that the legends of the famous Wayland are not to be found in England: they may possibly be more at home in these islands than the first investigators of the folk-lore story imagined.

Suppose we turn now from ancient myths to modern romance: we will take as our guide Mr. Kipling in his charming book entitled *Puck of Pook's Hill*. The following conversation is imagined between Puck, the lad Dan, and his sister Una.

¹ The fragment of Pytheas is contained in a scholiast's note on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 4, 76, where he speaks of the "anvils of Hephæstus" :—

τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἐλέγετο τὸν βουλόμενον ἀργὸν σίδηρον ἐπιφέρειν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἐλθόντα λαμβάνειν ἢ ξίφος ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἤθελε κατασκευάσαι, καταβαλοντα μισθόν· ταῦτα φησὶ Πυθέας ἐν γῆς περιόδῳ, λέγων καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκεῖ ζεῖν.

P. 16. "I met Weland first on a November afternoon," said Puck, "in a sleet storm on Pevensy Level."

"Pevensy ? over the hill, you mean ?" Dan pointed south.

"Yes, but it was all marsh in those days, right up to Horsebridge and Hydeneye. I was on Beacon Hill—they called it Brunanburgh then—when I saw the pale flame that burning thatch makes, and I went down to look. Some pirates—I think they just have been Peof's men—were burning a village on the Levels, and Weland's image—a big, black, wooden thing with amber beads round its neck—in the bows of a black thirty-two oar galley that they had just beached. Bitter cold it was ! There were icicles hanging from her deck, and the oars were glazed with ice, and there was ice on Weland's lips. When he saw me he began a long chant in his own tongue, telling me how he was going to rule England, and how I should smell the smoke of his altars from Lincolnshire to the Isle of Wight. I didn't care ! I'd seen too many Gods charging into Old England to be upset about it. I let him sing himself out while his men were burning the village, and then I said (I don't know what put it into my head), "Smith of the Gods," I said, "the time comes when I shall meet you plying your trade for hire by the wayside."

Here the important thing to notice is that Mr. Kipling recognises that altars to Weland are to be found from Lincolnshire to the Isle of Wight, and that the cult was, in his view, imported by Danish or Saxon pirates. Mr. Kipling goes on to suggest that the sacrifices to the Smith-God were originally human, later commuted for horses, and later again for hair from the mane or tail of the horse. The most important point for us is the suggestion that the cult was widely diffused, which must mean place-names recalling Weland and his art or monuments.

The diffusion of the cult is referred to again by Mr. Kipling in the conversation between Puck and his young friends :—

P. 19. "One evening I heard old Hobden talking about Weland's ford."

"If you mean old Hobden the hedger, he's only seventy-two. He told me so himself," said Dan. "He's an intimate friend of ours."

"You're quite right," Puck replied. "I meant old Hobden's ninth great grandfather. He was a free man and burned charcoal hereabouts. . . . Of course I pricked up my ears when I heard

Weland mentioned, and I scuttled through the woods to the Ford just beyond Bog Wood yonder”

“Why, that’s Willingford Bridge,” said Una. “We go there for walks often, there’s a kingfisher there.”

“It was Weland’s Ford, then, dear. A road led down to it from the Beacon on the top of a hill. A shocking bad road it was, and all the hill-side was thick with oak forest, with deer in it. There was no trace of Weland, but presently I saw a fat old farmer riding down from the Beacon Hill under the greenwood tree. His horse had cast a shoe in the clay, and when he came to the Ford he dismounted, took a penny out of his purse, laid it on a stone, tied the old horse to an oak and called out ‘Smith, smith, here is work for you!’ Then he sat down and went to sleep.” The story goes on to relate how Weland, now known as Wayland Smith, shod the horse. Later on we are told how he made a famous sword and covered it with runes. That is also a part of the original legends.

In this charming story Mr. Kipling has worked carefully over early British and Scandinavian folk-lore. He must have also studied the place-names of the country in order to find Weland survivals. In particular he implies that he finds such survivals from Lincolnshire to the Isle of Wight. One of them is specified, viz. : Willingford Bridge derived from an original Weland-ford. It may, I suppose, be assumed, without injustice to Mr. Kipling, who has shown his hand in this special case, that he has been studying such cases as Welland, Willingham and the like, and reading Weland’s name in them. The instance which he weaves into his tale seems to be a very likely one. The name Willingford Bridge is very suggestive ; it must be an old name ; it has the archaic ford replaced, or rather, supplemented, by the modern bridge ; just in the same way as Stamford Bridge replaces an original Stane-ford. If we could be quite sure of Willingford, I should point out at once the number of cases in which the ford is presided over by the woodpecker as *dux viae*: such names as Pickford (Warwick), Hackford (Norf.), Aylesford and Eaglesford (Kent), Whittlesford (Cambs.), Ickleford (Herts), Ecclesford, etc., all of which involve popular appellations of the woodpecker ; and we should then be able to say of Weland that he is—

- (1) A smith,
- (2) A guide and guardian of travellers,

just as we have shown the woodpecker to be, in the little book, *Picus who is also Zeus*.

The difficulty with place-names lies in the certification of their original forms : how often the Domesday Book and the early charters tell a different tale from the map or the Gazetteer !

Let us try a similar case. Wallingford is very nearly the same as Willingford, and might easily be deduced from the same or nearly the same original. It would be very convincing if we could find another Weland-ford to put with our woodpecker-fords. When we turn, however, to Johnstone's *Place-Names* we find as follows :—

Wallingford: c. 893 Chart. Welingford. 1006 O.E. Chron. Wealingford. 1216 Walingford. 1298 Walinford. 1373 Walyngford. "Ford of the Wealings" or "Sons of Wealth," or "Sons of the Foreigner". See Wales. We get a Norman spelling in *Wm. of Poitiers*, Guarenford.

It will be seen that in the case of Wallingford, the evidence is all against an original Weland-ford. If such a name were the real original, it must have disappeared from common use before A.D. 893. It is possible, but not likely.

Let us take another case which may, perhaps, have occurred to Mr. Kipling in his researches (he is evidently a very close and careful student of English ground, and the history which is so thickly imbedded in it).

Pook's Hill shows that there is a Willingham in Suffolk and another in Cambridgeshire, which might claim kinship with Willingford.

If we turn to Skeat's *Place-Names of Suffolk* we shall find as follows :—

Willingham: Spelt Wilingham, T.N. ; Willingaham, D.B. Pp. 6, 109, which may be the original form. If it be so, the sense is "home (or enclosure) of the Willings," or "of the sons of Willa". Willa is a known name. But Willingaham in Cambridgeshire is differently spelt in D.B. and means "home of the Wifelings," or "of the sons of Wifel".

So here also we have no right to conjecture an original Welandham. The Domesday Book is against us. In fact, Wyvelingham appears to be the spelling of Willingham in Cambridgeshire as late as 1750, and Willingham in Lincolnshire was also Wyvelingham in 1311.¹

The case is not much better with the perplexing Willingtons and

¹ See Skeat, *Place-Names of Cambridgeshire*, p. 25.

Wellingtons that are scattered up and down the country. In his work on the *Place-Names of Durham*, Mr. C. E. Jackson writes :—

P. 111. Willington. There are two places of this name in the County records. One belonged to the Church, the other to the monks. It is almost impossible to separate them in the records. S(ymeon) Twiningtun, Twilingatun. Twinlingtum, F(eodarium Pr. Dunelm), Wiflinton, Wiflinctun, Wivelinton, Wilyngton ; V(alor), E(ccles). Wyllyngtoun. All the forms later than Symeon are from the place-name Wifel, found in charters, A.D. 710 Wiveleshole, 863 Wifelesberg : thus the meaning of the modern name is "Wifel's tun," which, by the way, has nothing to do with *wife*, but it is the A.S. *wifel*—an arrow.

Of what was in the mind of Symeon when he wrote his prefix I can make no guess.

It certainly is perplexing to find so decided a duality in the name. Perhaps Symeon's *twiling* is the German *zwillig*, in which case we have a definite twin-town. But that will not explain the other form.

Of Willington in Bedfordshire, Skeat writes for his *Place-Names of Bedfordshire* as follows :—

P. 60. *Willington*, spelt *Welitone*, D.B., *Wyliton*, E.T., *Willinton*, F.A., p. 50 (1316). The D.B. form is the oldest and best ; *Weli* answers to A.S. *Welig*, a willow-tree, the sense was probably "willow-farm".

So we do not get very much further in the search for Weland shrines. What about the Welland River, which has given its name by migration to the Welland Canal in Canada ? Johnstone's account of it is as follows :—

Welland (river), (Northants) 921, O. E. Chron. *Weolud*, which looks like *W. gwaelod*, base, bottom. But *Welland* (Upton on Severn) is 1196 *Weneland*, 1297 *Wenlond*, 1461 *Wenelond*, "Land of Wenna".

On the whole, we have drawn blank in the search for Weland. We have found instead Willa, Wifel, Wenna, the arrow, the willow, but no trace of Weland, unless perhaps at Mr. Kipling's Willingford and at Wallingford.

We will now turn to the Teutonic and Scandinavian mythologies in order to find out some more about the mysterious Weland. From

Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, we learn that he was (1) a demi-god ; (2) a smith ; (3) a boat-builder ; (4) a flying-man, and (5) that he had twin children.

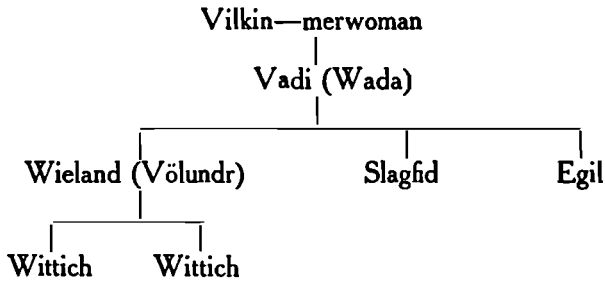
P. 376. "At the head of the whole race (of heroes) is placed *Vilkinus*, named after *Vulcanus*, as the Latin termination shows, a god, or demi-god, who must have had another German name, and who begets with the mer-woman a gigantic son *Vadi*: A.S. *Wada*, O.H.G. *Wato*. . . . (He had a son.)

"Now that son, whom *Vadi* carried through the sea to apprentice him to those cunning smiths the dwarfs, was *Wielant*, A.S. *Weland*, *Welond*, O.N. *Volundr* ; but in the *Vilk-Saga*, *Velint*, master of all smiths, and wedded to a swan-maiden. . . .

"The rightful owner of the boat, which English tradition ascribes to *Wada*, seems to have been *Wieland*. The *Vilk-Saga* tells how he timbered a boat out of the trunk of the tree and sailed over seas. Lamed in the sinews of his foot, he forged for himself a winged garment, and took his flight through the air. . . . *Witiche*, the son he had by *Baduhilt*, bore a hammer and tongs in his scutcheon in honour of his father ; during the Middle Ages his memory lasted among smiths, whose workshops were styled *Wieland's houses*, and perhaps his likeness was set up or painted outside them."

Here, then, we have a description of the smith who turned ship-builder, and it was natural to find parallels with *Hephæstus*, the lame smith of *Olympus*, and other mythical Greek artists, such as *Dædalus*, the flying man. Accordingly, Grimm says that there is an unexpected confirmation of the descriptions given in the *Saga* "in the striking similarity of the Greek fables of *Hephæstus*, *Erichthonius*, and *Dædalus*. As *Weland* offers violence to *Beadohild* (O.N. *Völundr* to *Boðvildr*) so *Hephæstus* lays a snare for *Athene*, when she comes to order weapons of him ; both *Hephæstus* and *Völundr* are punished with lameness, *Erichthonius* too, is lame, etc."

Grimm notes further that there were two sons of *Wieland* (full) brothers : *Wittich* and *Wittich von der aue*. From the coincidence of the names we infer that these are twin brethren (see *Boanerges*, chap. xxx.). We have a heroic genealogy of the following type :—



We will first examine into the story of how Wieland learnt to fly.

“Voelund requested his brother (Egil) to furnish him with feathers of all sizes. Egil went into the woods, killed all sorts of birds, and brought the feathers to Voelund. With them Voelund made himself wings like those of a great bird of prey. . . .

“He then ascended to the roof of his house, took the wings, prepared himself, and at last ascended to the air. He said to his brother, if you are called upon to shoot at me, you will aim at this bladder, which I have filled with the blood of the sons of King Nidung, and which I have fastened under my left arm. When flying away he confessed to his brother that he had misdirected him as to the mode of managing the wings, because he was suspicious of him. Voelund flew up to the highest tower, and cried out with all his might for the King to come and speak with him. On hearing his voice the King came out and said, ‘*Voelund, have you become a bird?*’ What is your project?’ ‘My Lord,’ replied the smith, ‘*I am at present bird and man at once*; I depart, and you will never see me again in your life. Nevertheless, before I go, I will reveal to you some secrets. You cut my hamstrings to prevent me from going, and I revenged myself upon your daughter, who is with child by me. You would have deprived me of the use of my feet, and in my turn, I have deprived you of your sons, whose throat I cut with my own hand; but you will find the bones in the vases garnished with gold and silver with which I have ornamented your table.’ Having said these words, Voelund disappeared in the air. Then the King said to Egil: take your bow and shoot at him, the villain must not escape alive; if you miss him, your head shall pay the forfeit. Egil took his bow, shot, and the arrow struck Voelund under the left arm, so that the blood descended upon the earth. ‘It is good,’ said the King, ‘Voelund cannot go far.

Nevertheless he flew into Seeland, descended in a wood, where he constructed himself a dwelling.”¹

Here we have the hero definitely turned into a bird, and gone back to his home in the woods. His brother Egil is the archer of the North, who appears in Swiss legend as William Tell. It is open to question whether Egil is not one of the many names of the woodpecker. The bird-form assumed by the hero is composite. Some say that his feather dress was like the stripped off skin of a griffin or a falcon, or the bird that they call Strauss (? the crested wren).² No special identification is suggested with the woodpecker, but it is certainly a bird-form that is assumed.

Fragments of the foregoing story will be found in the supplement to the *Heldenbuch* as follows:—

P. xxxviii. “Witich eyn Held. Wittich owe syn Bruder. Wieland was der zweyer Wittich vatter. . . . Darnach kam er tzuo Kunig Elberich und ward syn gesell. Und war auch ein Schmid in dem Berg zuo Gloggen-Sachzen. Darnach kam er zuo Konig Hertwick, und by des tochter machet er zwen sune.”

This brings out the details of a smith who has twin sons by a princess. We now pass on to the question whether Wieland is the first shipbuilder. This is one of the points which we set out to establish; for, as we have shown in *Boanerges*, the first ship made by our ancestors was credited to the woodpecker, who is still regarded by the Ainu of Japan as having been sent down by God to show them how to make boats. Let us then see what the northern hero-legends have to say on this point:—

“Wieland learnt the smith’s craft amongst the dwarfs, and having passed his apprenticeship with them, he desired to return again to Denmark. So he killed the dwarfs, stole one of their horses, which he loaded with gold and valuables. At last he came in his journeyings to the Weser stream, which he was unable to cross. By this stream there was a great forest by which he tarried for awhile; it was not far from the sea. One day he climbed on the hill on a river bank, and espied a large tree, which he felled to the ground, divided in two and

¹ *Wayland Smith*, from the French of Depping and Michael, with additions by S. W. Singer and the amplified legend by Oehlenschläger. London, 1847, p. xxiii, *sqq.*

² Hagen, *Heldenbuch*, i. 124.

hollowed out. At the slender end of the tree, where the leaves broke out, he deposited his tools and his possessions : where the tree was more spacious he stored himself food and drink, and then crept inside and closed the tree so completely that he was secure against river or sea. He closed the aperture in the tree with glasses so that they could easily be removed when occasion should arise ; the water could thus find as little entrance to the tree as it would be able to do if the tree were not hollowed out. The tree was now lying by the river bank, and by agitating it from within he got it down to the bank so that it rolled into the stream, and was carried out into the open sea, and after about eighteen days' voyaging brought him at last to his own country."¹

The foregoing story is a dramatisation of the making of the first ship or dug-out by the woodpecker. The only thing modern about the story is the glass windows. And it does not surprise us that writers on mythology have suspected that we have here the story of the invention of the ship. Accordingly Simrock, in his *Deutsche Mythologie* (ed. 4, p. 228), says definitely that either Wate or his son Wieland was the inventor of the ship. "Ihm selbst oder seinem Sohne Wieland legt die Sage ein Boot bei, was ihm als *Erfinder der Schiff-fahrt bezeichnet*." Clearly Wieland is to be counted as the first shipbuilder, that is, he is the woodpecker to whom our ancestors referred the invention in question.

We may then recapitulate our results :—

Wieland was a smith of the gods,
 who had twin children,
 assumed a bird form,
 hollowed out the first ship.
 Perhaps he had a woodpecker brother :
 and if Mr. Kipling is right, you may
 look for him at the river-ford.

To make the identification complete we want to know if he had a red-head, or a red-cap, and if he was related to the thunder. Of this I have found no trace : the dwarfs among whom he works wear blue caps. The parallel with Hephæstus may, perhaps, bring in the lame thunder-god, but these parallels with Hephæstus and Dædalus require further investigation. On the whole, we have sufficient evidence

¹ See Hagen, *Nordische Heldenroman*, i. 76.

for concluding that in some parts of the North, the woodpecker was personified as Wieland, which is what we set out to prove.

We are left, however, with a number of unsolved problems. If Wieland is the woodpecker, why have we no woodpecker-name that coincides with or reflects the name of the hero or of his father Wada? How are we to explain the coincidence between the Vilkin Saga and the stories of Dædalus and of Vulcanus, including especially the point which Grimm could not get over, that Vilkin is the same as the Latin Vulcan? In making the connection between Dædalus the Greek flying-man, and Völundr the northern flying-man, we have also to take into account the fact that Dædalus was also the artist of the famous Cretan labyrinth, of which parallels can be found all the way to Iceland. These labyrinths are in Scandinavia known by the name of Wieland or Völundr-houses. It is not surprising that people have suggested that the whole of the Wieland legends have been brought from the South of Europe at a comparatively late date, and that Wieland is merely Dædalus in disguise.

Then there are the coincident lame gods, with variant stories told to explain how they came to be lame, from Homer onwards. It certainly seems, at first sight, natural to equate the lame-gods with one another and to infer that there is nothing original about the northern Smith of the gods. Wieland would be simply Dædalus or Hephæstus as the case might require, and his legends would be theirs in a late dress.

At this point we pause and reflect. We have not solved Dædalus by equating Wieland with him. Who was Dædalus, and what does *his* name mean? Here the mythologists are dumb or at best only chattering.

One thing is clear that Dædalus is an earlier form than Hephæstus; for he is an artist in wood, and the other is an artist in metal; and the carpenter precedes the smith. Does this preclude the identification with Wieland? Not if Wieland is the woodpecker, for the woodpecker also is a primitive carpenter, and the idea of calling him a smith is a later derivation from his habit of hammering, and his relation to the fire-god. It is as carpenters, for example, that the woodpeckers build the air city in the *Birds* of Aristophanes. Dædalus is nearer to the woodpecker than Hephæstus is. We cannot identify Dædalus and Wieland on account of their labyrinths.

The mazes which are found all over the North of Europe are

clearly no loans from Crete ; they are a part of a primitive cult of a sky-god, the meaning of which is still obscure : but at all events, the woodpecker is much nearer to the sky-god than either Dædalus or Wieland, unless there should be reason to believe that he is both Dædalus and Wieland.

As to lame gods, we remember that the existence of such is a folklore fact of very wide diffusion, even if it has not yet found its true explanation. For instance, there is Heitsi-ibib, the lame god of the Hottentots, and no doubt ever so many more. Their genesis, as we have said, is still obscure. Here again, Wieland can be in the same group with Vulcan, without being Vulcan.

There remains the great point in the apparent equivalence of Vilkin and Vulcan. The name Vulcan is supposed to be related to the Greek *Φελχάβος* which Hesychius says is a name of Zeus among the Cretans. We remember the equivalence of Zeus and Picus in Crete, and are not surprised to find that it has been suggested that *Felcanos* is a bird, perhaps a cock ; or it may be the same as our word *falcon*, which is said to mean a bird with hooked claws, in the first instance. If it is a bird's name, then it may very well be that Vilkin and Vulcan are, both of them, related to that bird, without any linguistic or legendary borrowing.

Now let us turn again to Grimm. In discussing the hero-form of Egil or Egil the Archer, he tells us that "according to the Edda, Völundr had two brothers, Slagfiðr and Egill, all three *synir Finna-konungs*, sons of a Finnish King, whereas the saga transplanted to the North from Germany makes its Vilkinus a king of Vilkinaland. Or can Finna be taken as the gen. of Finni, and identified with Finn Folcwaldansunu ? Slagfiðr might seem—Slagfinnr, but is better explained as Slagfiöðr (flap-wing)."

The difficulty which Grimm notes in referring the Völundr Saga to Finland is a real one. It disappears if we note that the perplexing word is the Anglo-Saxon *Fine*, the woodpecker. Thus Völundr and his two brothers are all sons of the original King Picus, and may, therefore, be regarded as themselves heroes in bird-form. Egil is easy to explain on this hypothesis, and so is Slagfiðr : while Völundr (and by implication the related Wieland) are seen to belong to the very same bird ancestry. We need not hesitate longer to reckon Wayland the Smith as an English woodpecker-hero.

Now let us inquire whether the supposed woodpecker-hero and his twin children are associated with primitive sanctuaries. It will be remembered that we traced one origin of sanctuary to the taboo which attaches itself to twin children and their mother. Such sanctuaries are constantly being created in W. Africa at the present day, whenever the offending twin-mother and her brood are expelled from the community that they have terrified and endangered. The usual sanctuary is an island in the midst of the stream, and it is upon such islands that twin-towns naturally spring up, as an original group is supplemented by other twin-groups, or by runaway slaves, or evasive debtors, or any people who will risk a taboo in order to get rid of social responsibility. We say that this form of social ostracism is one of the origins of sanctuary. No doubt there are others, but this is one of the most common. The sanctuary, for example, which Romulus devised at Rome need not be any different from what we can detect in the present day in the Niger region: it is lawful to suspect that many of the most famous sanctuaries all over Europe are due to a similar cause.

The question arises naturally whether Wieland has any connection with a sanctuary or sanctuaries known to us in England. We have called the Berkshire monument with which his name is associated a sanctuary, but we have no history of the Uffington monument, and the term sanctuary is used loosely and with insufficient precision. Let us take a case where sanctuary is more certain, and see if we can find any traces of Wayland therein.

The most venerable and the most certain sanctuary in England is Westminster Abbey; from the earliest days it has been a place of dread; it is called "locus terribilis" in the first document that describes it, the charter of Offa. This sense of terror developed into a profound religious regard in the Middle Ages, and made it the place of resort for thieves and runaways, much as in ancient Rome; we have still a Broad Sanctuary at Westminster, and the history of the Abbey is full of instances when it furnished shelter to the fugitive.

Dean Stanley in his *Memorials of Westminster Abbey* attached to his title-page the following extract from Howell's *Perlustration of London* in 1657:—

"The Abbey of Westminster hath been always the greatest sanctuary and rendezvous of devotion of the whole island; whereunto the situation of the whole place seems to contribute very much, and to

strike a holy kind of reverence and sweetness of melting piety in the heart of the beholders."

Well! reverence and melting piety are commonly evolved out of primitive taboo: and it was quite true in a sense that the author of the *Perlustration* did not intend that the situation of the place contributes much to the sense of reverence; for Westminster Abbey stands on ground that was once an island. Its original name was Thorney, which people commonly interpret as Isle of Thorns (though I doubt if this is its correct meaning). At all events, it is an island sanctuary, and this naturally provokes comparison with island-sanctuaries elsewhere. Stanley says of it¹ that "the island or peninsula thus enclosed, in common with more than one similar spot, derived its name from its thickets of thorn." He is thinking of Thorney Abbey in the fen country; but the point to be noted is that there is more than one similar spot.

What has this to do with Wieland, you will say? I am coming to that. In the sanctuary furnished by the Abbey of Westminster is the Treasury of the early English Kings; and when a Prime Minister of England is called First Lord of the Treasury, this is the treasury that his lordship applies to. Originally there were many treasures here besides money and war bonds: let us see what Dean Stanley can tell us about them.² To this Treasury "were brought the most cherished possessions of the State: the Regalia of the Saxon monarchy; the Black Rood of St. Margaret ("the Holy Cross of Holyrood"); the "Crocis Gneyth" (or Cross of St. Neot) from Wales, deposited here by Edward I; the sceptre or rod of Moses; the Ampulla of Henry IV; the sword with which King Athelstane cut through the rock at Dunbar; *the sword of Wayland Smith by which Henry II was knighted*; the sword of Tristan, presented by John the Emperor; the dagger which wounded Edward I at Acre; the iron gauntlet worn by John of France when taken prisoner at Poitiers."

A very curious and interesting collection of antiquities. This sword of Wayland is in the legends as a part of the skill which he learnt of the dwarf iron-workers in the North: it was covered with runes and was a terrible implement. Stanley says it was used at the Knighthood of Henry II; more exactly of his father, Geoffrey Plantagenet; and

¹ l.c. i. 3.

² *Memorials*, i. 383.

it was sent across the Channel to Rouen, so that the young Plantagenet might have it as part of his knightly equipment, at the time of his initiation. The Chronicler tells us that it was a very ancient relic : we may conjecture that it stood next in dignity to the Rod of Moses with which it was associated. So here we have Weyland actually connected with the oldest and greatest of British Sanctuaries, and the Sanctuary is on an island. The proof is not final that Westminster Abbey is the home of Wayland (or one of his homes) ; the sword might have been brought there as a treasure, as Moses deposited his rod there instead of leaving it to the Monastery on Mt. Sinai ; but it is certainly curious that we should turn up the Wayland Smith relic precisely at this spot. The old tradition of the Abbey was that a pagan temple of Diana once stood there ; we shall not be far wrong in assuming, at all events, that a heathen sanctuary preceded the Christian shrine : we suspect that it was a twin sanctuary.

Note.—The authority for Dean Stanley's statement as to the preservation of the famous sword of Wayland in the Treasury at Westminster will be found in the *Historia Gaufrredi Comitis Andegavorum* by Johannes Monachus Majoris Monasterii (see *Recueil des Historiens*, xii. p. 521) : it proceeds, after describing the bathing, helming, etc., of the young knights, of whom Geoffrey Plantagenet was the leader, as follows :—

“Ad ultimum allatus est ei ensis de thesauro regis, ab antiquo ibidem signatus, in quo fabricando superlatus Galaunus multa opera et studio desudavit.”

Here Galaunus is the Norman-French for Wayland, just as Guarenford is for Wallingford, which we were discussing previously.