

TOWARD AN ARCHAIC GERMANIC PSYCHOLOGY

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This article is concerned with the structure of ancient Germanic soul conceptions and represents an attempt to establish semantic fields for the terms involved, as well as a tentative effort to determine their structural relationship. It is concluded that at least the core elements of the common Germanic psyche were probably conceived of as a three-fold structure of 1) a breath concept, 2) an emotive faculty and 3) a cognitive faculty.

I. Contexts

Any attempt to determine the nature of the psychological conceptions held by the ancient Germanic peoples and to formulate a structure in which these conceptions might have functioned (1) is beset with a variety of difficulties due to the disparate nature of the textual evidence and general discontinuity of the pre-Christian contexts for the lexical items involved.

Since documentation of the old Germanic dialects only began after the Christianization process had commenced, most of the texts yield either ecclesiastical contexts, or secular ones which must be understood within an at least partially Christianized cultural matrix. (2) Only Old Norse preserves the pre-Christian terminology within an indigenous ideological frame-

(1) Most of the handbooks have dealt with this problem to some extent, e.g. Grimm 1875, II, 689-99; II, 728-30, Rydberg 1886, 545-58, Meyer 1891, 61-75; 1903, 68-91, de la Saussaye 1902, 289-303, Herrmann 1903, 35-37; 1906, 3-44, de Vries 1937, II, 348-58, Helm 1913, 132-47; 1937, II, 10-21; 1953, II, 13-35, de Vries 1956, I, 217-41, Turville-Petre 1964, 221-35. A number of studies of ON soul conceptions have appeared, but most deal only with limited, usually magical, aspects, cf. Ellis (Davidson) 1943, 121-69, Falk 1926, Grönbech 1931, I, 105-227, Mundal 1974, Strömbäck 1935, 160-90; 1975. Polomé 1969 presents a study of the more dynamic ON conceptions (*þnd ððr*, etc.), but no comprehensive studies in a Germanic framework have appeared.

(2) This article examines material from Gothic (Go.), Old High German (OHG), Old English (OE), Old Saxon (OS), Old Frisian (OFris.), and Old Norse (ON). The principal sources for Go. are: Streitberg 1919 and Feist 1923; for OHG: Sievers repr. 1966, Piper 1882, Sehrt-Starck 1933-34, von Steinmeyer 1916, Zipper 1960; for OE: Krapp-Dobbie 1931-53, Holthausen 1974, Bosworth-Toller 1898; for OS: Sievers 1878, Berr 1971; for OFris. Richthofen 1840; and for ON: Neckel-Kuhn 1962, Finnur Jónsson 1931, Guðni Jónsson 1946-49; 1950, Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957, Jóhannesson 1951, and de Vries 1961.

(3) The main ON sources are the *Codex Regius* (Neckel-Kuhn 1962), the *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar* (Finnur Jónsson 1931), and the saga literature, especially the *Islendinga sögur* (Guðni Jónsson 1946-49), and the *Fornaldarsögur* (Guðni Jónsson 1950). Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957 is a convenient ON glossary, while de Vries 1961 is perhaps the best etymological dictionary for ON.

work.(3)

Archeological evidence, especially with regard to grave finds and burial customs,(4) is also important for an overall understanding of this topic; as is the investigation of certain other religious practices and beliefs, e.g. the pagan 'baptism' (ON *verpa vatni á*, or *vatni ausa*), shape-shifting, the peculiarly Germanic type of 'metempsychosis,' etc.(5) However, due to considerations of space we must here confine ourselves to linguistic evidence, which, when kept in perspective, may then be applied to these other areas to gain a more complete understanding of the Germanic 'soul conceptions.'

A working definition of the term 'soul' is provided by the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* which states:

Soul...in its primary meaning, designates an entity conceived as the cause or vehicle of the bodily life and the psychical activities of the individual person. The soul is assumed to exist as a spiritual substance, in rather sharp antithesis to material substances, thus giving form to the contrast of soul and body...and the assumption of their separability...The contrast under regard, in the more primitive intention, is not that of material and spiritual substances (for neither of these categories is recognized), but it is very near to the reflective distinction between form and energy. (Hastings 1920, XI,725-26)

The later statement is most relevant to what seems to be the situation with the archaic Germanic polypsychic conceptions. This is apparent in the Old Norse sources where the 'whole person' (a sort of psychophysical complex) seems to be understood to consist of many aspects or substances (*efni*), each with its own function, but fundamentally linked with the whole.(6)

Some of these various soul-types are separable from the rest of the complex and may wander away and return without causing death, while others must remain attached to the body and constitute 'life.' Another type may continue to exist after separation of the life entity and the body. Thus we are essentially faced with a three-fold pattern with respect to the various types of soul conceptions:

(4) For a recent survey of this type of evidence cf. Kruger 1976.

(5) For an outline of these practices cf. de Vries 1956, I, 178-84; 217-18; II, 97-99.

(6) Rydberg 1886, 545ff. had already noticed this.

- I. embodied soul
- II. disembodied soul
- III. separable soul

Since this article mainly concerns the psychological world of the living individual, considerations are usually restricted to category I, with some references to II and III.

The general effect of Christianization seems to have been a simplification of each of the concepts coupled with a tendency toward sharper divisions between them in a primary dichotomy (body:soul) and a secondary trichotomy (body:soul:spirit) based upon ecclesiastical models. (7)

For purposes of this article, the term 'soul' may be understood to designate a substance or quality which seems to be distinct from the body at a certain level.

A number of items in the West Norse vocabulary must be considered separately, both because they are functionally distinct from that which we usually refer to as 'soul,' and because the other Germanic dialects do not offer a corresponding vocabulary for comparative purposes. The special West Norse terms seem to fall into two distinct groups: 1) the semi-physical, and 2) the 'magical' or animistic. (8)

'Semi-physical' applies to those qualities which are said to have divine origin in Old Norse mythological texts, and which tend to have a visible manifestation or apparent organic function. The best sources for the study of these concepts are *Völuspá* 17-18 (Neckel-Kuhn 1962, 4-5) and *Gylfaginning* ch. 9 (Finnur Jónsson 1931, 16). Here we read of a triad of gods who endow the primal man and woman with certain essential gifts distinct from their physical shape. The gifts of the first two gods are better discussed below, however, those of the third (Lóðurr in the *Völuspá*) seem to have a physical and/or sensory quality, e.g. *lár*: 'hair,' or perhaps 'mien,' *litir góðir*: 'good complexion' (Polomé 1969, 283ff.). Other terms which appear in

(7) This analysis can only be valid for the conceptual world of extant texts — the popular contemporary conceptions must remain obscure due to the lack of texts unaffected by Christian ideas.

(8) Here, 'magical' might indicate an entity or power by which one is able to cause changes to occur in the environment, to alter physical shapes, to attack another or to defend one's self by 'non-physical' means, etc. For the distinction between the terms 'animistic' and 'dynamistic,' cf. van Gennep 1960. Van Gennep essentially uses 'animistic' for those things which are conceptualized as living (often conscious) beings, while 'dynamistic' refers to non-personal power concepts, e.g. *mana*.

this context seem to support this idea.(9) The fact that these generally physiological qualities are so firmly coupled in the same 'shaping' process with the more 'spiritual' qualities only further emphasizes the fundamentally inextricable nature of these categories in the conceptual world of the Norse.

The more animistic soul conceptions also seem to have strong links to the physical world. This type of soul plays an important role in the West Norse literature (Mundal 1974; Kelchner 1935), and it has been much discussed in the scholarly literature which deals with archaic Norse psychology. While this is understandable, it is also unfortunate that many discussions which propose to treat Norse 'soul conceptions' tend only to discuss these terms to the exclusion of more widely distributed lexical items (e.g. Falk 1926; Ellis 1943, 121-38; Strömbäck 1975). East and South Germanic generally lack this type of terminology;(10) therefore the obvious question arises: are these terms Norse innovations or were they, or their functional equivalents, lost elsewhere due to cultural and/or linguistic processes? A satisfactory solution may never be forthcoming due to lack of evidence.

A brief analysis of these West Norse terms may prove helpful in indicating their scope as well as the nature of the psycho-physical complex which provides the context for the terminology central to this article.

The *hamr*: 'skin, shape' (cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957, 236; de Vries 1956, I, 208), is a kind of semi-plastic image creating essence which can be molded into various forms by the *hugr* (cf. **hug-*) of certain persons (cf. Grönbech 1931, I, 264; de Vries 1956, I, 222-23). Its original meaning was simply 'skin' or 'hide,'(11) but it acquired a 'magic' quality in the Norse context. It is also noteworthy that the link with the physical ap-

(9) Other terms which occur in this context in the Younger Eddic passage are: *mál*: 'speech,' *sjón*: 'sight,' *heyrrn*: 'hearing,' and *ásjóna*: 'outer appearance.'

(10) According to Skeat 1879-82, 724, English 'wraith' was probably borrowed from Scandinavian *vǫrðr*, and it first appears in (16th century) Ayrshire as 'wrath' > 'wraith' with metathesis, cf. also OE *weard*: 'guardian.' But Klein 1967, II, 1953 sees a possible derivation from OIr. *arracht*: 'apparition, specter.' Since 'wraith' is only attested from modern times, an etymology remains difficult. The English 'fetch' is even more obscure. It seems to be indigenous, but the only possible attestation is the questionable *faecce* in the *Corpus Glossary*, ca 800. The word does not appear (again?) until 1787, and is restricted to the North Country and Ireland, cf. OE *feccan* (?).

(11) Cf. for example OHG *lih-hamo*: 'body' (and *gund-hamo* in the *Hildebrandslied*: 'war-corslet'), and OE *lichamo*: 'body.'

paratus was never lost, for example, if the *hamr* of an individual was injured, the 'normal' physical body would receive the same wound. (12) The *hamingja* carries a three-pronged definition: 1) 'shape-changing force,' (13) 2) 'luck' or 'fortune,' and 3) 'guardian spirit' (Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957, 236). All of these are in one way or another linked with the notion of *hamr* (de Vries 1956, I, 224; Mundal 1974, 86), but each indicates its dynamic and magical function. Another concept similar to the *hamingja* is the *fylgja*: 'guardian spirit' (Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957, 179). Etymologically it is probably derived from the verb *fylgja*: 'to follow' → 'following spirit' (de Vries 1961, 147-48 and 1956, I, 124-25). The 'guardian' aspect is emphasized by the *verðr*: 'guardian,' a personification of a single aspect of the *hamingja-fylgja* complex. (14) The Old English *weard* is used in a similar sense, but in a Christian context. (15)

These terms occupy an important position within the Norse psychophysical structure, but it is significant that none of them encroached upon the semantic fields of the other soul conceptions, although *hugr* increasingly took over semantic qualities contained in the *hamingja-fylgja* complex. (16) There can be little doubt that these terms reflect an archaic, pre-Christian ideology in the North. Any further discussion would lead us astray of our central purpose, but it is necessary to note the distinction between these concepts — magical in function, quasi-physical in origin, and capable of anthropomorphic or zoöomorphic (17) conceptualization; and the more dynamistic 'spiritual' qualities necessary to psychic life considered below.

There is a widely represented group of terms which seems to have originally indicated a variety of physiological life processes. These are best left out of this psychological analysis, but they could not be ignored in a comprehensive examination of

(12) This is discussed by de Vries 1956, I, 223, and a good example of it may be found in *Friðjólfs saga* ch. 6.

(13) A generally convincing etymology is provided by Falk 1926, 171. *Hamingja* < **ham-gengja*: 'one who goes about in a shape (= *hamr*)' — a kind of 'dynamic shape.'

(14) An interesting IE parallel is found in the Iranian concept of the *farvaši*, which is a pre-existing, celestial being which becomes a protective spirit for the warrior (*marut*), cf. Widengren 1965, 20-28.

(15) Cf. *Beowulf* 1741, and also the OHG *uuartil* in the *Muspilli* 66.

(16) Cf. Strömbäck 1975 where we see the term *hugr* used for a wide variety of functions.

(17) This is especially prevalent with the *fylgja*, cf. Mundal 1974 for *fylgjur* in female and animal forms.

the entire complex. Two examples of these would be PIE **leip-*: 'to stick, adhere; fat' > PGmc. **lif-*: 'life,' cf. ON *líf*, OE *líf*, OHG *lib*; and PIE **perh-*: 'to enclose(?)' > PGmc **ferh-*: 'life,' cf. Go. *fairhus*: 'world,' and ON *fjör*, OHG *ferah*~*ferh*, OE *feorh*, OS *ferah*, all meaning 'life.' If we can connect PGmc. **ferh-* to Skt. *pársu*: 'rib,' and/or to Gk. *πόρκης*: 'a ring to hold a spear-head on the shaft' (cf. Wiedemann 1904, 17; Feist 1939, 103; Pokorny 1959, I, 820), then the idea of 'life' as a substance which 'holds body and soul together,' or encloses the soul in the body might be suggested. But any etymology remains tenuous.

II. Root Concepts

These Proto-Germanic roots, many of which became terms for aspects of the psychic structure in the Germanic dialects, must be examined in order to determine something of their original semantic content so that some basic conclusion concerning the nature and structure of the archaic Germanic soul may be reached.

**ah-*

PIE **ok-*: 'to (mentally) reflect, ponder' (18) > PGmc. **ah-*. Gk. *ὀκνος* 'doubtfulness,' *ὀκνέω*: 'to hesitate,' *ὀκηρός*: 'slothful.'

Within Germanic **ah-* is reflected in several dialects: OE *eaht*: 'deliberation,' *eahtian*: 'to consider,' OHG *ahta*: 'thought, contemplation,' *ahtōn*: 'to consider; ON *ætla* < **ahtilōn*: 'to think, mean, suppose.' These are all within the psychological field, but only Gothic employs this root for a true soul conception. It is found in two distinct lexical items: *aha*: 'mind, understanding' (Ulf. trans. *νοῦς*) and *ahma*: 'spirit' (Ulf. trans. *πνεῦμα*) which is used for the 'holy spirit' (cf. Matt. 3:11; Mark 1:12) as well as for 'evil spirits' (cf. Matt. 8:16). *Aha* reflects the simple root, while *ahma* (< **ah-ma*) reflects a suffixed form (cf. Go. *mal-ma*: 'sand,' *milh-ma*: 'cloud,' ect.). It seems clear that this root originally indicated an 'internal mental process, reflection,' which Go. expanded by means of the suffix *-ma* into new semantic territory.

**an-/*and-*

(18) Pokorny 1959, 774, cf. also Uhlenbeck 1902, 115, who derives PGmc. **ah-* > **oq^u-*: 'to see' — which is phonologically impossible since it would yield **ah-* in Go.

PIE verbal root **an(ə)-*: 'to breathe,' Skt. *ániti*: '(it) breathes,' *ánilah*: 'breath' (with no psychic qualities); Lat. *animus/ánima*: 'spirit, life, etc.,' MWel. *eneit*: 'soul,' and a PIE **-t* suffixed nominal stem **ant-*: 'breath' developed in ON as *ǫnd-~andi*.

Both roots are represented in Germanic, and both contain some psychological sense. In the strong compound Go. verb *us-anan*: 'to expire,' this 'spiritual' sense is perhaps only palely reflected. It is attested twice in the third person singular preterite *uƷon* (Mark 15:37, 39) where it refers to the expiration of Jesus. Because of this particular context it is tempting to conclude that **an-* had a more 'spiritual' original sense in Gothic. The tenuous psychic quality present in *us-anan* is more developed in the Old Norse, where we find *ǫnd* alternating with *andi*, both apparently derived from PIE **ant-* > PGmc. **and-*: '(life-giving) breath.' Later Christian uses of this word introduced semantic contents of Lat. *spírítus*, (19) however, pre-Christian contexts tend to present a more dynamistic quality for *andi/ǫnd*, which seem to indicate it was conceived of as a life-giving power. (20) The most revealing pagan context is *Völuspá* 18 and *Gylfaginning* ch. 9 where it is identified as the gift of Óðinn (or the first son of Borr) during the process of shaping the primal man and woman, Ask and Embla. It seems most reasonable to conclude that, at least in NGmc., **and-* originally indicated a dynamistic life-giving and life-sustaining power (given by the gods?) contained in the breath, but that it did not demonstrate the psychoid characteristics of the Latin-Christian *spírítus*. (21)

**ēpma-*

PIE **étmen-*: 'breath, vapor.' > PGmc. **ēpma-*: 'breath, spirit.' Skt. *ātman*: 'breath, soul,' Gk. *ἀτμός*: 'vapor.' It is perhaps derived from a PIE compound root **et-men-*, in which the radical might have meant 'breath,' (cf. OIr. *athach* [*< *ēt-āko-*]: 'breath, soul?'), and the suffix **-mēn-* would then indicate the

(19) In ON, the *andi* form of the root, which had formerly been more restricted in meaning as 'breath,' was expanded under Christian influence to assume the semantic content of Lat. *spírítus* and *ánimus* (Gk. *πνεύμα*), while *ǫnd* seems to have had a pre-Christian psychic content — although it too was incorporated into the ecclesiastical psychological lexicon generally to translate Lat. *ánima* — although distinctions are often lost (cf. Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957, 20; 764).

(20) Polomé 1969, 268, cf. also the ten contexts in the *Poetic Edda*, nine of which refer to the loss of this vital force in death situations.

(21) See footnote 23.

reality of the process of the radical. (22)

The two PIE roots **an(ə)-*/**ant-* and **tmen-* seem semantically identical, but phonological quite distinct. Both developed side by side in Indic; however, only **tmen-* took on a psychological significance. A similar, but dialectally distributed process occurred in Germanic. There, **ēpma-* is absent in NGmc., and EGmc., and within SGmc. an interesting semantic distribution is evident. A survey of this SGmc. material shows: OE *æðm*: 'breath, vapor;' OS *ādōm*: 'breath;' OFris. *ēthma*: 'breath,' and in OHG it is only attested in Bavarian, Alemanic and East Franconian as *ātum*: 'breath, spirit.' This is possibly a synonymic loanshift (cf. Haugen 1950, 219ff.) from Lat. *spiritus* (Braune 1917-18, 404ff.), but the possibility that *ātum* represented an aspect of the pre-Christian psychophysical complex must not be discounted. The striking phonological and semantic parallel between OHG *ātum* and Skt. *ātman*, as well as the development of the semantically and functionally equivalent ON *qnd* into a soul conception in an apparently pagan context tempt one to conclude that, already in certain SGmc. dialects, **āpma-* was a cultic term for 'an animating life force (given by the gods?).' **gaist-*

PIE **gheis-* > **gheiz-d-*: 'to be angry; amazed; frightened.' Skt. *hēḍaḥ*: 'anger,' Av. *zaeša*: 'horrible.'

In many ways, the history of **gaist-* is similar to that of **ēpma-*. Its strict psychological function is dialectally restricted to SGmc., where we find OE *gāst*, OS *gēst*, OFris. *iēst*~*gāst*, and OHG *geist*, all meaning 'spirit' in a Christian context. This specifically Christian semantic quality is probably the result of a loanshift, again from Lat. *spiritus*, which could have actually taken place in England and then have been brought to the Continent by missionaries. This loanshift was not synonymic, but approximate, since **gaist-* originally had nothing to do with a 'breath' concept. (23) The lack of pre-Christian contexts remains a problem, yet the fact that **gaist-* seems to have been in original complementary distribution with **ēpma-* in the Christian vocabulary is perhaps significant (Braune 1917-18, 404ff.). Other Germanic attestations help crystalize the more archaic

(22) Cf. Perrot 1961, 237ff., for a discussion of the semantic content of the suffix **-men* in Italic.

(23) Concerning the 'spiritualization' of Lat. *spiritus* and Gk. *πνεῦμα* under the influence of Heb. *ruah*, cf. Betz q959, 143.

nature of the term. In OE we see the verb *gāstan*: 'to frighten,' (24) and in Go. there is *us-gaisjan*: 'to frighten;' *us-gaisnan*: 'to become frightened,' while ON has *geisa*: 'to rage.' Perhaps most revealing of all is the Go. past participle *usgeisips* which translates Gk. ἐξέστη in Mark 3:21. Thus it seems reasonable that **gaist-* might have indeed originally indicated 'a bursting forth of emotive(25) energy within a person. This is emphasized by constructs which clearly place the term in the emotive psychological field. This is also a basic idea for which a religious and cultic importance is well attested in the Germanic cultures and languages (cf. also **wōð-* and **mōð-*). In the heathen vocabulary the word was probably part of a religious, perhaps 'shamanistic,' terminology, and denoted an inner (emotive) movement of ecstatic excitement.

**hērt-*

PIE **kēṛ-d-*: 'springer, leaper → center; heart.' (it is universally known in I-E, cf. Szemerényi 1970a, 110; 157-8.) > PGmc. **hērt-(ōn-)*: 'heart, middle.'

This PGmc. root received its psychological content through a post-Christian loan translation from Lat. *cor*, and may not be considered a part of any archaic Germanic terminology of the soul itself. However, the **hērt-ōn-* may very well have already been conceived of as a seat of certain psychic activity, since it probably contained emotive connotations. This may be inferred from the derivatives in Ilit. *kartim*: 'anger,' OCS *srěditi se*: 'to be angry,' Lith. *širdytis*: 'to be angry,' Arm. *srtnim*: 'I become angry,' (cf. Szemerényi 1970b, 515ff.). In the OS *Heliand* (ca. 830 E.E.) *herta* is restricted to a more physiological sense, but in Otfrid (ca. 860 C.E.) *herza* is used to translate Lat. *cor* in every sense (Becker 1964, 166-67).

**hug-*

(Etymology uncertain) Perhaps from PIE *hēuk-*: 'to shine,' (Johannesson 1951, 205-06), Skt. *śōka*: 'glow, flame,' *śōkati*: 'to shine, be bright' > PGmc. **hug-*. Others have tried to connect it to Lith. *kaũkas*: 'dwarf; spirit of an unbaptized dead child' (Mikola 1897, 541), and to Gk. *Kυκᾶω*: 'to stir up' → 'to excite' (Uhlenbeck 1897, 541).

This root is attested in all the Germanic dialects as a substan-

(24) Cf. also modern English 'aghost,' and 'ghastly.'

(25) That is, 'emotive' in contrast to the cognitive or rational, a physiological response or psychic phenomenon devoid of ideological content.

tive (Go. *hugs*: 'mind' [Ulf. trans. *νοῦς*]; OHG *hugu*: 'spirit, mind, sentiments'; (26) OS *hugi*: 'spirit, mind heart'; OE *hige*: 'mind, heart, soul'; OFris. *hei*: 'mind'; ON *hugr*: 'mind; mood, heart; desire; foreboding; courage'). Nominal and verbal derivatives are too copious to enumerate, but a review of these items seems to indicate a basic cognitive function. **Hug-* is the best attested Germanic term for the abstract seat of various psychic functions. No other word is so widely distributed and so firmly established in the psychological field, and it would seem plausible to suggest that **hug-* represents an extremely archaic concept of the soul. However, the major problem remains the lack of any certain etymology outside Germanic. Therefore, we must turn to a comparative study of archaic Germanic contexts in order to come to any viable conclusions. The compounds and verbal constructs reinforce the results of such a study which indicates a synthetic yet limited function for **hug-* in the semantic field of cognition, especially in the reflective and volitive areas. This term may have had a non-specific quality around which certain intellectual qualities aggregate (probably during the Common Germanic period). The derivation from PIE **h₂euk-* might make the most sense here, since 'shining, brightness, etc.' is an ambiguous quality by itself, and yet within Germanic we often find it used to indicate (divine) intelligence and power, or other numinous qualities. (27)

**minp-/ *mund-*

PIE **men-*: 'to think, reflect' in two **-ti-* suffixed roots which indicate the objective completion of a process (Benveniste 1948, 93; Bahder 1880, 62): Ø-grade **m₁-ti-* > PGmc. **(ga-) mund-*, and a fullgrade **men-ti-* > PGmc. **minp- (ja)*. Cognates are Lat. *mēns*, *mentis*: 'mind,' Skt. *mayiti-*: 'thought,' Osl.

(26) Only attested in Rhine Franconian (15 times in Otfrid), and only three times outside this, in Bavarian and South Rhine Franconian.

(27) This is evidenced by the 'shining' or 'sharp' eyes of various heroes, e.g. Sigurðr in ch. 13 of the *Völsunga saga*, Helgi in the *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* 6, Jarl in the *Rígsþula* 34, and Þórr in the *Þrymskviða* 27. Tacitus (*Germania* ch. 4) also mentions the *acies oculorum* as a characteristic of the Germanic warriors. To this should also be added the etymology of ON *álfr*: 'elf' < **albh-*: 'to shine, be white' (de Vries 1961, 5-6), and the possible connection with Skt. *ṛbhu*: 'skilled, artist, (other-worldly) craftsman,' cf. Kuhn 1855, 110. In Vedic mythology concept *ṛbhu* indicates a relationship between the ideas 'shining' and 'skilled,' and indicates the divine and immortal attributes which can be attained through this 'skill,' cf. MacDonell 1897, 131-34.

pamēti: 'remembrance,' Lith. *atmintis*: 'memory' reflect the ϕ -grade form.

This vigorous IE root which takes in many of the senses of **hug-* in Germanic, but **minþ-/mund-*remains well represented in the Germanic dialects in the more restricted sense of 'memory with an archaic secondary shift to 'loving memory (of the ancestors, gods, etc.),' cf. OHG *minni/minna*: 'love,' OS *minna*: 'love,' OFris. *minne*: 'love,' but ON *minni*: 'memory; memorial,' OE *gemynd* (< ϕ -grade): 'memory, remembrance,' Go. *gaminþi ~ gamunds*: 'memory, remembrance' (Ulf. trans. *μνεία, μνημοσύνη, ἀνάμνησις*).

**mōð-*

PIE **mē-*: 'to be of furious and forceful will' > PGmc. **mōð-*. Lat. *mōs*: 'custom,' OCS *smějǫ*: 'to dare' are possible cognates, but an etymology outside Germanic remains difficult.

In North and East Germanic this root never developed into a soul conception, nevertheless, these dialects provide important clues to its underlying meaning, e.g. ON *mōðr*: 'excitement, anger' and Go. *mōþs*: 'anger' (Ulf. trans. *θυμός* and *ὀργή*). These are clearly not soul conceptions, but they remain within the emotive/volitive psychological field and probably indicate something of the more primary sense of the word. In South Germanic this root universally became a soul conception, cf. OHG *muot*: 'soul, spirit; mind; mood, heart; excitement; desire; courage,' OE *mōd*: 'spirit, soul; courage; arrogance; power; violence,' OS *mōd*: 'soul; heart; will,' OFris. *mōd*: 'courage; mind; will.' These SGmc. developments attest the continued underlying emotive/volitive sense. Most notably OHG *muot* assumes the position of the container of the undivided 'inner man' (Becker 1964, 156), and acts as a synthetic concept for divergent psychic aspects (in various texts it translates Lat. *cor, spiritus, voluntas, anima, animus*, and *mens*). Originally it seems to have belonged to the same semantic field as **gaist-* and *wōð-*, but with a more complex sense which includes *volition*.

**saiwalō-*

This root is unknown outside Germanic, and its use within Germanic is limited in such a way that any etymology remains conjectural. (28)

(28) The etymology offered by Weisweiler 1939, 25ff. which connects this term to PGmc. **saiwa-z*: 'the sea,' as **saiwa-lo*: 'the one from the sea' (i.e. the 'soul' as an

It is attested in all the Germanic dialects, where we find: OHG *sēula sēola sēla*, OE *sāw(e)l*, OS *sēola*, OFris. *sēle*, Go. *saiwala* (Ulf. trans. ψυχή), and ON *sál(a)* – all with the uniform meaning 'soul, life.' This term is not indigenous to North Germanic and was brought by missionaries at a relatively late date and only occurs in Christian contexts (Cleasby-Vigfusson 1957, 516-17). Therefore, **saiwalō* seems to be common to South and East Germanic only. Moreover, it appears to be a term of particularly Christian content. It is rare in *Beowulf* (6 occurrences as a substantive); all except one (2422) are unquestionably within a Christian context, and all are in the mouth of the poet and concern life:death situations. (29) It has been speculated that **saiwalō* was originally a life-term similar in function to **līf-* and **ferh-* (Eggers 1957, 17ff.). While this may go a bit too far with too little evidence, it does seem that it originally might have denoted some life process, but one of the second soul-type which could exist after physical death. Many of the passages in Ulfilas refer to the life:death situation and the survival of the *saiwala*/ψυχή (e.g. Matt. 2:20, 10:28, 29; Mark 3:4, 8:35-37; Luke 2:35). In OHG *sēula* often translates Lat. *anima*, but only in the 'transcendental' sense. When *anima* simply means '(earthly) life,' *ferah* or *līb* are more often found (Becker 1964, 167ff.).

**saf-* → **sef-*

PIE **sap-*: 'to taste; perceive' > PGmc. **saf-* (with *i-umlaut*) in nominal and verbal constructions. Evidence for the original Germanic **sāf-* is limited to the preterite forms OHG *suob* and MDu. *besoef* 'tasted, perceived.' Possible cognates are Lat. *sapio*: 'taste, discern,' Arm. *ham*: 'taste,' OIr. *sāir*: 'experienced, clever.' However, the etymology remains difficult.

The root is only found as a soul conception in the OS *Heliland sebo*: 'heart; mind,' OE *sefa*: 'understanding, mind; soul,' and ON *sefi*: 'mind, affection.' Its most archaic meaning is also revealed in a number of verbs, e.g. OHG *intseffen*: 'to perceive, notice,' OS *afsebbian*: 'perceive,' ON *sefa*: 'to soothe (of anger, etc.).' The terms, common to the North Germanic and Ingvaconic

entity which originates in the water and returns to it after death), is not generally convincing, while that provided by Eggers 1957, 21, which associates **saiwalō* with the concept 'shadow' still remains conjectural.

(29) Cf. also in this regard the compounds *sāwuldōr*: 'life-blood,' and *sāwollēas*: 'lifeless.' The Christian element in *Beowulf* is discussed by Klaeber 1911.

dialects, clearly indicates a sentient aspect of the psychic complex. (30)

**sinp-*

PIE **sent-*: 'to take direction, go;' primary nominal derivation **sentō-*: 'the walk; way.' This developed an intellectual meaning of 'perception' in Lat. *sentio sensus*.

The root occurs in all Germanic dialects, but only OHG (Bavarian, Alemanic, South Rhine Franconian) *sin*: 'mind, understanding, reason, thought, sense,' and OFris. *sin*: 'mind, sense, understanding,' developed it into a psychological term under the direct influence of Lat. *sensus*. The older meaning was also retained in Go. *sinþs*, OE *sīð*, OS *sīð*, ON *sinn*~*sinni*, and OHG *sind*, all with the general definition 'walk, journey, way, etc.'

**pank-*

PIE **tong-*: 'to think, feel' > PGmc. **pank-*: 'Lat. *tongere*: 'to know, Osc. *tanginúd*: 'a way of thinking.'

An unsuffixed and suffixed form developed in Germanic, cf. **pank-* > OHG *gedank*: 'thought, OE *ðank*: 'thought, feeling, OS *thank*: 'thanks, ON *þakkk*: 'thanks,' Go. *þank* (acc. sg.): 'thanks,' and *(*ga-*)*panh-ti-* > *(*ga-*)*pāhti-* > OS *githāht*: 'thought,' OE *geþeahht*: 'thought,' and Go. *andapāhts*: 'temperate, reasonable.' Although this root is well represented in the psychological field, with pervasive cognitive qualities, it seems to be a late development as a true psychological category under the influence of Lat. *cogito* and *cogitatus* in OHG, OE, and OS. As with others of this type, **pank-* encroached upon the semantic field of **hug-*, and to some degree replaced it in certain aspects (Becker 1964, 164-65).

**wil-*

PIE **wel-*: 'to wish, will' > PGmc. **wil(-l-)jan*~**wil-jōn*. Skt. *vāras*: 'choice, desire,' Lat. *volo*: 'to be willing, wish,' *voluptās*: 'pleasure,' Lith. *viltis*: 'hope,' OCS *veljā*: 'to command,' Gk. *ἐλδομαι*: 'to long (for something).'

This word also became a 'soul conception' in post-Christian times, although its wide distribution and rich content indicate it was a vigorous root in more archaic times. It is found in all

(30) The term *sefu* occurs 14 times in *Beowulf*, many times in ambiguous passages; however, it is clearly in the reflective category, often combined with adjectives such as *geomor* (3x), *hreoð* (1x), and *grim* (2x), or verbs such as *greotan* (1x), or *sweorcan* (1x). Only once does it have volitive force in the phrase *þin sefa hwette* (*Beow.* 490), cf. also Becker 1964, 161-62.

Germanic dialects, Go. *wilja*, OHG *willio* ~ *willo*, OE *willa*, OFris. *willa*, OS *willio*, ON *vili* – all with the general meaning ‘will, desire, wish, etc.’, but nuances of pleasure, activity, and the results of activity are strongly present. This was most certainly a ‘sacred’ concept to the ancient Germanic peoples as witnessed by the ON divine triad Óðinn, Vili, Vé (originally an alliterative formula: **Wōðanaz*, **Wiljan*, **Wihaz*) from at least before ca 600 C.E.

**wōð-*

PIE **uāt-*: ‘to be of excited mental state’ > PGmc. **wōð-*. Lat. *vātēs*: ‘soothsayer,’ OIr. *fáith*: ‘seer, prophet,’ MWel. *gwawd*: ‘song, peotry.’

In Germanic this root is also of sacred importance (cf. the divine name **Wōð-an-az*: ‘the master of inspired mental activity’ > ON *Óðinn*, OE *Wōdan*, OHG *Wuotan*, OLG *Wōdan*, but it only occurs as a psychic term in ON *óðr*: ‘(seat of [?]) inspired numinous activity.’ It has often been misinterpreted as a term for mind, wit, reason, understanding, etc., but at least in the original sense this is hardly possible. (31) Adjectival forms in other Germanic dialects show a less religious context, Go. *wōps*: ‘angry, possessed’ (cf. Ulf. Mark 5:15, 18), OE *wōd*: ‘mad, raging, furious’ (cf. also the noun *wōd*: ‘madness’), OHG *wuotig*: ‘raging, mad, furious.’ Originally, **wōð-* seems to have belonged to the same semantic field as **gaist-* and **mōð-*, and denoted an emotive state of ecstatic intensity.

III. Structures

An analysis of this PGmc. psychological lexicon seems to reveal a definite functional structure on the most archaic level. Terms of late formation or re-definition, i.e. **sinþ-* and **hērt-*, must be eliminated from our considerations before we proceed to classify the remaining items according to their most archaic meanings.

Certain classifications emerge from the analysis of the PGmc. root forms discussed above. The principal criteria for these classifications must remain the apparent primary function of the term, while secondary dialectal functions should also be

(31) This mistake is noted by Polomé 1969, 269, and that this error had often been made earlier is evidenced in Rydberg 1886, 551-52. Also cf. ON *œði*: ‘rage, fury’ < *óðr* with i-umlaut.

considered in context. A survey of this material indicates the existence of a breath concept (**and-/ *ēþma-*), an emotive aspect (**gaist-*, **wōð-*, **mōð-*) all of which indicate some type of release of ecstatic inner power, and a manifold cognitive aspect with what would appear to be reflective (**minþ-/ *mund-*, **ah-*, **þank-*), perceptive (**sef-*), and volitive (**wil-*) subsets. Moreover, this cognitive aspect is represented by a 'synthetic' concept, **hug-* (dialectally also **mōð-*), which functioned as the seat of the various cognitive aspects from an extremely early time. Its difficult etymology and apparent neutral origins seem to reinforce this conclusion, as does the fact of its eventual replacement in South Germanic by later analytical terms. **Saiwalō-* remains a problem. As near as can be determined it does not seem to have originally belonged in the same field as these psychological terms, but rather to a more specialized vocabulary of death, which was probably involved with taboos (Eggers 1957, 21; Becker 1964, 169). It might be best understood together with ON *draugr*: 'a ghost, spirit (of the dead),' as an active *post mortem* essence or 'shade.' (32)

For the sake of context and wholeness, the structural alignment presented here includes those aspects which strictly fall outside the psychological field, since any view of the archaic Germanic psychological complex which postulates independent categories would seem inadequate. Such a functional structure might appear:

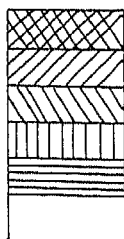
- 1) body
- 2) life
- 3) breath
- 4) emotive force
- 5) cognitive complex
 - a) synthetic concept
 - b) reflective aspect
 - c) perceptive aspect
 - d) volitive aspect
- 6) shade
- 7) magical conceptions/entities

Confirmation of much of this may be drawn from an examination of distributional patterns for the root concepts in the Germanic dialects (cf. Table I). Note for example the distribu-

(32) Cf. the etymology of Eggers 1957, 21.

Table I

	Go.	ON	OHG	OE	OS	OFris.
* <u>hug-</u>						
* <u>sinb-</u>						
* <u>minb-</u> /* <u>mund-</u>						
* <u>bank-</u>						
* <u>ah-</u>						
* <u>wil-</u>						
* <u>sef-</u>						
* <u>ebma-</u>						
* <u>an-</u> /* <u>and-</u>						
* <u>gaist-</u>						
* <u>mōð-</u>						
* <u>wōð-</u>						
* <u>saiwalō-</u>						



soul conception

attested as adjective and/or substantive in
psychic field




attested as verb in psychic field

attested as verb and/or substantive in psychic
field

attested outside psychic field

unattested

Table II

E M O T I V E		BREATH <i>*an- / *and-</i> <i>*cpma-</i>	
		* <u>gaist-</u> * <u>wōð-</u> * <u>mōð-</u>	
		REFLECTIVE	* <u>ah-</u> 
		PERCEPTIVE	* <u>sef-</u> 
		VOLITIVE	* <u>wil-</u> 
* <u>saiwalð-</u>			

tion within the emotive field, where **wōð-* and **gaist-* are in complementary distribution in North and South Germanic. Due to secondary shifts, terms such as **mōð-* have perhaps acquired a whole set of cognitive qualities, and similarly the reflective term **ah-* has been 'spiritualized' (cf. Go. *ahma*). These might represent underlying nuances present in the archaic root which are reflected in these secondary functions. Such Considerations help to form a conceptual model (Table II) which shows apparent interplays on the secondary level. Any final conclusions on these matters must, by the very nature of the material, remain in the realm of shadows.

IV. Summary

From the results presented here it seems reasonable to conclude that there is a definite functional structure underlying the rich Germanic vocabulary of the psyche, and that it is, in the strict 'psychological' field, divided into three main categories, 1) breath concept, 2) emotive force, and 3) cognitive seat and functions. Two observations in this regard might be that the breath concept is much less prominent than might otherwise been thought, (33) and that the emotive force is in fact a dominant factor in the constitution of the psychic world of the ancient Germanic peoples.

(33) Evidence for the importance of the magical, *Óðinic*,⁹ function of the breath concept is perhaps found on a number of bracteates from the Germanic Migration Age, which depict a figure (the god Óðinn or Baldr (?)) with a rush of air issuing from his mouth, cf. Hauck 1970, 340 *et passim*.

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